This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
No 19425

University of Wisconsin
LIBRARY
Class D045
Book .B39

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.
No.

VENERABILIS
BEDAE
HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE
GENTIS ANGLORUM
LIBRI III IV

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Pitt Press Series.

VENERABILIS BEDAE HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE GENTIS ANGLORUM LIBRI III IV

EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

BY

JOHN E B MAYOR M A

FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE
AND PROFESSOR OF LATIN

AND

J R LUMBY D D

NORRISIAN PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY

THIRD EDITION, REVISED

Cambridge:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

London: CAMBRIDGE WAREHOUSE, 17, PATERNOSTER ROW.
Cambridge: DEIGHTON, BELL, AND CO.
Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.

1881

DD45
.B39

ADVERTISEMENT

IN the Easter term of 1877 I lectured on these two books of Beda, which were among the select subjects for the Cambridge theological tripos of 1878.

Having brought together many new illustrations of the author's language and matter, I proposed to Mr Lumby to join me in an edition of the two books, which the syndics of the Pitt Press undertook to publish.

Mr Lumby procured from St Gallen a collation of the letter of Cuthbert (testimonia n 1) and is responsible for the collations of the other mss described in excursus II; also for exc II IV V, the summaries of chapters, headings of pages, contents, onomasticon and indexes, and for not a few of the notes[1]. Our text of Beda reproduces exactly the Moore ms, which has been collated by both of us.

Dr Ebert and his publisher allowed me to translate the notice of Beda given in his admirable history of Christian Roman literature; I am also indebted to Dr Ebert for revising the proof of my translation.

The 'testimonia', which might have been largely

[1] eg on 'woolward' from p 348 8; on the date of Beda's death 401 20—402.

19425

increased[1], may suffice to prove the high esteem in which Beda has been held wherever he has been known. His preface shews that his thirst for original evidence was far more keen than that of many professed critics; chronologers will know how to prize the advance made in their science by him, who introduced into history the one fixed date A D.

The attention of scholars has of late been recalled by Rönsch, Paucker, Schuchardt and others, to the mass of valuable material, lexicographical and other, buried in the early Christian writings. For palaeographical purposes few manuscripts of the classics are to be compared with the earliest biblical and patristic mss, which latter are often nearly or quite contemporary with the authors. The renewed study of history also, to be fruitful, must lead away from arid or florid compendiums to the living sources. The 'monumenta Germaniae' have long been issued to schools in cheap editions, and England has in Beda's history, abbats of Wearmouth and letter to Ecgberct, documents of far greater worth, both as regards form and matter, than the *origines* of Germany or any other European nation. The fear that boys or girls may 'spoil their Latin style' by reading late Latin seems chimerical. If unclassical forms are pointed out as they occur, the classical forms are imprinted only the deeper in the memory: we do not find that Homer, Pindar, Herodotus, Theocritus, corrupt our Greek prose.

[1] In F Liverani spicilegium liberianum Flor 1863 fol pp 35—108 a number of homilies ascribed to Beda are printed for the first time.

For 'cursory reading' few Latin writers are better adapted than Beda, whose perspicuity stands out in strong relief from the bombast affected by Aldhelm before him, and by most of our chroniclers for centuries after him.

It will be well for England if her church cleaves stedfastly to the rule of 'learning and working' (see pp 226 227) professed and practised by Beda and his worthies, and in these latter days revived among us in the teaching and life of F D Maurice.

The examples given in the glossary are intended to be supplementary to those stored in the lexicons.

We have to thank the authorities of Trinity, Sidney Sussex, Emmanuel and St John's colleges, for the free use of manuscripts.

J E B M.

COMPENDIA

= equal to
)(opposed to
AA SS acta sanctorum
a m before the middle of page or chapter
AS Anglosaxon or Anglosaxons
CIG corpus inscr graec
DC Ducange
DCA dict christ ant
DCB ,, ,, biogr
exx examples
f end of page or chapter
h a hist abbatum
h e hist eccl
m middle of page or chapter
MHB Petrie's mon hist Brit
OSB ord s Bened
p m after the middle of page or chapter
pr beginning of page or chapter

IOHANNI · IOSEPHO · IGNATIO · DOELLINGER

IOHANNI · SHERREN · BREWER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Advertisement	v—vii
Dedication	viii
Contents	ix—xx
Ebert's account of Beda	1—16
Contents of book III	17—18

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

Death of Edwin, king of Northumbria, A D 633.
Relapse of the kingdom into idolatry.
Ceadwalla, king of the Britons, wars against Northumbria... 19—20

CHAPTER II

Oswald's victory over Ceadwalla.
Miraculous virtues of Oswald's cross ..... 20—22

CHAPTER III

Oswald asks for a missionary from the Scots.
Bishop Aidan is sent from Hii ..... 22—24

CHAPTER IIII

Account of St Columba and his successors in Iona ..... 24—26

CHAPTER V

Aidan's mission and its success ..... 26—28

PAGE

CHAPTER VI

Character and good deeds of king Oswald ..... 29—30

CHAPTER VII

Conversion of the West Saxons by Birinus.
Foundation of the see of Dorchester.
Vicissitudes of the episcopate of the West Saxons ..... 30—32

CHAPTER VIII

Earconberct, king of Kent AD 640, puts down idolatry.
The virtues of his daughter Earcongota.
English princesses in foreign monasteries ..... 33—35

CHAPTER VIIII

Death of Oswald, AD 642.
Miracles wrought by his relics..... 35—37

CHAPTER X

Other miracles wrought by the dust of the place where Oswald died ..... 37—38

CHAPTER XI

Miracles attending on the removal of Oswald's bones..... 38—40

CHAPTER XII

Other cures at St Oswald's tomb.
Recovery of his head and arms by king Oswy ..... 41—42

CHAPTER XIII

Fame of Oswald's miracles in other countries.
Of Acca, one of Beda's authorities..... 42—43

CHAPTER XIIII

Oswald succeeded by his brother Oswy, AD 642.
His wars with Penda, king of Mercia.

PAGE

Death of Paulinus, bishop of Rochester.
Ithamar, his successor, first bishop of English blood.
Murder of Oswin, king of Deira, A D 651.
Death of bishop Aidan ..... 44—47

CHAPTER XV

Bishop Aidan's miracles ..... 47—48

CHAPTER XVI

Another miracle of bishop Aidan; fire miraculously quenched 48

CHAPTER XVII

Finan, successor of Aidan.
Beda's remarks on Aidan's error concerning Easter ..... 49—51

CHAPTER XVIII

Sigberct, king of the East Angles.
Schools and teachers in East Anglia.
Bishop Felix, from Burgundy.
Ecgric succeeds to the kingdom of East Anglia.
Anna, king of East Anglia, slain A D 654 ..... 51—52

CHAPTER XIX

Visions of Furseus. His death in Gaul ..... 52—57

CHAPTER XX

Thomas succeeds Felix as bishop in East Anglia, A D 646.
Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, dies A D 653.
Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury 26 Mar 655 ..... 57—58

CHAPTER XXI

Conversion of the Middle Angles.
Peada, their king, marries Oswy's daughter.
Diuma, bishop of the Middle Angles, then
Ceollach, and after him Trumheri ..... 58—60

PAGE

CHAPTER XXII

Re-conversion of the East Saxons.
Cedd made bishop among them ..... 60—62

CHAPTER XXIII

Life of bishop Cedd. He died A D 664 ..... 63—65

CHAPTER XXIIII

War between Penda, king of Mercia, and king Oswy.
Battle of Winwaed, A D 655.
Oswy's vow.
Monasteries of Heruteu and Streanæshalch.
Bishops of the Mercians ..... 65—68

CHAPTER XXV

Finan, bishop of Lindisfarne, A D 651.
Colman, his successor.
Easter controversy. Synod of Streanæshalch A D 664 ..... 68—76

CHAPTER XXVI

Colman retires to Scotland.
Colman's successors.
High character of the Northumbrian church..... 76—78

CHAPTER XXVII

Pestilence in Britain, A D 664.
Intercourse between England and Ireland.
Monks of Mellifont.
Austerities of Ecgberct, the monk ..... 79—81

CHAPTER XXVIII

Consecration of Wilfrid.
Death of archbishop Deusdedit, A D 664 ..... 81—82

PAGE

CHAPTER XXIX

Four years vacancy of the see of Canterbury.
The Angle kings send Wighard to pope Vitalian.
Wighard's death.
The pope chooses an archbishop ..... 82—85.

CHAPTER XXX

Idolatry among the East Saxons.
Their recovery to the faith 86

Contents of book IIII ..... 87—88

BOOK IIII

CHAPTER I

Death of Erconberct, king of Kent, 664 A D.
Theodore, a monk of Tarsus, chosen to be archbishop of Canterbury.
Leaves Rome, A D 668.
Journey through Gaul ..... 89—91

CHAPTER II

Theodore's activity and reforms.
Putta, bishop of Rochester ..... 92—93

CHAPTER III

Ceadda, bishop of the Mercians.
His exemplary character.
Portents before his death, A D 672.
Miracles after his death ..... 93—99

CHAPTER IIII

History of Colman after his leaving Britain.
Irish monasteries founded by him ..... 99—100

PAGE

CHAPTER V

Death of king Oswy, A D 670.
Ecgfrid, his son, succeeded.
Synod of Hertford A D 673.
Decrees of the synod.
Ecgberct, king of Kent, dies A D 673.
Division of the bishopric of the East Angles..... ..... 101—104

CHAPTER VI

Expulsion of Winfrid, bishop of the Mercians.
Sexwulf, founder of Peterborough abbey.
Earconwald, bishop of the East Saxons.
Monasteries founded by him and his sister ..... 104—105

CHAPTER VII

Of the monastery at Barking and the miracles wrought there 105—106

CHAPTER VIII

Other miracles at the same monastery 107

CHAPTER VIIII

Aedilburga, abbess of Barking, her death and miracles ... .. 108—110

CHAPTER X

Hildilid, successor of Aedilburga.
Her zeal and the miracles wrought at Barking by relics .. ... 110—111

CHAPTER XI

Account of king Sebbi of the East Saxons.
He turns monk.
His death and miraculous enlargement of his coffin..... ... 111—113

PAGE

CHAPTER XII

Episcopate among the West Saxons.
Haeddi, fifth bishop; died A D 705.
Kent ravaged by Aedilred, king of Mercia, A D 676.
Cuichelm, bishop of Rochester.
A comet appears, A D 678.
Dispute between king Ecgfrid and bishop Wilfrid.
Division of Wilfrid's diocese.
Bishops of Lindsey, Eadhaed, Ediluini, Eadgar, Cyniberct 113—115

CHAPTER XIII

History of Wilfrid after his expulsion..... ..... 115—117

CHAPTER XIIII

A pestilence in Britain, A D 681.
Stayed through the intercession of St Oswald.
Stories of a vision of St Peter and St Paul ..... 118—120

CHAPTER [XV]

Caedwalla of the royal family of the Gewissi ravages the land of the South Saxons ..... 120—121

CHAPTER [XVI]

Caedwalla made king of the Gewissi.
He takes the Isle of Wight.
Wilfrid helps him to christianise the province.
Account of the situation of the Isle of Wight ..... 121—123

CHAPTER [XVII]

Synod of Hatfield, summoned by archbishop Theodore, A D 680 ..... 123—124

CHAPTER [XVIII]

Abbat John the arch-chanter was at this synod.
Of Benedict Biscop.
Of abbat John's musical teaching, and death.
Report of the synod sent to the pope..... ..... 125—126

PAGE

CHAPTER [XIX]

Of Etheldreda, wife of king Ecgfrid.
Her religious life.
She founds the monastery of Ely.
Her death.
Miracles wrought by her relics ..... 127—130

CHAPTER [XX]

Beda's hymn on Etheldreda ..... 130—132

CHAPTER [XXI]

Battle between Ecgfrid and Aedilred, king of Mercia, on the Trent A D 679.
Mediation of archbishop Theodore ..... 132—133

CHAPTER [XXII]

A prisoner's bonds loosed through the efficacy of the mass... 133—135

CHAPTER [XXIII]

Abbess Hild dies A D 680.
Her history and that of her monastery ..... 136—141

CHAPTER [XXIIII]

Of Caedmon and his miraculous gift of song.
He becomes a monk and dies ..... 141—145

CHAPTER [XXV]

The monastery of Coludi Urbs (Coldingham) destroyed by fire.
Its destruction had been foretold ..... 145—148

CHAPTER [XXVI]

Ireland ravaged by Ecgfrid, king of Northumbria, A D 684.
Heavenly vengeance on Ecgfrid.
Triumuini comes to Streanæshalch.
Aldfrid, king of Northumbria.
Hlothere, king of Kent, dies, A D 685 .... 148—150

PAGE

CHAPTER [XXVII]

Cudberct ordained bishop of Lindisfarne, A D 684.
His religious life, labours and previous history ..... 150—153

CHAPTER [XXVIII]

Cudberct's life as an anchorite.
He is elected bishop of Lindisfarne.
His bright example, fasting and services.
He was bishop two years ..... 153—156

CHAPTER [XXIX]

Of Cudberct's death and the premonition thereof.
His burial.
Eadberct, a man learned in the Scriptures, is his successor 156—157

CHAPTER [XXX]

Translation of Cudberct's body.
Miracles wrought by his relics.
Death of bishop Eadberct, A D 698 ..... 158—159

CHAPTER [XXXI]

Miracles at Cudberct's tomb ..... 159—160

CHAPTER [XXXII]

Another miracle by the relics of Cudberct ..... 161—162

APPENDIX

I Beda's preface ..... 163—166
II Beda's letter to Albinus ..... 166—167
III Hist eccl v 24 ..... 167—175

TESTIMONIA

		PAGE
I	Letter of Cuthbert to Cuthwine	176—179
II III IV	Of Boniface, abbat of Mainz	180
V VI	Of Lull, abbat of Mainz	181
VII VIII	Of Cuthberct, abbat of Wearmouth	181—183
IX X XI	Alcuin's testimony	183—184
XII	Florence of Worcester	185
XIII	William of Malmesbury	185—187
XIV XV	Simeon of Durham	188—189
XVI	Henry of Huntingdon	189
XVII	Isaac Casaubon	189
XVIII XIX	Thomas Fuller	189—193
XX	Henry Wharton	193—194
XXI	Remi Ceillier	194
XXII	William Wordsworth	195
XXIII XXIIII	John Lingard	195—196
XXV	J M Lappenberg	196—197
XXVI	J A Ginzel	197
XXVII	Varin	198
XXVIII	Leopold Ranke	198
XXIX	Bernhard ten Brink	199

LONGER NOTES

Lives of Beda	200
Beda's sources of information	203
Beda's expositions of the bible	205
Missions to Germany	207
Beda's authorities	209
Workmen imported into England	210
Metrical and rhythmical hymns	211
Virtues of relics	216
Roman wall	217
Easter question	219

PAGE

Iona 221
Stone churches 222
Early British missionaries 226
Bishop Birinus 231
Visions of angels 235
Fragrant odours at and after death 236
Matins 241
St Willibrord 243
Holy water 244
Prayers for the dead. Mortuary rolls 246
Schools founded in England 252
Of purgatory 256
Monastic life 257
Dedication of children 265
Folcland and bocland 266
Stone and wooden churches 269
The power of the keys 276
The sign of the cross 279
On the reading of the psalter 282
Relics sent to England 288
Forms of tonsure 293
Travelling on the continent 295
Latin and Greek learning 298
Church singing 299
Invalid ordinations 301
Of sacred dust 306
Pilgrimages from England to Rome 309, 363
Scheme of English sees 314
Double monasteries 316
Comets and their portents 326
Commemoration of benefactors 334
Œcumenical councils 339
Lateran synod, A D 649 340
Monothelite controversy 343
Vows of continence 345
To go woolward 347
Rare use of baths 348
Treatment of guests 349
Serpentine verses 353

PAGE

Hydros=diabolus 354
Weregyld 356
Masses for the dead 357
Monks have no property 361
Bells 365
Caedmon's first song 369
Decay of religious life 372
Incantations and charms 378
Missionary tours 380
Burial in church 387
Shrouds 388
Date of Beda's death 401
Monastic presents 406

EXCURSUS I

Literature of early British and Irish church history 410

EXCURSUS II

Account of the MSS used for this volume 413

EXCURSUS III

Relics 417

EXCURSUS IV

On the bishoprics, British and Saxon, established before 640 423

EXCURSUS V

On Easter 426
ADDITIONAL NOTES 429*
ONOMASTICON 429
GLOSSARY 445
ADDITIONAL GLOSSARY 475
INDEX TO SAXON WORDS 477
INDEX TO THE NOTES 481

ACCOUNT OF
BEDA
FROM THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN-LATIN LITERATURE
BY ADOLF EBERT
LEIPZIG 1874.

ALDHELM has been designated, not unjustly, the father of Anglo-latin verse: in fact his whole writings have a touch of poetry, even where their purpose is didactic, and however tasteless his poetic prose-style can become, it at least betrays a lively exercise of fancy. It speaks still more however for Aldhelm's poetic nature, that notwithstanding his great interest in, and comprehension of, the ancient laws of metre, he composed also in popular rhythmical forms in Latin, as well as in his Anglo-Saxon mother-tongue. A very different impression is made by the literary character of a younger and far more famous contemporary BEDA. Though he also wrote verses, it is in the field of prose alone that he has left his mark in literary history, for he was plainly a man naturally of prosaic understanding,

[10] The complete works of Venerable Bede collated with the manuscripts and various printed editions, accompanied by a new english translation of the historical works and a life of the author. By J A Giles, London 1843. 12 vols. Vener Bedae opera historica, ad fid codd mss recens Jos Stevenson. London 1841. 2 vols (Engl Hist Soc). Gehle disputatio historico-theologica de Bedae Vener vita et scriptis. Leiden 1838 (dissert). Thomas Wright biographia britannica litteraria I 263—88. Schoell's article Beda in Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie der protest Theologie.

but withal of rare scientific capacity, so that the middle ages with one accord named him among the most esteemed teachers in the first rank.

Beda, already in the ninth century usually honoured with the surname Venerabilis, was born AD 672 in the territory of the abbey of Wearmouth founded two years later by Benedict Biscop. Already in his seventh year he was entrusted by his relations—being probably an orphan—to the tuition of this learned abbat, and later to that of Ceolfrid, a friend whom Benedict had made abbat in a monastery founded by him in the neighbourhood, at Jarrow, which was, so to speak, a mere offshoot of the Wearmouth foundation, so that the two societies sometimes obeyed the rule of one and the same abbat. In this community Beda spent his whole life, the genuine retirement of a scholar, dividing all the time, not engrossed by religious duties, between learning and teaching. Other monks also, beside the two abbats, gave him lessons, as he himself incidentally informs us. No doubt as a consequence of his parts and energy, he was ordained deacon as early as his nineteenth year, six years before the canonical age; in his thirtieth year he was admitted to priest's orders, and now too first began the work of authorship, for which he found copious materials in the monastic library, collected by the two abbats, especially in their journeys to Rome (see further details below pp 7, 8). In order to study in company with a friend Beda may also now and then have left his cloister, as e g he travelled to York for this purpose to Ecgbert, afterwards archbishop. He died AD 735; there is still extant the report of his last hours by one of his pupils; even on his death-bed he was busy with literary work, e g with a translation of St John's gospel into Anglo-Saxon. He was buried in the monastery of Jarrow, to which therefore he must more specially have belonged.

Beda was a very prolific author, as is sufficiently proved by INDEX IV the long list of his writings, which (as if in imitation of Gregory he appended in his 59th year to his church history.

same place he gives us a scanty notice of his own life.

Most of these writings and the most important are still preserved to us. The great majority are, it is true, of a purely theological nature, mostly expositions of the bible, both of the old and new testament, and these concern us here the less, as they seem also to be the least original of all. Beda's rank in literary history is due much more to his historical works. Amongst these however, not only in bulk, but also in point of execution, the first place is due to his HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA GENTIS ANGLORVM, which, as the ripest fruit of his pen, was only completed in the last years of his life, as indeed several of his other writings are used in it. This work is divided into five books. The first 22 chapters of the first book form only an introduction, wherein after a short description of Britain and its ancient inhabitants we have the history of the country reaching from Julius Caesar (with particular reference to its earlier conversion to Christianity, on the basis of Orosius whom Beda often follows word for word, and especially of Gildas, whose history here supplies the clue throughout) to the introduction of Christianity among the Angles by Gregory's missionaries. Only from this point (c 23) begins the work proper and independent research of Beda. The church history of the Angles is then carried down in this book to the death of Gregory the great A D 604. The second book begins with a long obituary of this pope so important for England's church, and ends with the death of Edwin king of Northumberland A D 633. The third book reaches to 665, when Wighart went to Rome to be consecrated abp of Canterbury; but as he dies in Rome, Theodore, the monk of Tarsus, is consecrated by the pope in his room. Here begins the fourth book, extending to the death of Cuthbert (687), the famous saint already twice celebrated by

[5] Thus the long commentary 'in principium genesis' is according to Beda's own preface merely extracted from the writings of his predecessors; so also the 'in evang Marci IV libri'. In most of his commentaries allegorical interpretation prevails. Nor are his homilies, so far as they remain to us, anyways important.

[18] See the detailed statement of the sources for this introduction in Schoell de eccles Britonum historiae fontibus p 20—8 [Berl 1851].

Beda himself. The last book (to the year 731) concludes with a survey of the several sees and of the general state of Britain in that year, when profound peace led many nobles to exchange arms for cloister life.

We see that the distribution of the subject into books is made with all deliberation, being determined by events of the utmost importance partly in themselves, partly at least for the author: thus Gregory's death forms indisputably the close of a period, as a new beginning opens with Theodore's mission, that epoch in the Christian civilisation of England. Accordingly the fourth book, introduced by this mission, is with the fifth of greater interest than the rest for the general history of culture and, at least indirectly, for that of literature also. The earlier books tell mainly of the propagation and settlement of the catholic church in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, its disputes with the church of the Scots and endeavours for reconciliation, while the most important political events, which must affect more or less the church's position, are considered only in the second place. In the last two books on the other hand we find here and there valuable notices respecting the diffusion of literary training by Theodore and Hadrian and their pupils, the art of church music introduced from Rome by the pope's arch-chanter (IV 18, V 20), the studies of the Angles in Rome itself (V 19), the circulation and collection of books in England (V 15 and 20), writers of the rank of Caedmon (IV 24) and Aldhelm (V 18), the first missions to Germany undertaken by the Angles (V 9). Here, it is true, especially in the fourth book, much more room is engrossed by biographies of saints, bishops, abbats and abbesses, which with their miraculous stories for the most part only prove that England also was possessed by the superstition and ecstasy of the age; they however not only serve in this respect to complete the picture of life and manners, but also throw light on many peculiar features of the education and character of the Angles. In particular we may here single out, as interesting for the national literatures of the middle ages, two visions, the one (V 12) of a pious Northumbrian, who after death sees under the guidance of a form of light, evidently an angel,

first purgatory—where however cold is paired with heat—next hell, a pit shooting forth incessantly fireballs, wherein, as they rise and fall, the souls of the evil flash as numberless sparks; then a fragrant, flowery meadow, wherein walk crowds of men arrayed in white; it is the abode of good souls, who arrive at heaven itself only at the last day, not being perfect enough to enter it at once; of this heaven the visionary sees only a beaming light from afar and hears the sweet song of its inmate spirits. Restored to life the Northumbrian entered a monastery, where he confided this vision to one of his brethren. In c 13 another vision is related of a soldier, a favorite of the king, who deferred penance; accordingly there appeared by his sick-bed first two angels with a little book containing the record of his few good deeds, and presently a whole army of fiends with a colossal folio, filled with the long register of his misdeeds.

That Beda's work rather resembles a chronicle than a philosophical history, is what we are prepared to expect. Like that of Gregory of Tours, it is a collection of separate stories (including also the most important documents) arranged generally in chronological order (and that too, which is worthy of notice, reckoned by the years after the incarnation). The lack of political and even ecclesiastical unity in the empire of the Angles makes this method the more excusable. Yet Beda possessed many of the qualifications for a historian, and was fully alive to the duties of his calling. He amassed materials with great pains, gives the most important records word for word, and names his authorities and sources either generally or in particular; generally, in the preface addressed to king Ceolwulf of

[1] Evidently founded on Ps 65 12.

[6] This description reminds one exactly of one of the visions in the dialogues of Gregory the great IV 36.

[7] These views respecting the intermediate abode of souls and purgatory are also of theological interest; with regard to the latter the angel gives the following explanation: *est locus, in quo examinandae et castigandae sunt animae eorum, qui differentes confiteri et emendare scelera, quae fecerunt, in ipso tamen mortis articulo ad paenitentiam confugiunt, et sic de corpore exeunt; qui tamen, quia confessionem et paenitentiam uel in morte habuerunt, omnes in die iudicii ad regnum caelorum perueniunt.*

[27] See on this point Stevenson's

Northumberland, in order, as he says, to leave the reader no ground for doubt. The most eminent clergy of the several provinces aided his undertaking; one brought him also from Rome transcripts of bulls from the papal archives. Everywhere we discern the pursuit of truth and that faithful reproduction of tradition, which, as he himself says in his preface, is 'the true law of history'. Moreover Beda appears throughout this work as a master of the learning of his times, with whose comprehensive knowledge probably no man then living could vie; he can discover and appreciate what is really important, though no less a dupe to the current faith in miracles than the far more ignorant and unenlightened historian of the Franks. If in his opinion also (as the preface tells us) the worth of history is principally moral, as it incites us to imitate good and avoid evil, yet in the narrative itself the moral tendency is less obtrusive than in Gregory of Tours. It bears throughout the stamp of a rare fairness and objectivity, which is maintained even in ecclesiastical matters, as in relation to the Scots. Herewith accords the calm, even tone of the relation, which in its diction, clear, natural and yet for the age so pure, affords the surest evidence of mental discipline won by the study of the ancients and of the chief fathers of the church.

A supplement to the great historical work—important especially for the history of civilisation and often exceedingly attractive—is Beda's little book, founded partly on a sermon

introd I xxiv seq and cf Schmid Gesetze der Angelsachsen I[1] xlix seq.

[6] It is there said at the end *lectoremque suppliciter obsecro ut si qua in his quae scripsimus aliter quam se ueritas habet, posita reppererit, non hoc nobis imputet, qui,* quae uera lex historiae est, simpliciter ea quae fama uulgante collegimus ad instructionem posteritatis litteris mandare studuimus.

[22] It may be added that in many mss and edd of the historian a very short 'epitome' is appended, recapitulating the chief dates in chronological order; whether composed by Beda himself, we cannot determine.

[25] By a monk of his cloister; it may be seen in Stevenson II 318—334. On such uitae generally see above pp 429—431 [where the biographical works of Jerome, Rufinus, Sulpicius Seuerus, Ennodius, Hilary, Eugippius, are mentioned, and two classes dis-

in commemoration of St Ceolfrid: VITA BEATORVM ABBATVM WIREMVTHIENSIVM ET GIRVENSIVM BENEDICTI, CEOLFRIDI, EASTERWINI, SIGFRIDI ATQVE HVETBERTI. These are the abbats of his own fraternity, some of them his tutors and teachers. The most interesting life is Benedict's, which also fills the largest part of the book. Benedict, originally called Biscop, an Angle of noble descent, 'minister' of king Oswy, when about twenty-five years of age devoted himself to the religious life, becoming a monk in Lerinum; he then by the pope's command attended abp Theodore from Rome to England and afterwards founded the two monasteries on the Wear and Tyne. His unwearied activity—he travels to Rome alone five times and brings from Gaul even the masons for church building—is truly admirable. Benedict's services to culture in England are very great; he it was who made Beda's works even possible. For he brought, as we here learn, from each of his pilgrimages to Rome not only great store of books, but also (which was a motive of such journeys) pictures to adorn the monastic churches. At one time the pictures were intended for St Peter's Wearmouth, at another for St Paul's Jarrow and for the monastery there. In this case, as Beda says, regard was had chiefly to the *concordia* of the O and N T. But Benedict also brought costly silk robes 'of incomparable work', which he exchanged for land with the king and his counsellors. For the church windows he imported glaziers from Gaul, Britain having till then been destitute of artists in this trade. He also brought

tinguished, the one more rhetorical, in imitation of the heathen panegyrics, e.g. sermons on the saint's festival, the other unpretending narratives].

[17] c 5 p 295 22 Smith *innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam apportauit.* cf c 4 pr [and c 8]. The books were partly gifts, partly purchases; in Gaul also, especially at Vienne, he bought books on his journey.

[19] p 295 35 Smith pictures of the virgin, the twelve apostles, the apocalyptic visions; we are told also in the same place how they were exhibited.

[22] c 8 p 297 *uerbi gratia*: *Isaac ligna quibus immolaretur portantem et dominum crucem in qua pateretur aeque portantem proxima super inuicem regione pictura coniunxit. item serpenti in eremo a Moyse exaltato filium hominis in cruce exaltatum comparauit.*

to England the papal arch-chanter, who became in the first instance the teacher of his monastery, in particular of our Beda; but from all English convents monks resorted to him to learn singing. Thus Benedict promoted England's civilisation in the most various directions, and Ceolfrid emulated his example. The picture of these admirable men appears in their scholar's beautiful tract the more serene, as no sort of miracle is recorded of them.

Another supplement to Beda's church history, to which, as of much earlier date, he also alludes in the course of it, is the book DE VITA ET MIRACVLIS S CVTHBERTI EPISCOPI LINDISFARNENSIS. This prose work, undertaken at the request of a successor of Cuthbert's, Eadfrid, and of the monks of Lindisfarne, adopts here and there the language of an earlier work of Beda's, a poem DE MIRACVLIS S CVTHBERTI. It is not however a mere version of this latter, but an independent work, as appears even from the preface. Beda, as he there assures us, had taken all pains to report the truth, having first communicated his manuscript to some monks long intimate with Cuthbert, and then submitted a copy revised in accordance with their judgement to the criticism of a meeting of elders and teachers of Lindisfarne monastery, who however found nothing further to alter. The difference between the subject-matter of the prose life and the poem is correctly indicated by their titles: in the latter only the miracles are recorded, while the former embraces in addition the remainder of the saint's life. Beda had indeed promised such a supplement in the preface to his poem. As regards the subject-matter therefore, it will suffice here to notice the prose work, the poem, as regards its form, being reserved for later consideration. The main source however, from which Beda drew his materials, is still extant, a life of the saint by a monk of Lindisfarne.

Still Beda's VITA CVTHBERTI, in spite of all well-meant precautions in the interest of historic truth and in spite of the citation of eyewitnesses, is distinguished from his VITA ABBATVM, as a historical romance from history. The romantic

[24] Even Cuthbert's admission to the monastery is barely alluded to.

[31] Printed in Stevenson's Beda II 259—284.]

element lies in the miracles, which play here, as in the poem, a principal part. Not only are the most natural things wrested into miracles, but all the saint's trances, who like St Martin believed that he was often visited by angels and devils, pass current as simple truth; to say nothing of his sympathetic cures. On the other hand however the book is not wholly devoid of real historical facts, which give it greater worth. Thus we read (c 9 sqq) how Cuthbert as provost of Melrose at the time of the plague withstood the general relapse into heathen superstition by journeying alone for months through the country preaching, or how, when transferred to Lindisfarne, he introduced a stricter rule into this monastery afterwards so famous, or lastly how as a hermit in the rocky islet Farne he led a solitary Robinson-Crusoe kind of life (here depicted in all detail), to be summoned from thence to the most momentous political deliberations (c 24), or to the bishop's throne (A D 685), which however he filled only two years, then to return to his hermitage.

As Beda grounds this prose life of a saint on a poem of his own, so too, probably at an earlier date, he wrote on the basis of Paulinus' *natalicia* a shorter prose life of St Felix, because, as he says in the preface, the hexameters of Paulinus were more accessible to 'metrical' than to plain readers. For the benefit of these latter, the great majority, he had executed the work on the model of the prose metaphrast of Prudentius' hymn on Cassianus.

One other historical work, and that of great importance for literary history, was composed by Beda. This work, whose influence in the middle ages was still more extensive than that of his church history, belongs to a region of strictly

[6] Cuthbert, just like Martin in his old age, loved to descant on the miracles wrought by him; often too he covertly hinted more than he exprest (see c 7).

[19] It stands higher in the catalogue of his works.

[20] Esp c IV, V, VI. See above 291—4. [On each anniversary of his patron saint's death, (his *dies natalis*, birthday into eternity) Paulinus wrote a panegyric on him. Thirteen of these poems are extant entire, beside a fragment of a fourteenth.]

[24] To whom Beda here alludes, must remain uncertain; but it is noticeable that the literary fashion, so usual in the later middle age, of resolving into prose the versified lives of saints, seems already to have come into vogue.

scientific studies, in which Beda's learning appears for that time truly marvellous. I mean his chronicle of the world, composed 725—6 by way of appendix to his great chronological work DE TEMPORVM RATIONE, and as an integral part of it. The latter was preceded by a much smaller book DE TEMPORIBVS, containing as it were only the outlines of the complete work, and written as early as 703 (c 14). Here too we find an outline of the chronicle, embracing not only fewer dates, but also far fewer facts and those only in the curt style of inscriptions. To give a conception of the proportionate bulk of the two works, and also of the two universal chronicles appended to them, I may remark, that in Giles' edition the chronological section of the book '*de temporibus*' occupies 9, its chronicle 6½ pages, as against 129 and 61 pages respectively of the '*de temporum ratione*'.

The greater chronological work is accordingly only an expansion of the smaller, though with the intercalation of some entirely new paragraphs. As Beda says in the preface, he undertook it by desire of his 'brethren', for whom the treatment of the subject in the book '*de temporibus*' was far too brief. More precisely to indicate the contents of this work, which Ideler terms a complete guide to the calculation of times and festivals:—we find here discussed the mode of reckoning on the fingers, the divisions of time, weights, the day, the night, the week—including the so-called great week, the week of ages c 10—the months—where beside the Roman, those also of the Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks and Angles are considered, the last from patriotism—, the signs of the month (constella-

[4] In the introduction to the chronicle c 10 'de temporum ratione' is cited as *supra*.

[22] Handbuch der Chronologie II 292.

[24] These first two chapters are entirely wanting in the smaller work; in many mss. of the larger also they are not found, but rather as independent treatises, while in the Brit Mus mss according to Giles (VI p vii) they are incorporated in the work 'de temp rat', and certainly they appear here connected with the whole in style also.

[25] The world-week. See Lactantius above 80 [diu inst VII 14—26 where each day stands for 1000 years.]

[26] c 15 *antiqui autem Anglorum populi* (*neque enim mihi congruum*

tions), the moon's orbit (c 17) and its importance for the calendar, to which are added many explanations about the moon and also about its relation to the tides (c 29), again the equinoxes and solstices, the unequal lengths of the days, the seasons of the year, natural years, the intercalary day, the nineteen-years' cycle and its division, the reckoning after Christ's birth (c 47), indictions, epacts, the cycle of the moon, the determination of Easter; all which matters are taught at once with great theoretical thoroughness, and with all regard to the practical application of these instructions. Beda also, as he says c 65, appended to the work a table for Easter from AD 532, 'when Dionysius began the first cycle', to AD 1063.

After the completion of this theoretical part follows in c 66 CHRONICON SIVE DE SEX HVIVS SAECVLI AETATIBVS. As the very title indicates, Beda has divided his chronicle according to the ages of the world, following indeed Isidore's example—from whom he has also borrowed some passages word for word—but principally keeping in view Augustine himself, the proper author, as we have seen, of that division; the justification for which accordingly Beda in his introduction takes, even verbatim, from the *ciuitas dei*. Hence as compared with Isidore, if we neglect borrowed details, Beda appears altogether original. Much rather is Augustine his guide, Eusebius-Jerome his principal source, both of whom also he often cites. Following Augustine's authority Beda reckons the years of the world according to the Hebrew original of the O T, not according to the LXX, as Isidore. Not seldom too Beda gives much more than the latter, even entire sections: thus in the beginning of the fifth age the series of Nebuchadnezzar's successors and that of the Persian kings from Cyrus to Darius, whereas Isidore only begins with Darius; so too for the Roman emperors, whose regnal years he gives

uidetur aliarum gentium annalem obseruantiam dicere et meae reticere) etc.

[19] [224—6 ciu dei XV seq XVI 43 XXII 30. Ebert p 565 speaks of the two chronicles of Isidore. that in orig lib V and the separate work.]

[25] c d XV 13 referred to by Beda.

as well as the years of the world, Beda is much more complete than his predecessor. Britain, as is only fair, is especially noticed, and particularly in the last decads; thus we find here also mention of Theodore's mission and of the pilgrimages of the Angles to Rome. Subjoined to this chronicle in the treatise '*de temporum ratione*' are four more chapters, where the author briefly discusses the 'remainder of the sixth age of the world', the times of the Lord's advent and of Antichrist, the last doomsday, the seventh and eighth ages. In particular he here (c 67) controverts the opinion, that the various reckonings of the years of the world—according to the Hebrew original or the LXX—could in any way affect the determination of the last day, which as a divine secret eluded all calculation. The assertion, that after the lapse of 6000 years this temporal scene is at an end, because the millenniums of the world's duration correspond to the six days of creation, is erroneous; the days of creation refer rather to the ages of the world, which by no means comprise each 1000 years precisely, some being longer, some shorter. The two surest tokens however of the approaching judgement are the conversion of the Jews and the reign of Antichrist (c 69). The seventh age of the world is that of the eternal sabbath, the eighth that of the blessed resurrection. The ages of the world correspond likewise to Christ's passion week, and are mystically signified thereby.

With Beda's chronological studies is connected a tract, which also became of importance for the middle ages: his

[9] As interesting for the legend of Pilate I single out for remark, that in the beginning of the 6th age (VI 301—2 Giles) the banishment of Herod's son, Archelaus, to Vienne, and the suicide of Pilate are recorded. [See note.]

[5] VI 326, 331 Giles, see too 311.

[19] The occasion of this discussion is evidently this. After the publication of the sketch '*de temporibus*' (where, in the abbreviated chronicle, the same reckoning of the years appears without any vindication) the most extravagant heresies were laid at Beda's door, against which he defends himself in a special treatise, still extant, 'ad Plegwinum'. There too he censures the bad habit, then in vogue, of professing to compute the year of doom. How often was he asked even by peasants, how many years of the last millennium had still to run!

MARTYROLOGIVM, DE NATALICIIS SANCTORVM DIEBVS, as Wattenbach says, 'the ground work of all later revisions' itself however naturally founded on earlier, especially Roman, martyrologies. In this calendar of martyrs, in which however even Beda could not yet fill every day, the tortures are related at great length for a calendar, and we have often real cause for amazement, how so learned, and indeed enlightened, a man as Beda, not merely credulously accepted the most absurd and loathsome exaggerations, but has also repeated them with a certain relish; read e g the sufferings of St Pachomius (14 May). This seems to me noticeable with reference to the arts of design and the later drama of the middle ages.

On these writings, relating to history and historical science, rests Beda's great influence on the literature and culture of the middle ages; these also display in the most brilliant light his genius and learning. These prose writings throw his poems entirely into the background. True, he wrote much in verse; he cites himself, in the catalogue of his works, beside the poem DE MIRACVLIS S CVTHBERTI, also an entire LIBER HYMNORVM DIVERSO METRO SIVE RHYTHMO and a LIBER EPIGRAMMATVM HEROICO METRO SIVE ELEGIACO, but both are lost, and of the few separate hymns and epigrams ascribed to him, scarcely one or two can claim a slight likelihood of authenticity. We may reasonably infer that the two collections deserved the doom of oblivion, since not even so famous a name could rescue them. Still in any case literary history must deplore the loss of the hymnbook, if only because according to the title communicated by Beda himself, metrical and rhythmical hymns of one and the same author—which is very remarkable—were united. A hymn

[4] See the earliest known in Mommsen über den Chronographen von 354 (Abhandl d sächs Ges d Wiss phil hist Kl 1 631 seq cf 581).

[11] That these recitals however are no later accretions but Beda's original, appears from the terms in which he cites the martyrology in the catalogue of his works *non solum qua die, uerum quo* genere certaminis *mundum uicerint.*

[20] That *siue* in the title stands for *et*, a common usage at that time, is shewn not only by the distinction of *metrum* and *rhythmus* in Beda's metrical treatise described below,

of Beda however incorporated in the church history (IV 20) still remains to us; a *hymnus uirginitatis*, as he terms it, in praise of queen Etheldreda, who became a nun and afterwards abbess; it is in distichs, where we find the trick of epanalepsis, already employed by Sedulius. Beda specially celebrates the miracle, that on the opening of Etheldreda's coffin after 16 years, both the corpse and the clothing were found intact, which passed for a special evidence of sanctity. The verses indeed are without elevation, but also without bombast, in a diction neither mean nor barbarous. Of the hymns in Ambrosian metre ascribed to Beda PRIMO DEVS CAELI GLOBVM seems best entitled to bear his name. Here we find, as regards the subject-matter, a parallel drawn (just as in c 10 and the closing chapters of the *de temporum ratione*) between the six ages of the world and the days of creation on the one hand, and the passion-week on the other: as regards the form, epanalepsis in the first main division of the poem, where in each pair of four-line strophes a day is paralleled with an age of the world; the first verse of the first strophe being always made the last of the second. The same epanalepsis, which here, when confined to strophes on such subjects, has a certain meaning, is found also with no such significance in a hymn on the holy innocents' day, which, probably on this very account, has been attributed to Beda. The poem on St Cuthbert's miracles we have already considered with regard to the subject-matter; with respect to its form, the poetical style, free from bombast, at times even quite elegant, and also the often harmonious hexameter,

but also by the title of the 'liber epigrammatum'.

[5] Above 363 [in the 'elegia', 55 distichs sometimes called 'collatio ueteris et noui testamenti'. As a specimen Ebert gives 7—8 sola fuit mulier, patuit qua ianua letc: et qua uita redit, sola fuit mulier.]

[12] In Mone hymni lat medii aeui Freib in Br 1853 1 1—4. cf Alcuin ep 234 Jaffé.

[24] The poems (strangely printed in Giles 1 54 sqq under the title 'hymni') 'de ratione temporum', 'de celebritate quattuor temporum', 'de uariis computi regulis', are later versifications of portions of Beda's larger chronological work, which it is an absurdity to ascribe to Beda himself. I must revert to them in the sequel of this work.

[27] Alliteration too is but seldom employed in an offensive way.

afford a fresh proof of Beda's rare accomplishments, however little they may betray of poetic genius.

The theory also both of poetry and of prose gave occupation to Beda's pen: thus he composed a tract on orthography, a book DE SCHEMATIS ET TROPIS SACRAE SCRIPTVRAE, in which he defines these rhetorical figures one by one and illustrates them by examples from the bible, which even in respect of such modes of expression surpasses all other books: a tract DE ARTE METRICA (to which the last named is appended). This is far more interesting than the other two; for though in great part a mere extract from earlier metricists, especially Victorinus, it yet furnishes many details important for literary history, partly by the citations from christian writers of latin verse, partly by the conception (which became in some cases authoritative for after times) of individual points, though indeed this was by no means peculiar to Beda personally. In regard to the conception it is specially to be remarked, that Beda, as already hinted, considers the iambic dimeter of the Ambrosian hymns as a tetrameter and so calls it (c 21), so that he regards the verses of the iambic four-line strophe merely as *uersiculi* (in him = hemistichs), of which two go to make a *uersus*. The four-line strophe of the trochaic hymns (derived from the distich of the tetrameter trochaïcus) has evidently misled him to this conception.

[8] In this view Beda follows Cassiodorus cited above 482 [in his commentary on the psalms, e g 3, 23]. It is remarkable that he so entirely identifies the vulgate with the original, as to borrow from it examples even of homoeoteleuton.

[13] See above 116 n. [Beda de arte metrica c 17 cites as example of phalaecian metre the first 15 verses from the canticum of the 'exodus' ascribed to Iuvencus (spicileg solesm I 187) without naming him as author, though elsewhere in his citations he does name his authorities, eg Iuvencus himself c 3 in a citation from the 'hist euangelica'. The verses of the canticum however are simply introduced by the words 'huius (metri) exemplum', which may warrant the inference, that even Beda in his day did not know the author. For the rest the quotation offers some noticeable readings.]

[24] So only can we explain the remarkable passage also which is cited above 171 n 2 [de arte metr c 11 *hymnos uero quos choris alternantibus canere oportet, necesse est singulis uersibus ad purum esse*

One other scientific tract, the DE NATVRA RERVM, a brief cosmography grounded on the works of the ancients, was probably published by Beda at the same time with the '*de temporibus*,' to which it comes nearest in subject-matter also. Other scientific treatises occurred in the LIBER EPISTVLARVM AD DIVERSOS; of the five letters specified in the list of his works two bear the titles DE RATIONE BISSEXTI and DE AEQVINOCTIO; of these only the latter is extant: a third is the DE SEX AETATIBVS SAECVLI addressed to Plegwinus (above 12 n 3). Lastly we still possess, not to speak of dedications, two letters of Beda's, one a short acknowledgement of help received from Albinus in the composition of the church history, the other a long treatise sent to his friend and pupil Ecgbert, after his consecration as abp of York. This letter, written not long before Beda's death, is very remarkable; containing not only, which is its immediate purpose, excellent counsels respecting the duties of the episcopate, but also illustrating the moral and ecclesiastical state of England at the time, in such a way as to discover many new details, especially as regards the monasteries.

distinctos. The 'concatenatio' (*enjambement*) was here forbidden: to understand the passage we must bear in mind, that Beda calls long lines *uersus*, short lines *uersiculi*, so that in the measure of these hymns—which indeed he calls not dimeter iambicus, but metrum iambicum tetrametrum—he comprises under one *uersus* two 'verses'.] Cf 594 n 3 [According to the view and terminology of the Anglo-Saxon metricians, as Beda, the *uersiculi* of a *uersus* always rime, as in Aldhelm's poem and the poems found with it in the ms the several pairs of rimes form a line.]

[4] He cites both together in the catalogue of his works. On the 'de natura rerum' see Schöll in Herzog 763—4. [Beda scouts astrology as heathenish.]

[20] An extract is given by Gehle 93—7 [and in biog Brit; the whole is printed in Hussey 332—344, Haddan-Stubbs councils III 314—26. A translation in Stevenson church historians I 653—64.]

INCIPIT LIBER TERTIVS

HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE GENTIS ANGLORVM.

HAEC CONTINENTVR IN LIBRO CAPITVLA.

I *Ut primi successores Aeduini regis et fidem suae gentis prodiderunt et regnum porro Osualdus Christianissimus rex utrumque restaurauit.*

II *Ut de ligno crucis quod idem rex contra barbaros pugnaturus erexerat, inter innumera sanitatum miracula, quidam a dolentis brachii sit languore curatus.*

III *Ut idem rex postulans de gente Scottorum antistitem acceperit Aidanum eidemque in insula Lindisfarnensi sedem episcopatus donauerit.*

IIII *Quando gens Pictorum fidem Christi perceperit.*

V *De uita Aidani episcopi.*

VI *De religione ac pietate miranda Osualdi regis.*

VII *Ut prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum uerbum Dei praedicante Birino susceperit; et de successoribus eius Agilbercto et Leutherio.*

VIII *Ut rex Cantuariorum Earconberct idola destrui praeceperit, et de filia eius Earcongota et propinqua Aedilbergae, sacratis Deo uirginibus.*

IX *Ut in loco in quo occisus est rex Osuald, crebra sanitatum miracula facta, utque ibi primo iumentum cuiusdam uiantis ac deinde puella sit paralitica curata.*

X *Ut puluis loci illius contra ignem ualuerit.*

XI *Ut super reliquias eius lux caelestis tota nocte steterit et ut per eas sint demoniaci curati.*

XII *Ut ad tumbam eius sit puerulus e febre curatus.*

XIII *Ut in Hibernia sit quidam per reliquias eius a mortis articulo reuocatus.*

XIIII *Ut defuncto Paulino Ithamar pro eo Hrofensis ecclesiae praesulatum susceperit et de humilitate mirabili regis Osuini, qui ab Osuiu crudeli caede peremtus est.*

XV *Ut episcopus Aidan nautis et tempestatem futuram praedixerit et oleum sanctum quo hanc sedarent dederit.*

XVI *Ut idem admotum ab hostibus urbi regiae ignem orando amouerit.*

XVII *Ut apposta ecclesiae cui idem adcumbens obierat ardente cetera domo flammis absumi nequiuerit; et de interna uita eius.*

XVIII *De uita uel morte religiosi regis Sigbercti.*

XVIIII *Ut Furseus apud Orientales Anglos monasterium fecerit, et de uisionibus uel sanctitate eius, cui etiam caro post mortem incorrupta testimonium perhibuerit.*

XX *Ut defuncto Honorio pontificatu sit functus Deusdedit; et qui tempore illo Orientalium Anglorum, qui Hrofensis ecclesiae fuerint antistites.*

XXI *Ut prouincia Mediterraneorum Anglorum sub rege Peada Christiana sit facta.*

XXII *Ut Orientales Saxones fidem quam dudum abiecerunt, sub rege Sigbercto praedicante Ceddo receperint.*

XXIII *Ut idem episcopus Cedd locum monasterii construendi ab Oidiluualdo rege accipiens orationibus ac ieiuniis Domino consecrauerit; et de obitu ipsius.*

XXIIII *Ut prouincia Merciorum occiso rege Penda fidem Christi susceperit, et Osuiu pro adepta uictoria possessiones et territoria deo ad construenda monasteria dederit.*

XXV *Ut quaestio sit mota de tempore paschae aduersus eos qui de Scottia uenerant.*

XXVI *Ut Colman uictus domum redierit et Tuda pro illo episcopatu sit functus, qualisque illis doctoribus fuerit habitus ecclesiae.*

XXVII *Ut Ecgberct uir sanctus de natione Anglorum monachicam in Hibernia uitam duxerit.*

XXVIII *Ut defuncto Tuda Vilfrid in Gallia, Ceadda apud Occidentales Saxones, in prouincia Nordanhymbrorum sint ordinati episcopi.*

XXVIIII *Ut Vighard presbyter ordinandus in archiepiscopum Romam de Brittania sit missus: quem remissa mox scripta papae apostolici ibidem obisse narrauerint.*

XXX *Ut Orientales Saxones tempore mortalitatis ad idolatriam reuersi, sed per instantiam Iarumanni episcopi mox sint ab errore correcti.*

[3] *crudili* ms.

EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA. INCIPIT IPSE LIBER.

I

AT interfecto in pugna Aeduino suscepit pro illo regnum Deirorum, de qua prouincia ille generis prosapiam et primordia regni habuerat, filius patrui eius Aelfrici uocabulo Osric, qui ad praedicationem Paulini fidei erat sacramentis inbutus. porro regnum Berniciorum, nam in has duas prouincias gens Nordanhymbrorum antiquitus diuisa erat, suscepit filius Aedilfridi qui de illa prouincia generis et regni originem duxerat, nomine Eanfrid. siquidem tempore toto quo regnauit Aeduini, filii praefati regis Aedilfridi, qui ante illum regnauerat, cum magna nobilium iuuentute apud Scottos siue Pictos exulabant ibique ad doctrinam Scottorum cathecizati et baptismatis sunt gratia recreati. qui ut mortuo rege inimico patriam sunt redire permissi, accepit primus eorum, quem diximus, Eanfrid regnum Berniciorum. qui uterque rex ut terreni regni infulas sortitus est, sacramenta regni caelestis quibus initiatus erat anathematizando prodidit ac se priscis idolatriae sordibus polluendum perdendumque restituit.

Nec mora, utrumque rex Brettonum Ceadualla impia manu sed iusta ultione peremit. et primo quidem proxima aestate Osricum, dum se in oppido municipio temerarie obsedisset, erumpens subito cum suis omnibus inparatum cum toto exercitu deleuit. dein cum anno integro prouincias Nordanhymbrorum non ut rex uictor possideret sed quasi

tyrannus saeuiens disperderet ac tragica caede dilaceraret, tandem Eanfridum inconsulte ad se cum xii lectis militibus postulandae pacis gratia uenientem simili sorte damnauit. infaustus ille annus et omnibus bonis exosus usque hodie permanet, tam propter apostasiam regum Anglorum qua se fidei sacramentis exuerant, quam propter uesanam Brettonici regis tyrrannidem. unde cunctis placuit regum tempora computantibus, ut ablata de medio regum perfidorum memoria idem annus sequentis regis, id est Osualdi uiri deo dilecti, regno adsignaretur: quo post occisionem fratris Eanfridi superueniente cum paruo exercitu sed fide Christi munito, infandus Brettonum dux, cum inmensis illis copiis quibus nihil resistere posse iactabat, interemtus est in loco qui lingua Anglorum Denisesburna, id est Riuus Denisi, uocatur.

II

OSTENDITVR autem usque hodie et in magna uenerationе habetur locus ille, ubi uenturus ad hanc pugnam Osuald signum sanctae crucis erexit ac flexis genibus dominum deprecatus est, ut in tanta rerum necessitate suis cultoribus caelesti succurreret auxilio. denique fertur quia facta citato opere cruce ac fouea praeparata in qua statui deberet, ipse fide feruens hanc arripuerit ac foueae inposuerit atque utraque manu erectam tenuerit, donec adgesto a militibus puluere terrae figeretur, et hoc facto elata in altum uoce cuncto exercitui proclamauerit: 'flectamus omnes genua et dominum omnipotentem uiuum ac uerum in commune deprecemur ut nos ab hoste superbo ac feroce sua miseratione defendat: scit enim ipse quia

7 *uesanam* C¹. *uaesaniam* ms. 24 *tenuerit* C¹. *teneret* ms.
26 *cunctui* prima manu. *cuncto exercitui* secunda.

iusta pro salute gentis nostrae bella suscepimus.' fecerunt omnes ut iusserat, et sic incipiente diluculo in hostem progressi, iuxta meritum suae fidei uictoria potiti sunt. in cuius loco orationis innumerae uirtutes sanitatum noscuntur esse patratae ad indicium uidelicet ac memoriam [fidei] regis. nam et usque hodie multi de ipso ligno sacrosanctae crucis astulas excidere solent, quas cum in aquas miserint eisque languentes homines aut pecudes potauerint siue asperserint, mox sanitati restituuntur.

Vocatur locus ille lingua Anglorum Hefenfelth, quod dici potest Latine caelestis campus, quod certo utique praesagio futurorum antiquitus nomen accepit: significans nimirum quod ibidem caeleste erigendum tropaeum caelestis inchoanda uictoria caelestia usque hodie forent miracula celebranda. est autem locus iuxta murum illum ad aquilonem quo Romani quondam ob arcendos barbarorum impetus totam a mari ad mare praecinxere Brittaniam ut supra docuimus. in quo uidelicet loco consuetudinem multo iam tempore fecerant fratres Hagustaldensis ecclesiae quae non longe abest, aduenientes omni anno pridie quam postea idem rex Osuald occisus est, uigilias pro salute animae eius facere plurimaque psalmorum laude celebrata uictimam pro eo mane sacrae oblationis offerre. qui etiam crescente bona consuetudine nuper ibidem ecclesia constructa sacratiorem et cunctis honorabiliorem locum omnibus fecere. nec inmerito, quia nullum ut comperimus fidei christianae signum nulla ecclesia nullum altare in tota Berniciorum gente erectum est, priusquam hoc sacrae crucis uexillum nouus militiae ductor dictante fidei deuotione contra hostem inmanissimum pugnaturus statueret.

Nec ab re est unum e pluribus quae ad hanc crucem

5 *fidei* from C¹. 7 *aquam* prima manu.
26 *sacratiorem* C¹. *sacrationem* ms. 31 *Nam ab* ms.

patrata sunt uirtutis miraculum enarrare. quidam de fratribus Hagustaldensis ecclesiae nomine Bothelm, qui nunc usque superest, ante paucos annos dum incautius forte noctu in glacie incederet, repente corruit, brachium contriuit ac grauissima fracturae ipsius coepit molestia fatigari, ita ut ne ad os quidem adducere ipsum brachium ullatenus dolore arcente ualeret. qui cum die quadam mane audiret unum de fratribus ad locum eiusdem sanctae crucis ascendere disposuisse, rogauit ut aliquam sibi partem de illo ligno uenerabili rediens adferret, credere se dicens quia per hoc donante domino salutem posset consequi. fecit ille ut rogatus est et reuersus ad uesperam sedentibus iam ad mensam fratribus obtulit ei aliquid de ueteri musco quo superficies ligni erat obsita. qui cum sedens ad mensam non haberet ad manum ubi oblatum sibi munus reponeret, misit hoc in sinum sibi. et dum iret cubitum oblitus hoc alicubi deponere, permisit suo in sinu permanere. at medio noctis tempore cum euigilaret, sensit nescio quid frigidi suo lateri adiacere, admotaque manu requirere quid esset, ita sanum brachium manumque repperit ac si nihil umquam tanti languoris habuisset.

III

IDEM ergo Osuald mox ubi regnum suscepit desiderans totam cui praeesse coepit gentem fidei Christianae gratia inbui, cuius experimenta permaxima in expugnandis barbaris iam ceperat, misit ad maiores natu Scottorum, inter quos exulans ipse baptismatis sacramenta cum his qui secum erant militibus consecutus erat, petens ut sibi mitteretur antistes cuius doctrina ac ministerio gens quam regebat Anglorum dominicae fidei et dona disceret et

[9] *dispossuisse* ms.

susciperet sacramenta. neque aliquanto tardius quod petiit inpetrauit: accepit namque pontificem Aedanum summae mansuetudinis et pietatis ac moderaminis uirum habentemque zelum dei quamuis non plene secundum scientiam. namque diem paschae dominicum more suae gentis, cuius saepius mentionem fecimus, a xiiii[a] luna usque ad xx[am] obseruare solebat. hoc etenim ordine septentrionalis Scottorum prouincia et omnis natio Pictorum illo adhuc tempore pascha dominicum celebrabat, aestimans se in hac obseruatione sancti ac laude digni patris Anatolii scripta secutam. quod an uerum sit, peritus quisque facillime cognoscit. porro gentes Scottorum quae in australibus Hiberniae insulae partibus morabantur iamdudum ad admonitionem apostolicae sedis antistitis pascha canonico ritu obseruare didicerunt.

Venienti igitur ad se episcopo rex locum sedis episcopalis in insula Lindisfarnensi ubi ipse petebat tribuit. qui uidelicet locus accedente ac recedente reumate bis cotidie instar insulae maris circumluitur undis, bis renudato litore contiguus terrae redditur; atque eius admonitionibus humiliter ac libenter in omnibus auscultans ecclesiam Christi in regno suo multum diligenter aedificare ac dilatare curauit. ubi pulcherrimo saepe spectaculo contigit ut euangelizante antistite qui Anglorum linguam perfecte non nouerat ipse rex suis ducibus ac ministris interpres uerbi existeret caelestis; quia nimirum tam longo exilii sui tempore linguam Scottorum iam plene didicerat. exin coepere plures per dies de Scottorum regione uenire Brittaniam atque illis Anglorum prouinciis quibus regnauit Osuald magna deuotione uerbum fidei praedicare et credentibus gratiam baptismi quicumque sacerdotali erant gradu praediti ministrare. construebantur ergo ecclesiae

[1] *susciperet* C[1]. *susceperit* ms.

per loca, confluebant ad audiendum uerbum populi gaudentes, donabantur munere regio possessiones et territoria ad instituenda monasteria, inbuebantur praeceptoribus Scottis paruuli Anglorum una cum maioribus studiis et obseruatione disciplinae regularis.

Nam monachi erant maxime qui ad praedicandum uenerant, monachus ipse episcopus Aedan utpote de insula quae uocatur Hii destinatus, cuius monasterium in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non paruo tempore arcem tenebat regendisque eorum populis praeerat: quae uidelicet insula ad ius quidem Brittaniae pertinet, non magno ab ea freto discreta, sed donatione Pictorum qui illas Brittaniae plagas incolunt iamdudum monachis Scottorum tradita, eo quod illis praedicantibus fidem Christi perceperint.

IIII

SIQVIDEM anno incarnationis dominicae d°lx°v°, quo tempore gubernaculum Romani imperii post Iustinianum Iustinus minor accepit, uenit de Hibernia presbyter et abbas habitu et uita monachi insignis nomine Columba Brittaniam, praedicaturus uerbum dei prouinciis septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est eis quae arduis atque horrentibus montium iugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratae. namque ipsi australes Picti qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes multo ante tempore ut perhibent relicto errore idolatriae fidem ueritatis acceperant, praedicante eis uerbum Nynia episcopo reuerentissimo et sanctissimo uiro de natione Brettonum, qui erat Romae regulariter fidem et mysteria ueritatis edoctus, cuius sedem episcopalem sancti Martini episcopi nomine et ecclesia

[19] *Iustinianus* ms.

insignem, ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit, iam nunc Anglorum gens obtinet. qui locus uulgo uocatur Ad Candidam Casam, eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide insolito Brettonibus more fecerit.

Venit autem Brittaniam Columba regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon rege potentissimo nono anno regni eius gentemque illam uerbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi conuertit, unde et praefatam insulam ab eis in possessionem monasterii faciendi accepit. neque enim magna est sed quasi familiarum quinque iuxta aestimationem Anglorum; quam successores eius usque hodie tenent, ubi et ipse sepultus est cum esset annorum lxxuii post annos circiter xxx et duos ex quo ipse Brittaniam praedicaturus adiit. fecerat autem priusquam Brittaniam ueniret monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum Dearmach lingua Scottorum, hoc est campus roborum, cognominatur. ex quo utroque monasterio plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos eius et in Brittania et in Hibernia propagata sunt, in quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum in quo ipse requiescit corpore principatum teneret.

Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cuius iuri et omnis prouincia et ipsi etiam episcopi ordine inusitato debeant esse subiecti, iuxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus sed presbyter extitit et monachus; de cuius uita et uerbis nonnulla a discipulis eius feruntur scripta haberi. uerum qualiscumque fuerit ipse, nos hoc de illo certum tenemus quia reliquit successores magna continentia ac diuino amore regularique institutione insignes; in tempore quidem summae festiuitatis dubios circulos sequentes, utpote quibus longe ultra orbem positis nemo synodalia paschalis obser-

[9] *locus ad prouinciam Berniciorum pertinens* C[1].
[27] *ipse* C[1]. *ipsi* ms.

uantiae decreta porrexerat; tantum ea quae in propheticis euangelicis et apostolicis litteris discere poterant pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter obseruantes. permansit autem huiusmodi obseruantia paschalis aput eos tempore non pauco, hoc est usque ad annum dominicae incarnationis dccxv per annos cl.

At tunc ueniente ad eos reuerentissimo et sanctissimo patre et sacerdote Ecgbercto de natione Anglorum, qui in Hibernia diutius exulauerat pro Christo eratque et doctissimus in scripturis et longae uitae perfectione eximius, correcti sunt per eum et ad uerum canonicumque paschae [diem] translati; quem tamen et antea non semper in luna xiiii cum Iudaeis ut quidam rebantur, sed in die quidem dominica, alia tamen quam decebat ebdomada celebrabant. sciebant enim ut Christiani resurrectionem dominicam quae prima sabbati facta est prima sabbati semper esse celebrandam; sed ut barbari et rustici, quando eadem prima sabbati, ea quae nunc dominica dies cognominatur, ueniret, minime didicerant. uerum quia gratia caritatis feruere non omiserunt, et huius quoque rei notitiam ad perfectum percipere meruerunt, iuxta promissum apostoli dicentis: 'et si quid aliter sapitis, et hoc quoque uobis deus reuelabit.' de quo plenius in sequentibus suo loco dicendum est.

V

AB hac ergo insula ab horum collegio monachorum ad prouinciam Anglorum instituendam in Christo missus est Aedan accepto gradu episcopatus. quo tempore eidem monasterio Segeni abbas et presbiter praefuit. unde inter alia uiuendi documenta saluberrimum abstinentiae uel con-

[12] *diem* from C[1]. [21] *promisum* ms.

tinentiae clericis exemplum reliquit; cuius doctrinam id maxime commendabat omnibus, quod non aliter quam uiuebat cum suis ipse docebat. nil enim huius mundi quaerere nil amare curabat. cuncta quae sibi a regibus uel diuitibus saeculi donabantur mox pauperibus qui occurrerent erogare gaudebat. discurrere per cuncta et urbana et rustica loca non equorum dorso sed pedum incessu uectus, nisi si maior forte necessitas compulisset, solebat; quatinus ubicumque aliquos uel diuites uel pauperes incedens aspexisset, confestim ad hos diuertens, uel ad fidei suscipiendae sacramentum si infideles essent inuitaret, uel si fideles, in ipsa eos fide confortaret atque ad elimosynas operumque bonorum exsecutionem et uerbis excitaret et factis.

In tantum autem uita illius a nostri temporis segnitia distabat ut omnes qui cum eo incedebant siue adtonsi seu laici meditari deberent, id est aut legendis scripturis aut psalmis discendis operam dare. hoc erat cotidianum opus illius et omnium qui cum eo erant ubicumque locorum deuenissent. et si forte euenisset, quod tamen raro euenit, ut ad regis conuiuium uocaretur, intrabat cum uno clerico aut duobus et, ubi paululum reficiebatur, adcelerauit ocius ad legendum cum suis siue ad orandum egredi. cuius exemplis informati tempore illo religiosi quique uiri ac feminae consuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum, excepta remissione quinquagesimae paschalis, iiii[a] et ui[a] sabbati ieiunium ad nonam usque horam protelare. numquam diuitibus honoris siue timoris gratia si qua delinquissent reticebat, sed aspera illos inuectione corrigebat. nullam potentibus saeculi pecuniam, excepta solum esca si quos hospitio suscepisset, umquam dare solebat, sed ea potius quae sibi a diuitibus donaria pecuniarum largiebantur, uel in usus pauperum ut diximus dispergebat, uel ad

redemtionem eorum qui iniuste fuerant uenditi dispensabat. denique multos quos pretio dato redemerat redemtos postmodum suos discipulos fecit atque ad sacerdotalem usque gradum erudiendo atque instituendo prouexit.

Ferunt autem quia, cum de prouincia Scottorum rex Osuald postulasset antistitem qui sibi suaeque genti uerbum fidei ministraret, missus fuerit primo alius austerioris animi uir qui, cum aliquandiu genti Anglorum praedicans nihil proficeret nec libenter a populo audiretur, redierit patriam atque in conuentu seniorum rettulerit quia nil prodesse docendo genti ad quam missus erat potuisset, eo quod essent homines indomabiles et durae ac barbarae mentis. at illi ut perhibent tractatum magnum in concilio quid esset agendum habere coeperunt, desiderantes quidem genti quam petebantur saluti esse, sed de non recepto quem misserant praedicatore dolentes. tum ait Aedan, nam et ipse concilio intererat, ad eum de quo agebatur sacerdotem: 'uidetur mihi, frater, quia durior iusto indoctis auditoribus fuisti et non eis iuxta apostolicam disciplinam primo lac doctrinae mollioris porrexisti, donec paulatim enutriti uerbo dei ad capienda perfectiora et ad facienda sublimiora dei praecepta sufficerent.' quo audito omnium qui considebant ad ipsum ora et oculi conuersi diligenter quid diceret discutiebant, et ipsum esse dignum episcopatu, ipsum ad erudiendos incredulos et indoctos mitti debere decernunt, qui gratia discretionis, quae uirtutum mater est, ante omnia probatur inbutus; sicque illum ordinantes ad praedicandum miserunt. qui ubi tempus accepit, sicut prius moderamine discretionis ita postmodum et ceteris uirtutibus ornatus apparuit.

[18] *indoctis* C[1]. *indoctoribus* ms.

VI

HVIVS igitur antistitis doctrina rex Osuald cum ea cui praeerat gente Anglorum institutus non solum incognita progenitoribus suis regna caelorum sperare didicit, sed et regna terrarum, plusquam ulli maiorum suorum, ab eodem uno domino qui fecit caelum et terram consecutus est. denique omnes nationes et prouincias Brittaniae, quae in iiii linguas, id est Brettonum Pictorum Scottorum et Anglorum, diuisa est, in dicione accepit.

Quo regni culmine sublimatus, nihilominus quod mirum dictu est pauperibus et peregrinis semper humilis benignus et largus fuit. denique fertur quia tempore quodam, cum die sancto paschae cum praefato episcopo consedisset ad prandium positusque esset in mensa coram eo discus argenteus regalibus epulis refertus et iamiamque essent manus ad panem benedicendum missuri, intrasse subito ministrum ipsius cui suscipiendorum inopum erat cura delegata et indicasse regi quia multitudo pauperum undecumque aduenïens maxima per plateas sederet postulans aliquid elimosynae a rege. qui mox dapes sibimet adpositas deferri pauperibus sed et discum confringi atque eisdem minutatim diuidi praecepit. quo uiso pontifex qui adsidebat delectatus tali facto pietatis adprehendit dextram eius et ait: 'nunquam inueterascat haec manus.' quod et ita iuxta uotum benedictionis eius prouenit. nam cum interfecto illo [in] pugna manus cum brachio a cetero essent corpore resectae, contigit ut hactenus incorruptae perdurent. denique in urbe regia, quae a regina quondam uocabulo Bebba

[17] *delegata* C[1] secunda manu. *deligata* prima. *diligata* ms.
[26] *in* from C[1].

cognominatur, loculo inclusae argenteo in ecclesia sancti Petri seruantur ac digno a cunctis honore uenerantur.

Huius industria regis Derorum et Berniciorum prouinciae, quae eatenus ab inuicem discordabant, in unam sunt pacem et uelut unum compaginatae in populum. erat autem nepos Aeduini regis ex sorore Acha, dignumque fuit ut tantus praecessor talem haberet de sua consanguinitate et religionis heredem et regni.

VII

EO tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum, qui antiquitus Geuissae uocantur, regnante Cynigilso fidem Christi suscepit, praedicante illis uerbum Birino episcopo qui cum consilio papae Honorii uenerat Brittaniam, promittens quidem se illo praesente in intimis ultra Anglorum partibus, quo nullus doctor praecessisset, sanctae fidei semina esse sparsurum. unde et iussu eiusdem pontificis per Asterium Genuensem episcopum in episcopatus consecratus est gradum. sed Brittaniam perueniens ac primum Geuissorum gentem ingrediens cum omnes ibidem paganissimos inueniret, utilius esse ratus est ibi potius uerbum praedicare quam ultra progrediens eos quibus praedicare deberet inquirere.

Itaque euangelizante illo in praefata prouincia, cum rex ipse cathecizatus fonte baptismi cum sua gente ablueretur, contigit tunc temporis sanctissimum ac uictoriosissimum regem Nordanhymbrorum Osualdum adfuisse eumque de lauacro exeuntem suscepisse ac pulcherrimo prorsus et deo digno consortio, cuius erat filiam accepturus in coniugem, ipsum prius secunda generatione deo dedicatum

sibi accepit in filium. donauerunt autem ambo reges eidem episcopo ciuitatem quae uocatur Dorcic ad faciendum inibi sedem episcopalem, ubi factis dedicatisque ecclesiis multisque ad dominum pio eius labore populis aduocatis migrauit ad dominum sepultusque est in eadem ciuitate et post annos multos Haedde episcopatum agente translatus inde in Ventam ciuitatem atque in ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli positus est.

Defuncto autem et rege successit in regnum filius eius Coinualch, qui et fidem ac sacramenta regni caelestis suscipere rennuit et non multo post etiam regni terrestris potentiam perdidit. repudiata enim sorore Pendan regis Merciorum quam duxerat, aliam accepit uxorem, ideoque bello petitus ac regno priuatus ab illo secessit ad regem Orientalium Anglorum cui nomen erat Anna; apud quem triennio exulans fidem cognouit ac suscepit ueritatis. nam et ipse apud quem exulabat rex erat uir bonus et bona ac sancta sobole felix, ut in sequentibus docebimus.

Cum uero restitutus esset in regnum Coinualch, uenit in prouinciam de Hibernia pontifex quidam nomine Agilberctus, natione quidem Gallus sed tunc legendarum gratia scripturarum in Hibernia non paruo tempore demoratus, coniunxitque se regi sponte ministerium praedicandi adsumens. cuius eruditionem atque industriam uidens rex rogauit eum accepta ibi sede episcopali suae genti manere pontificem. qui precibus eius adnuens, multis annis eidem genti sacerdotali iure praefuit. tandem rex qui Saxonum tantum linguam nouerat pertaesus barbarae loquellae subintroduxit in prouinciam alium suae linguae episcopum uocabulo Vini et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum; diuidensque in duas parrochias prouinciam, huic in ciuitate Venta quae a gente Saxonum Vintancaestir appellatur sedem episcopalem

[11] *rennit* C[1]. [20] *Hibernicia* ms.

tribuit: unde offensus grauiter Agilberctus, quod hoc ipso inconsulto ageret rex, rediit Galliam et accepto episcopatu Parisiacae ciuitatis ibidem senex ac plenus dierum obiit. non multis autem annis post abscessum eius a Brittania transactis pulsus et Vini ab eodem rege de episcopatu; qui secedens ad regem Merciorum uocabulo Vulfheri emit pretio ab eo sedem Lundoniae ciuitatis eiusque episcopus usque ad uitae suae terminum mansit, sicque prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum tempore non pauco absque praesule fuit.

Quo etiam tempore rex praefatus ipsius gentis grauissimis regni sui damnis saepissime ab hostibus adflictus tandem ad memoriam reduxit, quod eum pridem perfidia regno pulerit, fides agnita Christi in regnum reuocauerit, intellexitque quod etiam tunc destituta pontifice prouincia recte pariter diuino fuerit destituta praesidio. misit ergo legatarios in Galliam ad Agilberctum summissa illum satisfactione deprecans ad episcopatum suae gentis redire. at ille se excusans et uenire non posse contestans quia episcopatu propriae ciuitatis ac parrochiae teneretur adstrictus, ne tamen obnixe petenti nil ferret auxilii, misit pro se illo presbyterum Leutherium nepotem suum, qui ei si uellet ordinaretur episcopus; dicens quod ipse eum dignum esse episcopatu iudicaret. quo honorifice a populo et a rege suscepto, rogauerunt Theodorum tunc archiepiscopum Doruuernensis ecclesiae ipsum sibi antistitem consecrari; qui consecratus in ipsa ciuitate multis annis episcopatum Geuissorum ex synodica sanctione solus sedulo moderamine gessit.

VIII

ANNO dominicae incarnationis dcxl Eadbald rex Cantuariorum transiens ex hac uita Earconbercto filio regni gubernacula reliquit; quae ille susceptа xxiiii annis et aliquot mensibus nobilissime tenuit. hic primus regum Anglorum in toto regno suo idola relinqui ac destrui, simul et ieiunium xl dierum obseruari principali auctoritate praecepit. quae ne facile a quopiam posset contemni, in transgressores dignas et competentes punitiones proposuit. cuius filia Earcongotae ut condigna parenti suboles magnarum fuit uirgo uirtutum, seruiens domino in monasterio quod in regione Francorum constructum est ab abbatissa nobilissima uocabulo Fara in loco qui dicitur In Brige. nam eo tempore necdum multis in regione Anglorum monasteriis constructis, multi de Brittania monachicae conuersationis gratia Francorum uel Galliarum monasteria adire solebant, sed et filias suas eisdem erudiendas ac sponso caelesti copulandas mittebant, maxime in Brige et in Cale et in Andilegum monasterio; inter quas erat Saethryd, filia uxoris Annae regis Orientalium Anglorum cuius supra meminimus, et filia naturalis eiusdem regis Aedilberg; quae utraque cum esset peregrina, prae merito uirtutum eiusdem monasterii Brigensis est abbatissa constituta. cuius regis filia maior Sexburg uxor Earconbercti regis Cantuariorum habuit filiam Earcongotam de qua sumus dicturi.

Huius autem uirginis deo dicatae multa quidem ab incolis loci illius solent opera uirtutum et signa miraculorum usque hodie narrari. uerum nos de transitu tantum illius quo caelestia regna petiit aliquid breuiter dicere sufficiat. inminente ergo die suae uocationis coepit circuire in mo-

[27] *solent* C[1]. om ms.

nasterio casulas infirmarum Christi famularum earumque uel maxime quae uel aetate prouectae uel probitate erant morum insigniores. quarum se omnium precibus humiliter commendans, obitum proxime suum, quem reuelatione didicerat, non celauit esse futurum. quam uidelicet reuelationem huiusmodi esse perhibebat: uidisse se albatorum cateruam hominum idem monasterium intrare, hosque a se interrogatos, quid quaererent aut quid ibi uellent, respondisse quod ob hoc illo fuerint destinati, ut aureum illud nomisma quod eo de Cantia uenerat secum adsumerent. ipsa autem nocte, in cuius ultima parte id est incipiente aurora praesentis mundi tenebras transiens supernam migrauit ad lucem, multi de fratribus eiusdem monasterii, qui aliis erant in aedibus, iam manifeste se concentus angelorum psallentium audisse referebant, sed et sonitum quasi plurimae multitudinis monasterium ingredientis; unde mox egressi dignoscere quid esset, uiderunt lucem caelitus emissam fuisse permaximam, quae sanctam illam animam carnis uinculis absolutam ad aeterna patriae caelestis gaudia ducebat. addunt et alia quae ipsa nocte in monasterio eodem diuinitus fuerint ostensa miracula; sed haec nos ad alia tendentes suis narrare permittimus. sepultum est autem corpus uenerabile uirginis et sponsae Christi in ecclesia beati protomartyris Stephani; placuitque post diem tertium ut lapis quo monumentum tegebatur amoueretur et altius ipso in loco reponeretur; quod dum fieret, tantae flagrantia suauitatis ab imis ebulliuit, ut cunctis qui adstabant fratribus ac sororibus quasi opobalsami cellaria esse uiderentur aperta.

Sed et matertera eius de qua diximus Aedilberg et ipsa deo dilectam perpetuae uirginitatis gloriam in magna corporis continentia conseruauit; quae cuius esset uirtutis,

[27] *fragrantia* C[1].

magis post mortem claruit. cum enim esset abbatissa, coepit facere in monasterio suo ecclesiam in honorem omnium apostolorum, in qua suum corpus sepelliri cupiebat, sed cum opus idem ad medium ferme esset perductum, illa ne hoc perficeret morte praerepta est et in ipso ecclesiae loco ubi desiderabat condita. post cuius mortem fratribus alia magis curantibus, intermissum est hoc aedificium annis uii. quibus completis statuerunt ob nimietatem laboris huius structuram ecclesiae funditus relinquere, ossa uero abbatissae illo de loco eleuata in aliam ecclesiam quae esset perfecta ac dedicata transferre. et aperientes sepulchrum eius ita intemeratum corpus inuenere ut a corruptione concupiscentiae carnalis erat inmune; et ita denuo lotum atque aliis uestibus indutum transtulerunt illud in ecclesiam beati Stephani martyris; cuius uidelicet natalis ibi solet in magna gloria celebrari die nonarum Iuliarum.

VIIII

REGNAVIT autem Osuald Christianissimus rex Nordanhymbrorum uiiii annis, adnumerato etiam illo quem et feralis impietas regis Brettonum et apostasia demens regum Anglorum detestabilem fecerat. siquidem ut supra docuimus unanimo omnium consensu firmatum est ut nomen et memoria apostatarum de catalogo regum Christianorum prorsus aboleri deberet neque aliquis regno eorum annus adnotari. quo completo annorum curriculo occisus est commisso graui proelio ab eadem pagana gente paganoque rege Merciorum a quo et praedecessor eius Aeduini peremtus fuerat, in loco qui lingua Anglorum nuncupatur Maserfelth, anno aetatis suae xxxuiii die quinto mensis Augusti.

[29] *illo anno* C[1].

Cuius quanta uis in deum quae deuotio mentis fuerit, etiam post mortem uirtutum miraculis claruit. namque in loco ubi pro patria dimicans a paganis interfectus est, usque hodie sanitates infirmorum et hominum et pecorum celebrari non desinunt. unde contigit ut puluerem ipsum ubi corpus eius in terram conruit multi auferentes et in aquam mittentes suis per haec infirmis multum commodi adferrent. qui uidelicet mos adeo increbruit, ut paulatim ablata exinde terra fossam ad mensuram staturae uirilis altam reddiderit. nec mirandum in loco mortis illius infirmos sanari, qui semper dum uiueret infirmis et pauperibus consulere elimosynas dare opem ferre non cessabat. et multa quidem in loco illo uel de puluere loci illius facta uirtutum miracula narrantur; sed nos duo tantum quae a maioribus audiuimus referre satis duximus.

Non multo post interfectionem eius exacto tempore contigit ut quidam equo sedens iter iuxta locum ageret illum; cuius equus subito lassescere consistere caput in terram declinare spumas ex ore demittere et augescente dolore nimio in terram coepit ruere. desiluit eques et stramine substrato coepit expectare horam qua aut melioratum reciperet iumentum aut relinqueret mortuum. at ipsum diu graui dolore uexatum, cum diuersas in partes se torqueret, repente uolutando deuenit in illud loci ubi rex memorabilis occubuit. nec mora, quiescente dolore cessabat ab insanis membrorum motibus et consueto equorum more quasi post lassitudinem in diuersum latus uicissim sese uoluere, statimque exsurgens quasi sanum per omnia, uirecta herbarum auidius carpere coepit.

Quo ille uiso ut uir sagacis ingenii intellexit aliquid mirae sanctitatis huic loco quo equus est curatus inesse; et posito ibi signo non multo post ascendit equum atque

[1] *uis* ms. *fides* C[1]. [7] *adferent* ms. [21] *subtracto* ms. *substrato* C[3].

ad hospitium quo proposuerat accessit: quo dum aduenirent, inuenit puellam ibi neptem patrisfamilias longo paralysis morbo grauatam; et cum familiares domus illius de acerba puellae infirmitate ipso praesente quererentur, coepit dicere ille de loco ubi caballus suus esset curatus. quid multa? inponentes eam carro duxerunt ad locum ibidemque deposuerunt. at illa posita in loco obdormiuit parumper, et ubi euigilauit sanatam se ab illa corporis dissolutione sentiens postulata aqua ipsa lauit faciem crines composuit caput linteo cooperuit et cum his qui se adduxerant sana pedibus incedendo reuersa est.

X

EODEM tempore uenit alius quidam de natione Brettonum ut ferunt iter faciens iuxta ipsum locum in quo praefata erat pugna completa, et uidit unius loci spatium cetero campo uiridius ac uenustius; coepitque sagaci animo conicere quod nulla esset alia causa insolitae illo in loco uiriditatis nisi quia ibidem sanctior cetero exercitu uir aliquis fuisset interfectus. tulit itaque de puluere terrae illius secum inligans in linteo, cogitans quod futurum erat quia ad medellam infirmantium idem puluis proficeret; et pergens itinere suo peruenit ad uicum quendam uespere intrauitque in domum in qua uicani caenantes epulabantur; et susceptus a dominis domus resedit et ipse cum eis ad conuiuium, adpendens linteolum cum puluere quem adtulerat in una posta parietis. cumque diutius epulis atque ebrietati uacarent accenso grandi igne in medio, contigit uolantibus in altum scintillis culmen domus quod erat uirgis contextum ac foeno tectum subitaneis flammis impleri. quod cum repente conuiuae terrore confusi con-

[3] *acerua* ms. [7] *obdormuit ms.*

spicerent, fugerunt foras nil ardenti domui et iamiamque perituraे prodesse ualentes. consumpta ergo domu flammis posta solummodo[a] in qua puluis ille inclusus pendebat tuta ab ignibus et intacta remansit. qua uisa uirtute mirati sunt ualde, et perquirentes subtilius inuenerunt quia de illo loco adsumptus erat puluis ubi regis Osualdi sanguis fuerat effusus. quibus patefactis ac diffamatis longe lateque miraculis multi per dies locum frequentare illum et sanitatum ibi gratiam capere sibi suisque coeperunt.

XI

INTER quae nequaquam silentio praetereundum reor quid uirtutis ac miraculi caelestis fuerit ostensum, cum ossa eius inuenta atque ad ecclesiam in qua nunc seruantur translata sunt. factum est autem hoc per industriam reginae Merciorum Osthrydae, quae erat filia fratris eius, id est Osuiu qui post illum regni apicem tenebat, ut in sequentibus dicemus.

Est monasterium nobile in prouincia Lindissi nomine Beardaneu, quod eadem regina cum uiro suo Aedilredo multum diligebat uenerabatur excolebat, in quo desiderabat honoranda patrui sui ossa recondere; cumque uenisset carrum in quo eadem ossa ducebantur incumbente uespera in monasterium praefatum, noluerunt ea qui erant in monasterio libenter excipere; quia etsi sanctum eum nouerant, tamen quia de alia prouincia ortus fuerat et super eos regnum acceperat, ueteranis eum odiis etiam mortuum insequebantur. unde factum est ut ipsa nocte reliquiae adlatae foris permanerent, tentorio tantum maiore supra carrum in quo inerant extenso. sed miraculi caelestis ostensio quam reuerenter eae suscipiendae a cunctis fidelibus essent

[a] *solummodum* ms. *solummodo* C[1].

patefecit. nam tota ea nocte columna lucis a carro illo ad caelum usque porrecta omnibus pene eiusdem Lindissae prouinciae locis conspicua stabat. unde mane facto fratres monasterii illius, qui pridie abnuerant, diligenter ipsi petere coeperunt ut apud se eaedem sanctae ac deo dilectae reliquiae conderentur. lota igitur ossa intulerunt in thecam, quam in hoc praeparauerant, atque in ecclesia iuxta honorem congruum posuerunt; et ut regia uiri sancti persona memoriam haberet aeternam, uexillum eius super tumbam auro et purpura compositum adposuerunt ipsamque aquam in qua lauerunt ossa in angulo sacrarii fuderunt. ex quo tempore factum est ut ipsa terra, quae lauacrum uenerabile suscepit, ad abigendos ex obsessis corporibus daemones gratiae salutaris haberet effectum.

Denique tempore sequente cum praefata regina in eodem monasterio moraretur, uenit ad salutandam eam abbatissa quaedam uenerabilis quae usque hodie superest uocabulo Aedilhild, soror uirorum sanctorum Aediluini et Alduini, quorum prior episcopus in Lindissi prouincia, secundus erat abbas in monasterio quod uocatur Peartaneu, a quo non longe et illa monasterium habebat. cum ergo ueniens illo loqueretur cum regina atque inter alia sermone de Osualdo exorto diceret quod et ipsa lucem nocte illa supra reliquias eius ad caelum usque altam uidisset, adiecit regina quia de puluere pauimenti in quo aqua lauacri illius effusa est multi iam sanati essent infirmi. at illa petiit sibi portionem pulueris salutiferi dari, et accipiens inligatam panno condidit in capsella et rediit. transacto autem tempore aliquanto cum esset in suo monasterio, uenit illic quidam hospes qui solebat nocturnis saepius horis repente ab inmundo spiritu grauissime uexari; qui cum benigne susceptus post caenam in lecto membra posuisset, subito

[22] *ueniens* C[1]. om ms.

a diabolo arreptus clamare dentibus frendere spumare et diuersis motibus coepit membra torquere. cumque a nullo uel teneri uel ligari potuisset, cucurrit minister et pulsans ad ostium nuntiauit abbatissae. at illa aperiens ianuam monasterii exiuit ipsa cum una sanctimonialium feminarum ad locum uirorum, et euocans presbyterum rogauit secum uenire ad patientem. ubi cum uenientes uiderent multos adfuisse qui uexatum tenere et motus eius insanos comprimere conati nequaquam ualebant, dicebat presbyter exorcismos et quaeque poterat pro sedando miseri furore agebat. sed nec ipse quamuis multum laborans proficere aliquid ualebat. cumque nil salutis furenti superesse uideretur, repente uenit in mentem abbatissae puluis ille praefatus statimque iusit ire ministram et capsellam in qua erat adducere. et cum illa adferens quae iussa est intraret atrium domus in cuius interioribus daemoniosus torquebatur, conticuit ille subito et quasi in somnum laxatus deposuit caput, membra in quietem omnia composuit. conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant, quem res exitum haberet solliciti exspectantes. et post aliquantum horae spatium resedit qui uexabatur et grauiter suspirans 'modo' inquit 'sanum sapio, recepi enim sensum animi mei.' at illi sedulo sciscitabantur quomodo hoc contigisset. qui ait: 'mox ut uirgo haec cum capsella quam portabat adpropinquauit atrio domus huius, discessere omnes qui me premebant spiritus maligni et me relicto nusquam comparuerunt.' tunc dedit ei abbatissa portiunculam de puluere illo, et sic data oratione a presbytero noctem illam quietissimam duxit; neque aliquid ex eo tempore nocturni timoris aut uexationis ab antiquo hoste pertulit.

[22] *recipi* ms. [24] *adpropinquabit* ms.

XII

SEQVENTE dehinc tempore fuit in eodem monasterio puerulus quidam longo febrium incommodo grauiter uexatus. qui cum die quodam sollicitus horam accessionis exspectaret, ingressus ad eum quidam de fratribus 'uis' inquit, 'mi nate, doceam te quomodo cureris ab huius molestia languoris? surge ingredire ecclesiam et accedens ad sepulchrum Osualdi ibi reside et quietus manens adhaere tumbae. uide ne exeas inde nec de loco mouearis, donec hora recessionis febrium transierit. tunc ipse intrabo et educam te inde.' fecit ut ille suasserat sedentemque ad tumbam sancti infirmitas tangere nequaquam praesumsit; quin in tantum timens aufugit, ut nec secunda die nec tertia neque umquam exinde eum auderet contingere. quod ita esse gestum qui referebat mihi frater inde adueniens, adiecit quod eo adhuc tempore quo mecum loquebatur superesset in eodem monasterio iam iuuenis ille in quo tunc puero factum erat hoc miraculum sanitatis. nec mirandum preces regis illius iam cum domino regnantis multum ualere apud eum, qui temporalis regni gubernacula tenens magis pro aeterno semper laborare ac deprecari solebat.

Denique ferunt quia a tempore matutinae laudis saepius ad diem usque in orationibus perstiterit atque ob crebrum morem orandi siue gratias agendi domino semper ubicumque sedens supinas super genua sua manus habere solitus sit. uulgatum est autem et in consuetudinem prouerbii uersum quod etiam inter uerba orationis uitam finierit. nam cum armis et hostibus circumseptus iamiamque uideret se esse perimendum, orauit pro animabus exercitus sui.

unde dicunt in prouerbio: 'deus miserere animabus, dixit Osuald cadens in terram.'

Ossa igitur illius translata et condita sunt in monasterio quo diximus, porro caput et manus cum brachiis a corpore praecisas iussit rex qui occiderat in stipitibus suspendi. quo post annum ueniens cum exercitu successor regni eius Osuiu abstulit ea et caput quidem in cymeterio Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae, in regia uero ciuitate manus cum brachiis condidit.

XIII

NEC solum inclyti fama uiri Brittaniae fines lustrauit uniuersos, sed etiam trans oceanum longe radios salutiferae lucis spargens Germaniae simul et Hiberniae partes attigit. denique reuerentissimus antistes Acca solet referre quia, cum Romam uadens apud sanctissimum Fresonum gentis archiepiscopum Vilbrordum cum suo antistite Vilfrido moraretur, crebro eum audierit de mirandis quae ad reliquias eiusdem reuerentissimi regis in illa prouincia gesta fuerint narrare. sed et in Hibernia cum presbyter adhuc peregrinam pro aeterna patria duceret uitam, rumorem sanctitatis illius in ea quoque insula longe lateque iam percrebruisse ferebat; e quibus unum quod inter alia rettulit miraculum praesenti nostrae historiae inserendum credidimus.

'Tempore' inquit 'mortalitatis quae Brittaniam Hiberniamque lata strage uastauit, percussus est eiusdem clade pestis inter alios scolasticus quidam de genere Scottorum, doctus quidem uir studio litterarum, sed erga curam perpetuae suae saluationis nihil omnino studii et industriae gerens; qui cum se morti proximum uideret, timere coepit et pauere ne mox mortuus ob merita scelerum ad inferni claustra raperetur, clamauitque me, cum essem in uicinia

[18] *in* C[1]. om ms. [30] *uicina* ms.

positus, et inter aegra tremens suspiria flebili uoce talia mecum querebatur: "uides" inquit "quia iamiamque crescente corporis molestia ad articulum subeundae mortis compellor, nec dubito me post mortem corporis statim ad perpetuam animae mortem rapiendum ac infernalibus subdendum esse tormentis, qui tempore non pauco inter studia diuinae lectionis uitiorum potius inplicamentis quam diuinis solebam seruire mandatis. inest autem animo, si mihi pietas superna aliqua uiuendi spatia donauerit, uitiosos mores corrigere atque ad imperium diuinae uoluntatis totam ex integro mentem uitamque transferre. uerum noui non hoc esse meriti mei ut inducias uiuendi uel accipiam uel me accepturum esse confidam, nisi forte misero mihi et indigno uenia per auxilium eorum qui illi fideliter seruierunt propitiari dignatus fuerit. audiuimus autem, et fama creberrima, quia fuerit in gente uestra rex mirandae sanctitatis uocabulo Osuald cuius excellentia fidei et uirtutis etiam post mortem uirtutum frequentium operatione claruerit, precorque, si aliquid reliquiarum illius penes te habes, adferas mihi, si forte mihi dominus per eius meritum misereri uoluerit." at ego respondi: "habeo quidem de ligno in quo caput eius occisi a paganis infixum est, et si firmo corde credideris, potest diuina pietas per tanti meritum uiri et huius uitae spatia longiora concedere et ingressu te uitae perennis dignum reddere." nec moratus ille integram se in hoc habere fidem respondebat.

'Tum benedixi aquam et astulam roboris praefati inmittens obtuli aegro potandam. nec mora, melius habere coepit et conualescens ab infirmitate multo deinceps tempore uixit, totoque ad deum corde et opere conuersus omnibus ubicumque perueniebat clementiam pii conditoris et fidelis eius famuli gloriam praedicabat.'

[24] *ingressu* C[1]. *ingressum* ms.

XIIII

TRANSLATO ergo ad caelestia regna Osualdo suscepit regni terrestris sedem pro eo frater eius Osuiu iuuenis xxx circiter annorum, et per annos xxuiii laboriosissime tenuit, inpugnatus uidelicet et ab ea quae fratrem eius occiderat pagana gente Merciorum et a filio quoque suo Alchfrido necnon et a fratruo, id est fratris sui qui ante eum regnauit filio Oidilualdo.

Cuius anno secundo, hoc est ab incarnatione dominica anno dcxliiii, reuerentissimus pater Paulinus quondam quidem Eburacensis, sed tunc Hrofensis episcopus ciuitatis, transiuit ad dominum sexto iduum Octobrium die, qui x et uiiii annos menses duos dies xxi episcopatum tenuit, sepultusque est in secretario beati apostoli Andreae, quod rex Aedilberct a fundamentis in eadem Hrofi ciuitate construxit. in cuius locum Honorius archiepiscopus ordinauit Ithamar oriundum quidem de gente Cantuariorum sed uita et eruditione antecessoribus suis aequandum.

Habuit autem Osuiu primis regni sui temporibus consortem regiae dignitatis uocabulo Osuini de stirpe regis Aeduini, hoc est filium Osrici de quo supra rettulimus, uirum eximiae pietatis et religionis, qui prouinciae Derorum septem annis in maxima omnium rerum affluentia et ipse amabilis omnibus praefuit. sed nec cum eo ille qui ceteram Transhumbranae gentis partem ab aquilone, id est Berniciorum prouinciam, regebat habere pacem potuit; quin potius ingrauescentibus causis dissensionum miserrima hunc caede peremit. siquidem congregato contra inuicem exercitu cum uideret se Osuini cum illo qui plures habebat auxiliarios non posse bello confligere, ratus est utilius tunc demissa

[26] *ingrauiscentibus* ms. [27] *dissentionum* ms.

intentione bellandi seruare se ad tempora meliora. remisit ergo exercitum quem congregauerat ac singulos domum redire praecepit a loco qui uocatur Vilfaraesdun, id est mons Vilfari, et est a uico Cataractone x ferme milibus passuum contra solstitialem occasum secretus, diuertitque ipse cum uno tantum milite sibi fidissimo nomine Tondheri celandus in domum comitis Hunualdi, quem etiam ipsum sibi amicissimum autumabat. sed heu pro dolor! longe aliter erat: nam ab eodem comite proditum eum Osuiu cum praefato ipsius milite per praefectum suum Ediluinum detestanda omnibus morte interfecit. quod factum est die xiii kalendarum Septembrium anno regni eius nono in loco qui dicitur Ingetlingum, ubi postmodum castigandi huius facinoris gratia monasterium constructum est, in quo pro utriusque regis, et occisi uidelicet et eius qui occidere iussit, animae redemtione cotidie domino preces offerri deberent.

Erat autem rex Osuini et aspectu uenustus et statura sublimis et affatu iucundus et moribus ciuilis et manu omnibus, id est nobilibus simul atque ignobilibus, largus, unde contigit ut ob regiam eius et animi et uultus et meritorum dignitatem ab omnibus diligeretur et undique ad eius ministerium de cunctis prope prouinciis uiri etiam nobilissimi concurrerent. cuius inter ceteras uirtutis et modestiae et, ut ita dicam, specialis benedictionis glorias etiam maxima fuisse fertur humilitas, ut uno probare sat erit exemplo.

Donauerat equum optimum antistiti Aidano in quo ille, quamuis ambulare solitus, uel amnium fluenta transire uel si alia quaelibet necessitas insisteret uiam peragrare posset. cui cum paruo interiecto tempore pauper quidam occurreret elimosynam petens, desiliens ille praecepit equum ita ut erat stratus regaliter paupĕri dari; erat enim multum miseri-

[5] *solemstitialem* ms. [23] *prouincis* ms.

cors et cultor pauperum ac uelut pater miserorum. hoc cum regi esset relatum, dicebat episcopo cum forte ingressuri essent ad prandium: 'quid uoluisti, domine antistes, equum regium quem te conueniebat proprium habere pauperi dare? numquid non habuimus equos uiliores plurimos uel alias species quae ad pauperum dona sufficerent, quamuis illum eis equum non dares quem tibi specialiter possidendum elegi?' cui statim episcopus 'quid loqueris' inquit, 'rex? numquid tibi carior est ille filius equae quam ille filius dei?' quibus dictis intrabant ad prandendum. et episcopus quidem residebat in suo loco: porro rex, uenerat enim de uenatu, coepit consistens ad focum calefieri cum ministris, et repente inter calefaciendum recordans uerbum quod dixerat illi antistes, discinxit se gladio suo et dedit illum ministro, festinusque accedens ante pedes episcopi conruit postulans ut sibi placatus esset, 'quia numquam' inquit 'deinceps aliquid loquar de hoc aut iudicabo quid uel quantum de pecunia nostra filiis dei tribuas'. quod uidens episcopus multum pertimuit ac statim exsurgens leuauit eum, promittens se multum illi esse placatum, dum modo ille residens ad epulas tristitiam deponeret. dumque rex iubente ac postulante episcopo laetitiam reciperet, coepit e contra episcopus tristis usque ad lacrimarum profusionem effici. quem dum presbyter suus lingua patria, quam rex et domestici eius non nouerant, quare lacrimaretur interrogasset, 'scio' inquit 'quia non multo tempore uicturus est rex, nunquam enim ante haec uidi humilem regem. unde animaduerto illum citius ex hac uita rapiendum, non enim digna est haec gens talem habere rectorem.' nec multo post dira antistitis praesagia tristi regis funere de quo supra diximus impleta sunt.

Sed et ipse antistes Aidan non plus quam xii° post occisionem regis quem amabat die, id est pridie kalen-

das Septembres de saeculo ablatus perpetua laborum suorum a domino praemia recepit.

XV

QVI cuius meriti fuerit etiam miraculorum signis internus arbiter edocuit, e quibus tria memoriae causa ponere satis sit. presbyter quidam nomine Vtta multae grauitatis ac ueritatis uir et ob id omnibus, etiam ipsis principibus saeculi honorabilis, cum mitteretur Cantiam ob adducendam inde coniugem regi Osuio filiam uidelicet Aeduini regis Eanfledam, quae occisso patre illuc fuerat adducta: qui terrestri quidem itinere illo uenire sed nauigio cum uirgine redire disponebat, accessit ad episcopum Aidanum obsecrans eum pro se suisque qui tantum iter erant adgressuri domino supplicare. qui benedicens illos ac domino commendans, dedit etiam oleum sanctificatum 'scio' inquiens 'quia ubi nauem ascenderitis tempestas uobis et uentus contrarius superueniet, sed tu memento ut hoc oleum quod tibi do mittas in mare; et statim quiescentibus uentis serenitas maris uos laeta prosequetur ac cupito itinere domum remittet.' quae cuncta ut praedixerat antistes ex ordine completa sunt, et quidem inprimis furentibus undis pelagi temtabant nautae anchoris in mare missis nauem retinere, neque hoc agentes aliquid proficiebant. cumque uerrentibus undique et implere incipientibus nauem fluctibus mortem sibi omnes inminere et iamiamque adesse uiderent, tandem presbyter reminiscens uerba antistitis, adsumta ampulla misit de oleo in pontum, et statim ut praedictum erat suo quieuit a feruore. sicque factum est ut uir dei et per prophetiae spiritum tempestatem praedixerit futuram et per uirtutem eiusdem spiritus hanc exortam, quamuis corpora-

[26] *ampula* ms.

liter absens, sopiuerit. cuius ordinem miraculi non quilibet dubius relator sed fidelissimus mihi nostrae ecclesiae presbyter Cynimund uocabulo narrauit, qui se hoc ab ipso Vtta presbytero in quo et per quem completum est audisse perhibebat.

XVI

ALIUD eiusdem patris memorabile miraculum ferunt multi qui nosse potuerunt. nam tempore episcopatus eius hostilis Merciorum exercitus Penda duce Nordanhymbrorum regiones impia clade longe lateque deuastans peruenit ad urbem usque regiam, quae ex Bebbae quondam reginae uocabulo cognominatur, eamque quia neque armis neque obsidione capere poterat, flammis absumere conatus est: discissisque uiculis quos in uicinia urbis inuenit aduexit illo plurimam congeriem trabium tignorum parietum uirgeorum et tecti fenei, et his urbem in magna altitudine circumdedit a parte qua terrae est contigua, et dum uentum oportunum cerneret, inlato igne comburere urbem nisus est. quo tempore reuerentissimus antistes Aidan in insula Farne quae duobus ferme milibus passuum ab urbe procul abest morabatur; illo enim saepius secretae orationis et silentii causa secedere consuerat; denique usque hodie locum sedis illius solitariae in eadem insula solent ostendere. qui cum uentis ferentibus globos ignis ac fumum supra muros urbis exaltari conspiceret, fertur eleuatis ad caelum oculis manibusque cum lacrimis dixisse: 'uide, domine, quanta mala facit Penda.' quo dicto statim mutati ab urbe uenti in eos qui accenderant flammarum incendia retorserunt, ita ut aliquot laesi omnes territi inpugnare ultra urbem cessarent quam diumitus iuuari cognouerant.

24 *uicina* m[e] 30 *cognouerunt* prima manu. *-ant* sec.

XVII

HVNC cum dies mortis egredi e corpore cogeret, completis annis episcopatus sui xvi, erat in uilla regia non longe ab urbe de qua praefati sumus. in hac enim habens ecclesiam et cubiculum saepius ibidem diuerti ac manere atque inde ad praedicandum circumquaque exire consueuerat; quod ipsum et in aliis uillis regis facere solebat, utpote nil propriae possessionis excepta ecclesia sua et adiacentibus agellis habens. tetenderunt ergo ei aegrotanti tentorium ad occidentalem ecclesiae partem ita ut ipsum tentorium parieti haereret ecclesiae. unde factum est ut adclinis destinae, quae extrinsecus ecclesiae pro munimine erat adposita, spiritum uitae exhalaret ultimum. obiit autem septimo decimo episcopatus sui anno pridie kalendarum Septembrium. cuius corpus mox inde translatum ad insulam Lindisfarnensium atque in cymiterio fratrum sepultum est. at interiecto tempore aliquanto, cum fabricata esset ibi basilica maior atque in honorem beatissimi apostolorum principis dedicata, illo ossa eius translata atque ad dexteram altaris iuxta uenerationem tanto pontifice dignam condita sunt.

Successit uero ei in episcopatum Finan et ipse illo ab Hii Scottorum insula ac monasterio destinatus, ac tempore non pauco in episcopatu permansit. contigit autem post aliquot annos ut Penda Merciorum rex cum hostili exercitu haec in loca perueniens cum cuncta quae poterat ferro flammaque perderet, uicus quoque in quo antistes obiit una cum ecclesia memorata flammis absumeretur. sed mirum in modum sola illa destina cui incumbens obiit ab ignibus

[3] *erat* om ms. [22] *distinatus* ms. [27] *quoque ille* C[1].

circum cuncta uorantibus absumi non potuit. quo clarescente miraculo mox ibidem ecclesia restaurata et haec eadem destina in munimentum est parietis, ut ante fuerat, forinsecus adposita. rursumque peracto tempore aliquanto euenit per culpam incuriae uicum eundem et ipsam pariter ecclesiam ignibus consumi. sed ne tunc quidem eandem tangere flamma destinam ualebat; et cum magno utique miraculo ipsa eius foramina ingrediens quibus aedificio erat adfixa perederet, ipsam tamen laedere nullatenus sinebatur. unde tertio aedificata ibi ecclesia destinam illam non ut antea deforis in fulcimentum domus adposuerunt, sed intro ipsam ecclesiam in memoriam miraculi posuerunt, ubi intrantes genu flectere ac misericordiae caelesti supplicare deberent. constatque multos ex eo tempore gratiam sanitatis in eodem loco consecutos; quin etiam astulis ex ipsa destina excisis et in aquam missis plures sibi suisque languorum remedia conquisiere.

Scripsi autem haec de persona et operibus uiri praefati, nequaquam in eo laudans uel eligens hoc quod de obseruatione paschae minus perfecte sapiebat; immo hoc multum detestans, sicut in libro quem de temporibus composui manifestissime probaui; sed quasi uerax historicus simpliciter ea quae de illo siue per illum sunt gesta describens et quae laude sunt digna in eius actibus laudans atque ad utilitatem legentium memoriae commendans; studium uidelicet pacis et caritatis continentiae et humilitatis, animum irae et auaritiae uictorem, superbiae simul et uanae gloriae contemtorem, industriam faciendi simul et docendi mandata caelestia, solertiam lectionis et uigiliarum, auctoritatem sacerdote dignam redarguendi superbos ac potentes, pariter et infirmos consolandi ac pauperes recreandi uel defendendi clementiam. qui, ut breuiter multa comprehendam, quantum ab eis qui illum nouere didicimus, nil ex

omnibus, quae in euangelicis uel apostolicis siue propheticis litteris facienda cognouerat, praetermittere sed cuncta pro suis uiribus operibus explere curabat. haec in praefato antistite multum complector et amo, quia nimirum haec deo placuisse non ambigo. quod autem pascha non suo tempore obseruabat uel canonicum eius tempus ignorans uel suae gentis auctoritate ne agnitum sequeretur deuictus, non adprobo nec laudo. in quo tamen hoc adprobo, quia in celebratione sui paschae non aliud corde tenebat uenerabatur et praedicabat, quam quod nos, id est redemtionem generis humani per passionem resurrectionem ascensionem in caelos mediatoris dei et hominum hominis Iesu Christi. unde et hanc non, ut quidam falso opinantur, xiiij[a] luna in qualibet feria cum Iudaeis sed die dominica semper agebat, a luna xiiij[a] usque ad xx[am]; propter fidem uidelicet dominicae resurrectionis quam una sabbati factam, propterque spem nostrae resurrectionis quam eadem una sabbati quae nunc dominica dies dicitur ueraciter futuram cum sancta ecclesia credebat.

XVIII

HIS temporibus regno Orientalium Anglorum, post Earpualdum Redualdi successorem, Sigberct frater eius praefuit homo bonus ac religiosus; qui dudum in Gallia dum inimicitias Redualdi fugiens exularet lauacrum baptismi percepit et patriam reuersus, ubi regno potitus est, mox ea quae in Galliis bene disposita uidit imitari cupiens instituit scholam in qua pueri litteris erudirentur, iuuante se episcopo Felice quem de Cantia acceperat eisque pedagogos ac magistros iuxta morem Cantuariorum praebente.

Tantumque rex ille caelestis regni amator factus est ut

[26] *Gallis* ms. [27] *litteriis* ms.

ad ultimum relictis regni negotiis et cognato suo Ecgrice commendatis, qui et antea partem eiusdem regni tenebat, intraret monasterium quod sibi fecerat atque accepta tonsura pro aeterno magis regno militare curaret. quod dum multo tempore faceret, contigit gentem Merciorum duce rege Penda aduersus Orientales Anglos in bellum procedere qui, dum se inferiores in bello hostibus conspicerent, rogauerunt Sigberctum ad confirmandum militem secum uenire in proelium. illo nolente ac contradicente, inuitum monasterio eruentes duxerunt in certamen, sperantes minus animos militum trepidare, minus praesente duce quondam strenuissimo et eximio posse fugam meditari. sed ipse professionis suae non inmemor, dum optimo esset uallatus exercitu, nonnisi uirgam tantum habere in manu uoluit; occisusque est una cum rege Ecgrice, et cunctus eorum insistentibus paganis caesus siue dispersus exercitus.

Successor autem regni eorum factus est Anna filius Eni de regio genere uir optimus atque optimae genitor sobolis, de quibus in sequentibus suo tempore dicendum est; qui et ipse postea ab eodem pagano Merciorum duce, a quo et praedecessor eius, occisus est.

XIX

VERVM dum adhuc Sigberct regni infulas teneret, superuenit de Hibernia uir sanctus nomine Furseus uerbo et actibus clarus sed et egregiis insignis uirtutibus, cupiens pro domino ubicumque sibi oportunum inueniret peregrinam ducere uitam. qui cum ad prouinciam Orientalium peruenisset Anglorum, susceptus est honorifice a rege praefato,

[3] *intrauit* ms. [13] *opimo* ms. [23] *infolas* ms.

et solitum sibi opus euangelizandi exsequens multos et exemplo uirtutis et incitamento sermonis uel incredulos ad Christum conuertit uel iam credentes amplius in fide atque amore Christi confirmauit.

Vbi quadam infirmitate corporis arreptus angelica meruit uisione perfrui, in qua admonitus est coepto uerbi ministerio sedulus insistere uigiliisque consuetis et orationibus indefessus incumbere, eo quod certus sibi exitus sed incerta eiusdem exitus esset hora futura, dicente domino: 'uigilate itaque, quia nescitis diem neque horam.' qua uisione confirmatus curauit locum monasterii, quem a praefato rege Sigbercto acceperat, uelocissime construere ac regularibus instituere disciplinis. erat autem monasterium siluanum et maris uicinitate amoenum, constructum in castro quodam quod lingua Anglorum Cnobheresburg, id est urbs Cnobheri, uocatur, quod deinde rex prouinciae illius Anna ac nobiles quique augustioribus aedificiis ac donariis adornarunt. erat autem uir iste de nobilissimo genere Scottorum, sed longe animo quam carne nobilior. ab ipso tempore pueritiae suae curam non modicam lectionibus sacris simul et monasticis exhibebat disciplinis et, quod maxime sanctos decet, cuncta quae agenda didicerat sollicitus agere curabat.

Quid multa? procedente tempore et ipse sibi monasterium in quo liberius caelestibus studiis uacaret construxit; ubi correptus infirmitate, sicut libellus de uita eius conscriptus sufficienter edocet, raptus est e corpore et a uespera usque ad galli cantum corpore exutus angelicorum agminum et aspectus intueri et laudes beatas meruit audire. referre autem erat solitus quod aperte eos inter alia resonare audiret: 'ibunt sancti de uirtute in uirtutem.' et iterum: 'uidebitur deus deorum in Sion.' qui reductus in corpore

[17] *donaris* ms.

et die tertia rursum eductus uidit non solum maiora beatorum gaudia, sed et maxima malignorum spirituum certamina, qui crebris accusationibus inprobi iter illi caeleste intercludere contendebant, nec tamen protegentibus eum angelis quicquam proficiebant. de quibus omnibus si quis plenius scire uult,—id est quanta fraudis sollertia daemones et actus eius et uerba superflua et ipsas etiam cogitationes quasi in libro descriptas replicauerint, quae ab angelis sanctis, quae a uiris iustis sibi inter angelos apparentibus laeta uel tristia cognouerit,—legat ipsum de quo dixi libellum uitae eius, et multum ex illo ut reor profectus spiritalis accipiet.

In quibus tamen unum est quod et nos in hac historia ponere multis commodum duximus. cum ergo in altum esset elatus, iussus est ab angelis qui eum ducebant respicere in mundum. at ille oculos in inferiora deflectens uidit quasi uallem tenebrosam subtus se in imo positam. uidit et quattuor ignes in aere non multo ab inuicem spatio distantes. et interrogans angelos qui essent hi ignes audiuit hos esse ignes qui mundum succendentes essent consumturi. unum mendacii, cum hoc quod in baptismo abrenuntiare nos Satanae et omnibus operibus eius promisimus minime implemus: alterum cupiditatis, cum mundi diuitias amori caelestium praeponimus: tertium dissensionis, cum animos proximorum etiam in superuacuis rebus offendere non formidamus: quartum impietatis, cum infirmiores spoliare et eis fraudem facere pro nihilo dicimus. crescentes uero paulatim ignes usque ad inuicem sese extenderunt atque in inmensam adunati sunt flammam. cumque adpropinquassent, pertimescens ille dicit angelo: 'domine, ecce ignis mihi adpropinquat.' at ille 'quod non incendisti' inquit 'non ardebit in te; nam etsi terribilis iste ac grandis

5 *si qui* ms. 8 *replicauerunt* ms. 24 *dissentionis* ms. 26 *quartus* ms.

esse rogus uidetur, tamen iuxta merita operum singulos examinat, quia uniuscuiusque cupiditas in hoc igni ardebit. sicut enim quis ardet in corpore per inlicitam uoluptatem, ita solutus corpore ardebit per debitam poenam.' tunc uidit unum de tribus angelis qui sibi in tota utraque uisione ductores adfuerunt praecedentem ignes flammae diuidere, et duos ab utroque latere circumuolantes ab ignium se periculo defendere. uidit autem et daemones per ignem uolantes incendia bellorum contra iustos struere. sequuntur aduersus ipsum accusationes malignorum defensiones spirituum bonorum, copiosior caelestium agminum uisio, sed et uirorum de sua natione sanctorum, quos olim sacerdotii gradu non ignobiliter potitos fama iam uulgante compererat; a quibus non pauca quae uel ipsi uel omnibus qui audire uellent multum salubria essent audiuit. qui cum uerba finissent et cum angelicis spiritibus ipsi quoque ad caelos redirent, remanserunt cum beato Furseo tres angeli de quibus diximus, qui eum ad corpus referrent. cumque praefato igni maximo adpropiarent, diuisit quidem angelus sicut prius ignem flammae. sed uir dei ubi ad patefactam usque inter flammas ianuam peruenit, arripientes inmundi spiritus unum de eis quos in ignibus torrebant iactauerunt in eum et contingentes humerum maxillamque eius incenderunt, cognouitque hominem et, quia uestimentum eius morientis acceperit, ad meriam reduxit. quem angelus sanctus statim adprehendens in ignem reiecit. dicebatque hostis malignus: 'nolite repellere quem ante suscepistis: nam sicut bona eius peccatoris suscepistis, ita et de poenis eius participes esse debetis.' contradicens angelus 'non' inquit 'propter auaritiam sed propter saluandam eius animam suscepit:' cessauitque ignis. et conuersus ad eum angelus 'quod incendisti' inquit 'hoc arsit in te. si enim huius uiri in peccatis suis mortui pe-

[8] *uoluntatem* ms. [12] *natio* ms. [28] *debeatis* ms.

cuniam non accepisses, nec poena eius in te arderet.' et plura locutus quid erga salutem eorum qui ad mortem poeniterent esset agendum salubri sermone docuit. qui postmodum in corpore restitutus omni uitae suae tempore signum incendii quod in anima pertulit uisibile cunctis in humero maxillaque portauit: mirumque in modum quod anima in occulto passa sit caro palam praemonstrabat. curabat autem semper, sicut et antea facere consuerat, omnibus opus uirtutum et exemplis ostendere et praedicare sermonibus. ordinem autem uisionum suarum illis solummodo qui propter desiderium compunctionis interrogabant exponere uolebat. superest adhuc frater quidam senior monasterii nostri qui narrare solet dixisse sibi quendam multum ueracem ac religiosum hominem quod ipsum Furseum uiderit in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum illasque uisiones ex ipsius ore audierit; adiciens quia tempus hiemis fuerit acerrimum et glacie constrictum, cum sedens in tenui ueste uir ita inter dicendum propter magnitudinem memorati timoris uel suauitatis quasi in mediae aestatis caumate sudauerit.

Cum ergo, ut ad superiora redeamus, multis annis in Scottia uerbum dei omnibus adnuntians tumultus inruentium turbarum non facile ferret, relictis omnibus quae habere uidebatur, ab ipsa quoque insula patria discessit et paucis cum fratribus per Brettones in prouinciam Anglorum deuenit ibique praedicans uerbum, ut diximus, monasterium nobile construxit. quibus rite gestis, cupiens se ab omnibus saeculi huius et ipsius quoque monasterii negotiis alienare reliquit monasterii et animarum curam fratri suo Fullano et presbyteris Gobbano et Dicullo, et ipse ab omnibus mundi rebus liber in anachoretica conuersatione uitam finire dis-

[1] *accipisses* ms. [12] *quidem* ms. [17] *accerrimum* ms. [21] *anchorita* ms.

posuit. habuit alterum fratrem uocabulo Vltanum, qui de monasterii probatione diuturna ad heremiticam peruenerat uitam. hunc ergo solus petens annum totum cum eo in continentia et orationibus in cotidianis manuum uixit laboribus.

Dein turbatam incursione gentilium prouinciam uidens et monasteriis quoque periculum inminere praeuidens, dimissis ordinate omnibus nauigauit Galliam, ibique a rege Francorum Hloduio uel patricio Ercunualdo honorifice susceptus monasterium construxit in loco Latineaco nominato, ac non multo post infirmitate correptus diem clausit ultimum. cuius corpus idem Ercunualdus patricius accipiens seruauit in porticu quodam ecclesiae quam in uilla sua, cui nomen est Perrona, faciebat, donec ipsa ecclesia dedicaretur. quod dum post dies xxuii esset factum et corpus ipsum de porticu ablatum prope altare esset recondendum, inuentum est ita inlesum, ac si eadem hora de hac luce fuisset egressus. sed et post annos iiii constructa domuncula cultiore receptui corporis eiusdem ad orientem altaris, adhuc sine macula corruptionis inuentum ibidem digno cum honore translatum est; ubi merita illius multis saepe constat deo operante claruisse uirtutibus. haec de corporis eius incorruptione breuiter attigimus, ut quanta esset uiri sublimitas legentibus notius existeret. quae cuncta in libello eius sufficientius sed et de aliis commilitonibus ipsius quisque legerit inueniet.

XX

INTEREA defuncto Felice Orientalium Anglorum episcopo post x et uii annos accepti episcopatus, Honorius loco eius ordinauit Thomam diaconum eius de prouincia

7 *dimisis* ms. 23 *attingimus* ms.

Gyruiorum: et hoc post quinque annos sui episcopatus de hac uita subtracto Berctgilsum cognomine Bonifatium de prouincia Cantuariorum loco eius substituit. et ipse quoque Honorius postquam metas sui cursus inpleuit, ex hac luce migrauit anno ab incarnatione domini dcliii pridie kalendarum Octobrium, et cessante episcopatu per annum et sex menses electus est archiepiscopus cathedrae Doruernensis sextus Deusdedit de gente Occidentalium Saxonum: quem ordinaturus uenit illuc Ithamar antistes ecclesiae Hrofensis. ordinatus est autem die uiimo kalendarum Aprilium et rexit ecclesiam annos uiiii menses iiii et duos dies; et ipse defuncto Ithamar consecravit pro eo Damianum qui de genere Australium Saxonum erat oriundus.

XXI

HIS temporibus Middilangli, id est Mediterranei Angli, sub principe Peada filio Pendan regis fidem et sacramenta ueritatis perceperunt. qui cum esset iuuenis optimus ac regis nomine ac persona dignissimus, praelatus est a patre regno gentis illius uenitque ad regem Nordanhymbrorum Osuiu, postulans filiam eius Alchfledam sibi coniugem dari: neque aliter quod petebat inpetrare potuit, nisi fidem Christi ac baptisma cum gente cui praeerat acciperet. at ille audita praedicatione ueritatis et promissione regni caelestis speque resurrectionis ac futurae inmortalitatis, libenter se Christianum fieri uelle confessus est, etiamsi uirginem non acciperet: persuasus maxime ad percipiendam fidem a filio regis Osuiu nomine Alchfrido, qui erat cognatus et amicus

11 *uii* corr in *iiii* ms. 23 *acceperit* ms. 27 *acceperet* ms.

eius, habens sororem ipsius coniugem uocabulo Cyniburgam filiam Pendan regis.

Baptizatus est ergo a Finano episcopo cum omnibus qui secum uenerant comitibus ac militibus eorumque famulis uniuersis in uico regis inlustri qui uocatur Ad Murum. et acceptis iiii presbyteris, qui ad docendam baptizandamque gentem illius et eruditione et uita uidebantur idonei, multo cum gaudio reuersus est. erant autem presbyteri Cedd et Adda et Betti et Diuma, quorum ultimus natione Scottus, ceteri fuere de Anglis. Adda autem erat frater Vttan, presbyteri inlustris et abbatis monasterii quod uocatur Ad Caprae Caput, cuius supra meminimus. uenientes ergo in prouinciam memorati sacerdotes cum principe praedicabant uerbum et libenter auditi sunt, multique cotidie et nobilium et infirmorum abrenuntiata sorde idolatriae fidei sunt fonte abluti.

Nec prohibuit Penda rex quin etiam in sua, hoc est Merciorum, natione uerbum, si qui uellent audire, praedicaretur. quin potius odio habebat et despiciebat[19] eos quos fide Christi inbutos opera fidei non habere deprehendit, dicens contemnendos esse eos et miseros qui deo suo in quem crederent oboedire contemnerent. coepta sunt haec biennio ante mortem Pendan regis. ipso autem occiso cum Osuiu rex Christianus regnum eius acciperet ut in sequentibus dicemus, factus est Diuma unus ex praefatis iiii sacerdotibus episcopus Mediterraneorum Anglorum simul et Merciorum, ordinatus a Finano episcopo. paucitas enim sacerdotum cogebat unum antistitem duobus populis praefici. qui cum pauco sub tempore non paucam domino plebem adquisisset, defunctus est apud Mediterraneos Anglos in regione quae uocatur Infeppingum. suscepit pro illo episcopatum Ceollach et ipse de natione Scottorum, qui

[19] *dispiciebat* ms.

non multo post relicto episcopatu reuersus est ad insulam Hii ubi plurimorum caput et arcem Scotti habuere coenobiorum, succedente illi in episcopatum Trumheri uiro religioso et monachica uita instituto, natione quidem Anglo sed a Scottis ordinato episcopo. quod temporibus Vulfheri regis, de quo in sequentibus dicemus, factum est.

XXII

EO tempore etiam Orientales Saxones fidem, quam olim expulso Mellito antistite abiecerant, instantia regis Osuiu receperunt. erat enim rex eiusdem gentis Sigberct, qui post Sigberctum cognomento paruum regnauit, amicus eiusdem Osuiu regis, qui cum frequenter ad eum in prouinciam Nordanhymbrorum ueniret, solebat eum hortari ad intellegendum deos esse non posse qui hominum manibus facti essent, dei creandi materiam lignum uel lapidem esse non posse, quorum recisurae uel igni absumerentur uel in uasa quaelibet humani usus formarentur uel certe despectui habita foras proicerentur et pedibus conculcata in terram uerterentur. deum potius intellegendum maiestate incomprehensibilem humanis oculis inuisibilem omnipotentem aeternum, qui caelum et terram et humanum genus creasset regeret et iudicaturus esset orbem in aequitate, cuius sedes aeterna non in uili et caduco metallo sed in caelis esset credenda, meritoque intellegendum quia omnes, qui uoluntatem eius a quo creati sunt discerent et facerent, aeterna ab illo praemia essent percepturi. haec et huiusmodi multa cum rex Osuiu regi Sigbercto amicali et quasi fraterno consilio saepe inculcaret, tandem iuuante amicorum consensu credidit et facto cum suis consilio cum exortatione fauenti-

17 *dispectui* ms.

bus cunctis et adnuentibus fidei baptizatus est cum eis a Finano episcopo in uilla regia cuius supra meminimus, quae cognominatur Ad Murum. est enim iuxta murum, quo olim Romani Brittaniam insulam praecincxere, xii milibus passuum a mari orientali secreta.

Igitur rex Sigberct aeterni regni iam ciuis effectus temporalis sui regni sedem petiit, postulans ab Osuiu rege ut aliquos sibi doctores daret, qui gentem suam ad fidem Christi conuerterent ac fonte salutari abluerent. at ille mittens ad prouinciam Mediterraneorum Anglorum clamauit ad se uirum dei Cedd, et dato illi socio altero quodam presbytero misit praedicare uerbum genti Orientalium Saxonum. ubi cum omnia perambulantes multam domino ecclesiam congregassent, contigit tempore quodam eundem Cedd redire domum ac peruenire ad ecclesiam Lindisfaronensem propter conloquium Finani episcopi. qui ubi prosperatum ei opus euangelii comperit, fecit eum episcopum in gentem Orientalium Saxonum uocatis ad se in ministerium ordinationis aliis duobus episcopis. qui accepto gradu episcopatus rediit ad prouinciam et maiore auctoritate coeptum opus explens fecit per loca ecclesias, presbyteros et diaconos ordinauit qui se in uerbo fidei et ministerio baptizandi adiuuarent, maxime in ciuitate quae lingua Saxonum Ythancaestir appellatur, sed et in illa quae Tilaburg cognominatur; quorum prior locus est in ripa Pentae amnis, secundus in ripa Tamensis. in quibus collecto examine famulorum Christi disciplinam uitae regularis, in quantum rudes adhuc capere poterant, custodire docuit.

Cumque tempore non pauco in praefata prouincia gaudente rege congaudente uniuerso populo uitae caelestis institutio cotidianum sumeret augmentum, contigit ipsum regem instigante omnium bonorum inimico propinquorum

[98] *custodiri* ms.

suorum manu interfici. erant autem duo germani fratres qui hoc facinus patrarunt; qui cum interrogarentur quare hoc facerent, nil aliud respondere potuerunt, nisi ob hoc se iratos fuisse et inimicos regi, quod ille nimium suis parcere soleret inimicis et factas ab eis iniurias mox obsecrantibus placida mente demitteret. talis erat culpa regis pro qua occideretur, quod euangelica praecepta deuoto corde seruaret: in qua tamen eius morte innoxia iuxta praedictum uiri dei uera est eius culpa punita. habuerat enim unus ex his qui eum occiderunt comitibus inlicitum coniugium, quod cum episcopus prohibere et corrigere non posset, excommunicauit eum atque omnibus qui se audire uellent praecepit ne domum eius intrarent neque de cibis illius acciperent. contemsit autem rex praeceptum, et rogatus a comite intrauit epulaturus domum eius. qui cum abisset, obuiauit ei antistes, at rex intuens eum mox tremefactus desiluit equo ceciditque ante pedes eius ueniam reatus postulans. nam et episcopus pariter desiluit, sederat enim et ipse in equo. iratus autem tetigit regem iacentem uirga quam tenebat manu et pontificali auctoritate protestatus 'dico tibi' inquit 'quia noluisti te continere a domu perditi et damnati illius, tu in ipsa domu mori habes.' sed credendum est quia talis mors uiri religiosi non solum talem culpam diluerit, sed etiam meritum eius auxerit: quia nimirum ob causam pietatis, quia propter obseruantiam mandatorum Christi contigit.

Successit autem Sigbercto in regnum Suidhelm filius Sexbaldi, qui baptizatus est ab ipso Cedde in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum in uico regio qui dicitur Rendlaesham, id est mansio Rendili; suscepitque eum ascendentem de fonte sancto Aediluald rex ipsius gentis Orientalium Anglorum frater Anna regis eorundem.

[9] *solet* MS. [11] *excommonicauit* MS.

XXIII

SOLEBAT autem idem uir domini, cum apud Orientales Saxones episcopatus officio fungeretur, saepius etiam suam, id est Nordanhymbrorum, prouinciam exhortandi gratia reuisere: quem cum Oidiluald filius Osualdi regis, qui in Derorum partibus regnum habebat, uirum sanctum et sapientem probumque moribus uideret, postulauit eum possessionem terrae aliquam a se ad construendum monasterium accipere, in quo ipse rex et frequentius ad deprecandum dominum uerbumque audiendum aduenire et defunctus sepeliri deberet. nam et seipsum fideliter credidit multum iuuari eorum orationibus cotidianis, qui illo in loco domino seruirent. habuerat autem idem rex secum fratrem germanum eiusdem episcopi uocabulo Caelin uirum aeque deo deuotum, qui ipsi ac familiae ipsius uerbum et sacramenta fidei, erat enim presbyter, ministrare solebat, per cuius notitiam maxime ad diligendum noscendumque episcopum peruenit. fauens ergo uotis regis antistes elegit sibi locum monasterii construendi in montibus arduis ac remotis, in quibus latronum magis latibula ac lustra ferarum quam habitacula fuisse uidebantur hominum: ut iuxta prophetiam Isaiae 'in cubilibus, in quibus prius dracones habitabant, oriretur uiror calami et iunci,' id est fructus bonorum operum ibi nascerentur, ubi prius uel bestiae commorari uel homines bestialiter uiuere consuerant.

Studens autem uir domini acceptum monasterii locum primo precibus ac ieiuniis a pristina flagitiorum sorde purgare et sic in eo monasterii fundamenta iacere, postulauit a rege ut sibi totum xlmae tempus quod instabat faculta-

[7] *postulauitque* ms.

tem ac licentiam ibidem orationis causa demorandi concederet. quibus diebus cunctis excepta dominica ieiunium ad uesperam usque iuxta morem protelans, ne tunc quidem nisi panis permodicum et unum ouum gallinaceum cum paruo lacte aqua mixto percipiebat. dicebat enim hanc esse consuetudinem eorum a quibus normam disciplinae regularis didicerat, ut accepta nuper loca ad faciendum monasterium uel ecclesiam prius orationibus ac ieiuniis domino consecrent. cumque x dies xlmae restarent, uenit qui clamaret eum ad regem: at ille, ne opus religiosum negotiorum regalium causa intermitteretur, petiit presbyterum suum Cynibillum, qui etiam frater germanus erat ipsius, pia coepta complere. cui cum ille libenter adquiesceret, expleto studio ieiuniorum et orationis fecit ibi monasterium, quod nunc Laestingaeu uocatur, et religiosis moribus iuxta ritus Lindisfarnensium ubi educatus erat instituit.

Qui cum annis multis et in praefata prouincia episcopatum administraret et huius quoque monasterii statutis propositis curam gereret, casu contigit ut ad ipsum monasterium tempore mortalitatis aduenies tactus ibidem infirmitate corporis obiret. qui primo quidem foris sepultus est; tempore autem procedente in eodem monasterio ecclesia est in honorem beatae dei genetricis de lapide facta et in illa corpus ipsius ad dexteram altaris reconditum.

Dedit autem episcopus regendum post se monasterium fratri suo Ceadda qui postea episcopus factus est, ut in sequentibus dicemus. iiii siquidem hi quos diximus germani fratres, Cedd et Cynibill et Caelin et Ceadda, quod raro inuenitur, omnes sacerdotes domini fuere praeclari et duo ex eis etiam summi sacerdotii gradu functi sunt. cum ergo episcopum defunctum ac sepultum in prouincia Nordanhymbrorum audirent fratres qui in monasterio eius erant in prouincia Orientalium Saxonum, uenerunt illo de

suo monasterio homines circiter xxx, cupientes ad corpus sui patris aut uiuere si sic deo placeret aut morientes ibi sepeliri. qui libenter a suis fratribus et commilitonibus suscepti omnes ibidem superueniente praefatae pestilentiae clade defuncti sunt, excepto uno puerulo quem orationibus patris sui a morte constat esse seruatum. nam cum multo post haec tempore uiueret et scripturis legendis operam daret, tandem didicit se aqua baptismatis non esse regeneratum, et mox fonte lauacri salutaris ablutus etiam postmodum ad ordinem presbyterii promotus est multisque in ecclesia utilis fuit: de quo dubitandum non crediderim, quin intercessionibus ut dixi sui patris, ad cuius corpus dilectionis ipsius gratia uenerat, sit ab articulo mortis retentus, ut et ipse sic mortem euaderet aeternam et aliis quoque fratribus ministerium uitae ac salutis docendo exhiberet.

XXIIII

HIS temporibus rex Osuiu cum [17]'acerbas atque intolerabiles pateretur inruptiones saepedicti regis Merciorum qui fratrem eius occiderat, ad ultimum necessitate cogente promisit se ei innumera et maiora quam credi potest ornamenta regia uel donaria in pretium pacis largiturum, dummodo ille domum rediret et prouincias regni eius usque ad internicionem uastare desineret. cumque rex perfidus nullatinus precibus illius assensum praeberet, qui totam eius gentem a paruo usque ad magnum delere atque exterminare decreuerat, respexit ille ad diuinae auxilium pietatis, quo ab impietate barbarica posset eripi: uotoque se obligans 'si paganus' inquit 'nescit accipere nostra donaria, offeramus ei qui nouit domino deo nostro.' uouit ergo quia,

[17] *aceruas* ms. [28] *accepere* ms.

si uictor existeret, filiam suam domino sacra uirginitate dicandam offerret simul et xii possessiones praediorum ad construenda monasteria donaret: et sic cum paucissimo exercitu se certamini dedit. denique fertur quia tricies maiorem pagani habuerint exercitum; siquidem ipsi xxx legiones ducibus nobilissimis instructas in bello habuere, quibus Osuiu rex cum Alchfrido filio, perparuum ut dixi habens exercitum sed Christo duce confisus, occurrit. nam alius filius eius Ecgfrid eo tempore in prouincia Merciorum apud reginam Cynuise obses tenebatur; filius autem Osualdi regis Oidiluald, qui eis auxilio esse debuerat, in parte erat aduersariorum eisdemque contra patriam et patruum suum pugnaturis ductor exstiterat, quamuis ipso tempore pugnandi sese pugnae subtraxerat euentumque discriminis tuto in loco exspectabat. inito ergo certamine fugati sunt et caesi pagani, duces regii xxx qui ad auxilium uenerant pene omnes interfecti: in quibus Aedilheri, frater Anna regis Orientalium Anglorum qui post eum regnauit, auctor ipse belli, perditis militibus siue auxiliis interemtus. et quia prope fluuium Vinuaed pugnatum est, qui tunc prae inundantia pluuiarum late alueum suum immo omnes ripas suas transierat, contigit ut multo plures aqua fugientes quam bellantes perderet ensis.

Tunc rex Osuiu iuxta quod domino uouerat pro conlata sibi uictoria gratias deo referens, dedit filiam suam Aelffledam, quae uixdum unius anni aetatem inpleuerat, perpetua ei uirginitate consecrandam: donatis insuper xii possessiunculis terrarum, in quibus ablato studio militiae terrestris, ad exercendam militiam caelestem supplicandumque pro pace gentis eius aeterna deuotioni sedulae monachorum locus facultasque suppeteret. e quibus uidelicet possessiunculis sex in prouincia Derorum sex in Berniciorum dedit;

[22] *transirit* ms. *transierat* secunda manu.

singulae uero possessiones x erant familiarum, id est simul omnes cxx. intrauit autem praefata regis Osuiu filia deo dedicanda monasterium quod nuncupatur Heruteu, id est insula cerui, cui tunc Hild abbatissa praefuit. quae post biennium comparata possessione x familiarum in loco qui dicitur Streanæshalch, ibi monasterium construxit; in quo memorata regis filia primo discipula uitae regularis deinde etiam magistra extitit, donec completo undelx annorum numero ad complexum et nuptias sponsi caelestis uirgo beata intraret. in quo monasterio et ipsa et pater eius Osuiu et mater eius Aeanfled et pater matris eius Aeduini et multi alii nobiles in ecclesia sancti apostoli Petri sepulti sunt. hoc autem bellum rex Osuiu in regione Loidis tertio decimo regni sui anno xuii[a] die kalendarum Decembrium cum magna utriusque populi utilitate confecit. nam et suam gentem ab hostili paganorum depopulatione liberauit, et ipsam gentem Merciorum finitimarumque prouinciarum desecto capite perfido ad fidei Christianae gratiam conuertit.

Primus autem in prouincia Merciorum simul et Lindisfarorum ac Mediterraneorum Anglorum factus est episcopus Diuma, ut supra diximus, qui apud Mediterraneos Anglos defunctus ac sepultus est, secundus Cellach qui relicto episcopatus officio uiuens ad Scottiam rediit, uterque de genere Scottorum: tertius Trumheri, de natione quidem Anglorum sed edoctus et ordinatus a Scottis, qui erat abbas in monasterio quod dicitur Ingetlingum. ipse est locus ubi occisus est rex Osuini, ut supra meminimus. nam regina Aeanfled propinqua illius ob castigationem necis eius iniustae postulauit a rege Osuio, ut donaret illi locum monasterium construendi praefato dei famulo Trumherae, quia propinquus et ipse erat regis occisi: in quo uidelicet monasterio orationes assiduae pro utriusque regis, id est

[26] *locus* sec manu. [30] *monasterio* ms.

et occisi et eius qui occidere iussit, salute aeterna fierent. idem autem rex Osuiu tribus annis post occisionem Pendan regis Merciorum genti necnon et ceteris australium prouinclarum populis praefuit: qui etiam gentem Pictorum maxima ex parte regno Anglorum subiecit.

Quo tempore donauit praefato Peada filio regis Pendan, eo quod esset cognatus suus, regnum australium Merciorum, qui sunt ut dicunt familiarum quinque milium, discreti fluuio Treanta ab aquilonalibus Merciis, quorum terra est familiarum uii milium. sed idem Peada proximo uere multum nefarie peremtus est proditione, ut dicunt, coniugis suae in ipso tempore festi paschalis. conpletis autem tribus annis post interfectionem Pendan regis rebellarunt aduersus regem Osuiu duces gentis Merciorum Immin et Eafa et Eadberct, leuato in regem Vulfhere filio eiusdem Pendan adulescente quem occultum seruauerant, et eiectis principibus regis non proprii fines suos fortiter simul et libertatem receperunt: sicque cum suo rege liberi Christo uero regi pro sempiterno in caelis regno seruire gaudebant. praefuit autem rex idem genti Merciorum annis x et uii, habuitque primum episcopum Trumheri de quo supra diximus, secundum Iaruman, tertium Ceaddan, quartum Vynfridum. omnes hi per ordinem sibimet succedentes sub rege Vulfhere gentis Merciorum episcopatu sunt functi.

XXV

INTEREA Aidano episcopo de hac uita sublato Finan pro illo gradum episcopatus a Scottis ordinatus ac missus acceperat. qui in insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi congruam, quam tamen more Scottorum non

[9] *Mercis* ms. [16] *iectis* ms. [23] *hii* ms.

de lapide sed de robore secto totam composuit atque harundine texit, quam tempore sequente reuerentissimus archiepiscopus Theodorus in honore beati apostoli Petri dedicauit. sed et episcopus loci ipsius Eadberct ablata harundine plumbi lamminis eam totam, hoc est et tectum et ipsos quoque parietes eius, cooperire curauit.

His temporibus quaestio facta est frequens et magna de obseruatione paschae, confirmantibus eis qui de Cantia uel de Galliis aduenerant, quod Scotti dominicum paschae diem contra uniuersalis ecclesiae morem celebrarent. erat in his acerrimus ueri paschae defensor nomine Ronan, natione quidem Scottus sed in Galliae uel Italiae partibus regulam ecclesiasticae ueritatis edoctus. qui cum Finano confligens, multos quidem correxit uel ad solertiorem ueritatis inquisitionem accendit, nequaquam tamen Finanum emendare potuit: quin potius, quod esset homo ferocis animi, acerbiorem castigando et apertum ueritatis aduersarium reddidit. obseruabat autem Iacob, diaconus quondam ut supra docuimus uenerabilis archiepiscopi Paulini, uerum et catholicum pascha cum omnibus quos ad correctiorem uiam erudire poterat. obseruabat et regina Eanfled cum suis iuxta quod in Cantia fieri uiderat, habens secum de Cantia presbyterum catholicae obseruationis nomine Romanum. unde nonnumquam contigisse fertur illis temporibus, ut bis in anno uno pascha celebraretur, et cum rex pascha dominicum solutis ieiuniis faceret, tum regina cum suis persistens adhuc in ieiunio diem palmarum celebraret. haec autem dissonantia paschalis obseruantiae uiuente Aidano patienter ab omnibus tolerabatur, qui patenter intelexerant quia, etsi pascha contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant facere non potuit, opera tamen fidei pietatis et dilectionis iuxta morem omnibus sanctis consuetum dili-

9 *Gallis* ms. 17 *aceruiorem* ms.

genter exsequi curauit. unde ab omnibus, etiam his qui de pascha aliter sentiebant, merito diligebatur, nec solum a mediocribus uerum ab ipsis quoque episcopis, Honorio Cantuariorum et Felice Orientalium Anglorum, uenerationi habitus est.

Defuncto autem Finano qui post illum fuit, cum Colmanus in episcopatum succederet et ipse missus a Scottia, grauior de obseruatione paschae necnon et de aliis ecclesiasticae uitae disciplinis controuersia nata est. unde mouit haec quaestio sensus et corda multorum, timentium ne forte accepto Christianitatis uocabulo in uacuum currerent aut cucurrissent. peruenit et ad ipsas principum aures, Osuiu uidelicet regis et filii eius Alchfridi. qui nimirum Osuiu a Scottis edoctus ac baptizatus, illorum etiam lingua optime inbutus, nil melius quam quod illi docuissent autumabat; porro Alchfrid magistrum habens eruditionis Christianae Vilfridum uirum doctissimum (nam et Romam prius propter doctrinam ecclesiasticam adierat et apud Dalfinum archiepiscopum Galliarum Lugduni multum temporis egerat, a quo etiam tonsurae ecclesiasticae coronam susceperat), huius doctrinam omnibus Scottorum traditionibus iure praeferendam sciebat: unde ei etiam donauerat monasterium xl familiarum in loco qui dicitur Inhrypum. quem uidelicet locum paulo ante eis qui Scottos sequebantur in possessionem monasterii dederat, sed quia illi postmodum data sibi optione magis loco cedere quam suam mutare consuetudinem [illegible]ant, dedit eum illi qui dignam loco et doctrinam et uitam. uenerat eo tempore Agilberctus Occi-

INTE[illegible]n Saxonum episcopus, cuius supra meminimus, pro ill[illegible]lchfridi regis et Vilfridi abbatis, ad prouinciam sus accepe[illegible]brorum et apud eos aliquandiu demorabatur; episcopali se[illegible]lfridum rogatu Alchfridi in praefato suo monas-

9 *Merris* 19 *Lugdoni* ms.

terio presbyterum fecit. habebat autem secum ipse presbyterum nomine Agathonem. mota ergo ibi quaestione de pascha uel tonsura uel aliis rebus ecclesiasticis, dispositum est ut in monasterio quod dicitur Strenæshalc, quod interpretatur sinus Fari, cui tunc Hild abbatissa deo deuota femina praefuit, synodus fieri et haec quaestio terminari deberet. ueneruntque illo reges ambo, pater scilicet et filius; episcopi, Colman cum clericis suis de Scottia, Agilberctus cum Agathone et Vilfrido presbyteris. Iacobus et Romanus in horum parte erant: Hild abbatissa cum suis in parte Scottorum, in qua erat etiam uenerabilis episcopus Cedd iamdudum ordinatus a Scottis ut supra docuimus, qui et interpres in eo concilio uigilantissimus utriusque partis extitit.

Primusque rex Osuiu praemissa praefatione, quod oporteret eos qui uni deo seruirent unam uiuendi regulam tenere nec discrepare in celebratione sacramentorum caelestium qui unum omnes in caelis regnum expectarent, inquirendum potius quae esset uerior traditio et hanc ab omnibus communiter esse sequendam, iussit primo dicere episcopum suum Colmanum, qui esset ritus et unde originem ducens ille quem ipse sequeretur. tum Colmanus 'pascha' inquit 'quod agere soleo a maioribus meis accepi qui me huc episcopum miserunt, quod omnes patres nostri uiri deo dilecti eodem modo celebrasse noscuntur. quod ne cui contemnendum et reprobandum esse uideatur, ipsum est quod beatus euangelista Iohannes discipulus specialiter domino dilectus cum omnibus quibus praeerat ecclesiis celebrasse legitur.' quo haec et his similia dicente, iussit rex et Agilberctum proferre in medium morem suae obseruationis unde initium haberet uel qua hunc auctoritate sequeretur. respondit Agilberctus: 'loquatur, obsecro, uice

15 *praemisa* ms. 28 *ecclesis* ms.

mea discipulus meus Vilfrid presbyter, quia unum ambo sapimus cum ceteris qui hic adsident ecclesiasticae traditionis cultoribus; et ille melius ac manifestius ipsa lingua Anglorum, quam ego per interpretem, potest explanare quae sentimus.' tunc Vilfrid, iubente rege ut diceret, ita exorsus est: 'pascha quod facimus' inquit 'uidimus Romae, ubi beati apostoli Petrus et Paulus uixere docuere passi sunt et sepulti, ab omnibus celebrari: hoc in Italia, hoc in Gallia, quas discendi uel orandi studio pertransiuimus, ab omnibus agi conspeximus: hoc Africam Asiam Aegyptum Graeciam et omnem orbem, quacumque Christi ecclesia diffusa est, per diuersas nationes et linguas uno ac non diuerso temporis ordine gerere comperimus praeter hos tantum et obstinationis eorum complices, Pictos dico et Brettones, cum quibus de duabus ultimis oceani insulis, et his non totis, contra totum orbem stulto labore pugnant.' cui haec dicenti respondit Colmanus: 'mirum quare stultum appellare uelitis laborem nostrum, in quo tanti apostoli, qui super pectus domini recumbere dignus fuit, exempla sectamur; cum ipsum sapientissime uixisse omnis mundus nouerit.' at Vilfridus 'absit' inquit 'ut Iohannem stultitiae reprehendamus, cum scita legis Mosaicae iuxta litteram seruaret, iudaizante adhuc in multis ecclesia nec subito ualentibus apostolis omnem legis obseruantiam quae a deo instituta est abdicare, quomodo simulacra, quae a daemonibus inuenta sunt, repudiare omnes qui ad fidem ueniunt necesse est: uidelicet ne scandalum facerent eis qui inter gentes erant Iudaeis. hinc est enim quod Paulus Timotheum circumcidit, quod hostias in templo immolauit, quod cum Aquila et Priscilla caput Chorinti totondit, ad nihil uidelicet utile, nisi ad scandalum uitandum Iudaeorum: hinc quod eidem Paulo Iacobus ait: "uides, frater, quot milia sunt in

6 *pasca* ms. 13 *geri* ms.

Iudaeis qui crediderunt? et omnes hi aemulatores sunt legis.", nec tamen hodie clarescente per mundum euangelio necesse est, immo nec licitum, fidelibus uel circumcidi uel hostias deo uictimarum offerre carnalium. itaque Iohannes secundum legis consuetudinem xiiii[a] die mensis primi ad uesperam incipiebat celebrationem festi paschalis, nil curans utrum haec sabbato an alia qualibet feria proueniret. at uero Petrus cum Romae praedicaret, memor quia dominus prima sabbati resurrexit a mortuis ac mundo spem resurrectionis contulit, ita pascha faciendum intellexit, ut secundum consuetudinem ac praecepta legis xiiii[am] lunam primi mensis, aeque sicut Iohannes, orientem ad uesperam semper exspectaret, et hac exorta, si dominica dies quae tunc prima sabbati uocabatur erat mane uentura, in ipsa uespera pascha dominicum celebrare incipiebat, quomodo et nos hodie facere solemus; sin autem dominica non proximo mane post lunam xiiii[am] sed xui[a] aut xuii[a] aut alia qualibet luna usque ad xxi[am] esset uentura, exspectabat eum et praecedente sabbato uespere sacrosancta paschae sollemnia inchoabat; sicque fiebat ut dominica paschae dies nonnisi a xu[a] luna usque ad xxi[am] seruaretur. neque haec euangelica et apostolica traditio legem soluit sed potius adimplet, in qua obseruandum pascha a xiiii[a] luna primi mensis ad uesperam usque ad xxi[am] lunam eiusdem mensis ad uesperam praeceptum est: in quam obseruantiam imitandam omnes beati Iohannis successores in Asia post obitum eius et omnis per orbem ecclesia conuersa est. et hoc esse uerum pascha, hoc solum fidelibus celebrandum, Niceno concilio non statutum nouiter sed confirmatum est, ut ecclesiastica docet historia. unde constat uos, Colmane, neque Iohannis ut autumatis exempla sectari neque Petri cuius traditioni sci-

[2] *clariscente* ms.

[10] *intellegit* corr in *-ex-*.

entes contradicitis, neque legi neque euangelio in obseruatione uestri paschae congruere. Iohannes enim ad legis Mosaicae decreta tempus paschale custodiens nil de prima sabbati curabat; quod uos non facitis, qui nonnisi prima sabbati pascha celebratis. Petrus a xu[a] luna usque ad xxi[am] diem paschae dominicum celebrabat; quod uos non facitis, qui a xiiii[a] usque ad xx[am] lunam diem dominicum paschae obseruatis: ita ut xiii[a] luna ad uesperam saepius pascha incipiatis, cuius neque lex ullam fecit mentionem neque auctor ac dator euangelii dominus in ea sed in xiiii[a] uel uetus pascha manducauit ad uesperam uel noui testamenti sacramenta in commemorationem suae passionis ecclesiae celebranda tradidit. item lunam xxi[am] quam lex maxime celebrandam commendauit, a celebratione uestri paschae funditus eliminatis: sicque, ut dixi, in celebratione summae festiuitatis neque Iohanni neque Petro neque legi neque euangelio concordatis.'

His contra Colmanus 'numquid' ait 'Anatolius uir sanctus et in praefata historia ecclesiastica multum laudatus legi uel euangelio contraria sapuit, qui a xiiii[a] usque ad xx[am] pascha celebrandum scripsit? numquid reuerentissimum patrem nostrum Columbam et successores eius uiros deo dilectos, qui eodem modo pascha fecerunt, diuinis paginis contraria sapuisse uel egisse credendum est? cum plurimi fuerint in eis, quorum sanctitati caelestia signa et uirtutum quae fecerunt miracula testimonium praebuerunt, quos ipse sanctos esse non dubitans semper eorum uitam mores et disciplinam sequi non desisto.'

At Vilfridus 'constat' inquit 'Anatolium uirum sanctissimum doctissimum ac laude esse dignissimum; sed quid uobis cum illo, cum nec eius decreta seruetis? ille enim in pascha suo regulam utique ueritatis sequens circulum x et uiiii annorum posuit, quem uos aut ignoratis aut agnitum

et a tota Christi ecclesia custoditum pro nihilo contemnitis. ille sic in pascha dominico xiiii^{am} lunam computauit, ut hanc eadem ipsa die more Aegyptiorum xu^{am} lunam ad uesperam esse fateretur; sic item xx^{am} die dominico paschae adnotauit, ut hanc declinata eadem die esse xxi^{am} crederet. cuius regulam distinctionis uos ignorasse probat, quod aliquoties pascha manifestissime ante plenilunium, id est in xiii^{a} luna, facitis. de patre autem uestro Columba et sequacibus eius, quorum sanctitatem uos imitari et regulam ac praecepta caelestibus signis confirmata sequi perhibetis, possem respondere, quia multis in iudicio dicentibus domino, quod in nomine eius prophetauerint et daemonia eiecerint et uirtutes multas fecerint, responsurus sit dominus quia numquam eos nouerit. sed absit ut hoc de patribus uestris dicam, quia iustius multo est de incognitis bonum credere quam malum; unde et illos dei famulos ac deo dilectos esse non nego, qui simplicitate rustica sed intentione pia deum dilexerunt. neque illis multum obesse reor talem paschae obseruantiam, quamdiu nullus aduenerat qui eis instituti perfectioris decreta quae sequerentur ostenderet: quos utique credo, si qui tunc ad eos catholicus calculator adueniret, sic eius monita fuisse secuturos, quomodo ea quae nouerant ac didicerant dei mandata probantur fuisse secuti. tu autem et socii tui, si audita decreta sedis apostolicae immo uniuersalis ecclesiae et haec litteris sacris confirmata sequi contemnitis, absque ulla dubitatione peccatis. etsi enim patres tui sancti fuerunt, numquid uniuersali quae per orbem est ecclesiae Christi eorum est paucitas uno de angulo extremae insulae praeferenda? et si sanctus erat ac potens uirtutibus ille Columba uester, immo et noster si Christi erat, numquid praeferri potuit beatissimo apostolorum principi, cui dominus ait: "tu es Petrus et super

[1] *toto* ms. [12] *iecerint* ms. [29] *extrimae* ms.

hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et portae inferi non praeualebunt aduersus eam et tibi dabo claues regni caelorum?"'

Haec perorante Vilfrido dixit rex: 'uerene, Colmane, haec illi Petro dicta sunt a domino?' qui ait: 'uere, rex.' at ille 'habetis' inquit 'uos proferre aliquid tantae potestatis uestro Columbae datum?' at ait ille: 'nihil.' rursum rex 'si utrique uestrum' inquit 'in hoc sine ulla controuersia consentiunt, quod haec principaliter Petro dicta et ei claues regni caelorum sint datae a domino?' responderunt 'etiam' utrique. at ille ita conclusit: 'et ego uobis dico, quia hic est ostiarius ille cui ego contradicere nolo sed, in quantum noui uel ualeo, huius cupio in omnibus oboedire statutis, ne forte me adueniente ad fores regni caelorum non sit qui reseret, auerso illo qui claues tenere probatur.'

Haec dicente rege fauerunt adsidentes quique siue adstantes maiores una cum mediocribus, et abdicata minus perfecta institutione ad ea quae meliora cognouerant sese transferre festinabant.

XXVI

FINITOQVE conflictu ac soluta contione Agilberctus domum rediit. Colman uidens spretam suam doctrinam sectamque esse despectam, adsumtis his qui se sequi uoluerunt, id est qui pascha catholicum et tonsuram coronae (nam et de hoc quaestio non minima erat) recipere nolebant, Scottiam regressus est, tractaturus cum suis quid de his facere deberet. Cedd relictis Scottorum uestigiis ad suam sedem rediit, utpote agnita obseruatione catholici paschae.

1—3 *petram et cetera usque regni caelorum* ms. 10 *dati* ms. 15 *reserat* ms. 22 *dispectam* ms.

facta est autem haec quaestio anno dominicae incarnationis dclxiiii°, qui fuit annus Osuiu regis xxii^us^, episcopatus autem Scottorum quem gesserunt in prouincia Anglorum annus xxx^us^; siquidem Aidan x et uii annis, Finan decem, Colman tribus episcopatum tenuere.

Reuerso autem patriam Colmano, suscepit pro illo pontificatum Nordanhymbrorum famulus Christi Tuda, qui erat apud Scottos austrinos eruditus atque ordinatus episcopus, habens iuxta morem prouinciae illius coronam tonsurae ecclesiasticae et catholicam temporis paschalis regulam obseruans, uir quidem bonus ac religiosus, sed permodico tempore ecclesiam regens. uenerat autem de Scottia tenente adhuc pontificatum Colmano, et diligenter ea quae ad fidem et ueritatem pertinent et uerbo cunctos docebat et opere. porro fratribus, qui in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia Scottis abeuntibus remanere maluerunt, praepositus est abbatis iure uir reuerentissimus ac mansuetissimus Eata, qui erat abbas in monasterio quod dicitur Mailros: quod aiunt Colmanum abiturum petisse et inpetrasse a rege Osuiu, eo quod esset idem Eata unus de xii pueris Aidani, quos primo episcopatus sui tempore de natione Anglorum erudiendos in Christo accepit. multum namque eundem episcopum Colmanum rex pro insita illi prudentia diligebat. ipse est Eata qui non multo post eidem ecclesiae Lindisfarnensi episcopus factus est. abiens autem domum Colman adsumsit secum partem ossium reuerentissimi patris Aidani, partem uero in ecclesia cui praeerat reliquit et in secretario eius condi praecepit.

Quantae autem parsimoniae cuius continentiae fuerit ipse cum praedecessoribus suis, testabatur etiam locus ille quem regebant, ubi abeuntibus eis excepta ecclesia paucissimae domus repertae sunt, hoc est illae solummodo sine quibus conuersatio ciuilis esse nullatinus poterat. nil pe-

cuniarum absque pecoribus habebant, si quid enim pecuniae a diuitibus accipiebant, mox pauperibus dabant. nam neque ad susceptionem potentium saeculi uel pecunias colligi uel domus praeuideri necesse fuit, qui numquam ad ecclesiam nisi orationis tantum et audiendi uerbi dei causa ueniebant. rex ipse, cum oportunitas exegisset, cum u tantum aut ui ministris ueniebat et expleta in ecclesia oratione discedebat: quod si forte eos ibi refici contingeret, simplici tantum et cotidiano fratrum cibo contenti nil ultra quaerebant. tota enim fuit tunc sollicitudo doctoribus illis deo seruiendi non saeculo, tota cura cordis excolendi non uentris. unde et in magna erat ueneratione tempore illo religionis habitus, ita ut, ubicumque clericus aliqui aut monachus aduenirent, gaudenter ab omnibus tamquam dei famulus exciperetur: etiam si in itinere pergens inueniretur, adcurrebant et flexa ceruice uel manu signari uel ore illius se benedici gaudebant; uerbis quoque horum exhortatoriis diligenter auditum praebebant. sed et diebus dominicis ad ecclesiam siue ad monasteria certatim non reficiendi corporis sed audiendi sermonis dei gratia confluebant: et si quis sacerdotum in uicum forte deueniret, mox congregati in unum uicani uerbum uitae ab illo expetere curabant. nam neque alia ipsis sacerdotibus aut clericis uicos adeundi, quam praedicandi baptizandi infirmos uisitandi et, ut breuiter dicam, animas curandi causa fuit: qui in tantum erant ab omni auaritiae peste castigati, ut nemo territoria ac possessiones ad construenda monasteria, nisi a potentibus saeculi coactus, acciperet. quae consuetudo per omnia aliquanto post haec tempore in ecclesiis Nordanhymbrorum seruata est. sed de his satis dictum.

[6] *exigisset* ms. [12] *erat* om ms. [16] *flexo* ms. [17] *exhortatoris* ms.

XXVII

EODEM autem anno dominicae incarnationis dclxiiii° facta erat eclipsis solis die tertio mensis Maii hora circiter x^a diei: quo etiam anno subita pestilentiae lues depopulatis prius australibus Brittaniae plagis, Nordanhymbrorum quoque prouinciam corripiens atque acerba clade diutius longe lateque desaeuiens, magnam hominum multitudinem strauit. qua plaga praefatus domini sacerdos Tuda raptus est de mundo, et in monasterio quod dicitur Pægnalaech honorifice sepultus. haec autem plaga Hiberniam quoque insulam pari clade premebat. erant ibidem eo tempore multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum relicta insula patria uel diuinae lectionis uel continentioris uitae gratia illo secesserant. et quidam quidem mox se monasticae conuersationi fideliter mancipauerunt, alii magis circueundo per cellas magistrorum lectioni operam dare gaudebant: quos omnes Scotti libentissime suscipientes, uictum eis cotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum et magisterium gratuitum praebere curabant.

Erant inter hos duo iuuenes magnae indolis de nobilibus Anglorum, Edilhun et Ecgberct, quorum prior frater fuit Ediluini, uiri aeque deo dilecti qui et ipse aeuo sequente Hiberniam gratia legendi adiit et bene instructus patriam rediit atque episcopus in prouincia Lindissi factus multo ecclesiam tempore nobilissime rexit. hi ergo cum essent in monasterio quod lingua Scottorum Rathmelsigi appellatur et omnes socii ipsorum uel mortalitate de saeculo rapti uel per alia essent loca dispersi, correpti sunt ambo morbo

[4] *pestilentia* ms. [6] *acerua* ms. [16] *ali* ms. [21] *duos* ms.

eiusdem mortalitatis et grauissime adflicti: e quibus Ecgberct, sicut mihi referebat quidam ueracissimus et uenerandae canitiei presbyter qui se haec ab ipso audisse perhibebat, cum se aestimaret esse morituram, egressus est tempore matutino de cubiculo in quo infirmi quiescebant, et residens solus in loco oportuno coepit sedulus cogitare de actibus suis et conpunctus memoria peccatorum suorum faciem lacrimis abluebat atque intimo ex corde deum precabatur, ne adhuc mori deberet, priusquam uel praeteritas neglegentias quas in pueritia siue infantia commiserat perfectius ex tempore castigaret uel in bonis se operibus habundantius exerceret. uouit etiam uotum, quia adeo peregrinus uiuere uellet ut numquam in insulam in qua natus est, id est Brittaniam, rediret; quia praeter sollemnem canonici temporis psalmodiam, si non ualetudo corporis obsisteret, cotidie psalterium totum in memoriam diuinae laudis decantaret; et quia in omni septimana diem cum nocte ieiunus transiret. cumque finitis lacrimis precibus et uotis domum rediret, inuenit sodalem dormientem, et ipse quoque lectulum conscendens coepit in quietem membra laxare. et cum paululum quiesceret, expergefactus sodalis respexit eum et ait: 'o frater Ecgbercte, o quid fecisti? sperabam quia pariter ad uitam aeternam intraremus. uerumtamen scito quia quae postulasti accipies.' didicerat enim per uisionem, et quid ille petisset et quia petita inpetrasset. quid multa? ipse Edilhun proxima nocte defunctus est: at uero Ecgberct decussa molestia aegritudinis conualuit, ac multo postea tempore uiuens acceptumque sacerdotii gradum condignis ornans actibus post multa uirtutum bona, ut ipse desiderabat nuper, id est anno dominicae incarnationis dccxxuiiii° cum esset ipse annorum xc, migrauit ad regna caelestia. duxit autem uitam in magna humilitatis man-

5 *cubilo* ms. 27 *Ecgberect* ms.

suetudinis continentiae simplicitatis et iustitiae perfectione. unde et genti suae et illis in quibus exulabat nationibus Scottorum siue Pictorum, exemplo uiuendi et instantia docendi et auctoritate corripiendi et pietate largiendi de his quae a diuitibus acceperat, multum profuit. addidit autem uotis quae diximus, ut semper in xl^ma^ non plus quam semel in die reficeret, non aliud quam panem ac lac tenuissimum et hoc cum mensura gustaret: quod uidelicet lac pridie nouum in fiala ponere solebat, et post noctem ablata superficie crassiore ipse residuum cum modico, ut diximus, pane bibebat. cuius modum continentiae etiam xl diebus ante natale domini, totidem quoque post peracta sollemnia pentecostes, hoc est l^mae^, semper obseruare curabat.

XXVIII

INTEREA rex Alchfrid misit Vilfridum presbyterum ad regem Galliarum, qui eum sibi suisque consecrari faceret episcopum. at ille misit eum ordinandum ad Agilberectum de quo supra diximus, qui relicta Brittania Parisiacae ciuitatis factus erat episcopus: et consecratus est magno cum honore ab ipso, conuenientibus plurimis episcopis in uico regio qui uocatur In Conpendio. quo adhuc in transmarinis partibus propter ordinationem demorante, imitatus industriam filii rex Osuiu misit Cantiam uirum sanctum modestum moribus scripturarum lectione sufficienter instructum et ea quae in scripturis agenda didicerat operibus sollerter exsequentem, qui Eburacensis ecclesiae ordinaretur episcopus. erat autem presbyter uocabulo Ceadda frater reuerentissimi antistitis Ceddi, cuius saepius meminimus, et abbas monasterii illius quod uocatur Laestingaeu. misitque cum eo rex presbyterum suum uocabulo Eadhaedum, qui

[28] *Osuio* ms. [28] *antistiti* ms.

postea regnante Ecgfrido Hrypensis ecclesiae praesul factus est. uerum illi Cantiam peruenientes inuenerunt archiepiscopum Deusdedit iam migrasse de saeculo et necdum alium pro eo constitutum fuisse pontificem. unde deuerterunt ad prouinciam Occidentalium Saxonum, ubi erat Vini episcopus: et ab illo est uir praefatus consecratus antistes, adsumtis in societatem ordinationis duobus de Brettonum gente episcopis, qui dominicum paschae diem, ut saepius dictum est, secus morem canonicum a xiiii^a^ usque ad xx^am^ lunam celebrant. non enim erat tunc ullus excepto illo Vine in tota Brittania canonice ordinatus episcopus. consecratus ergo in episcopum Ceadda maximam mox coepit ecclesiasticae ueritati et castitati curam inpendere, humilitati continentiae lectioni operam dare, oppida rura casas uicos castella propter euangelizandum non equitando sed apostolorum more pedibus incedendo peragrare. erat enim de discipulis Aidani, eisdemque actibus ac moribus iuxta exemplum eius ac fratris sui Ceddi suos instituere curauit auditores. ueniens quoque Brittaniam Vilfrid iam episcopus factus et ipse perplura catholicae obseruationis moderamina ecclesiis Anglorum sua doctrina contulit. unde factum est, ut crescente per dies institutione catholica Scotti omnes qui inter Anglos morabantur aut his manus darent aut suam redirent ad patriam.

XXIX

HIS temporibus reges Anglorum nobilissimi, Osuiu prouinciae Nordanhymbrorum et Ecgberct Cantuariorum, habito inter se consilio quid de statu ecclesiae Anglorum esset agendum, intellexerat enim ueraciter Osuiu quamuis educatus a Scottis quia Romana esset catholica

et apostolica ecclesia, adsumserunt cum electione et consensu sanctae ecclesiae gentis Anglorum uirum bonum et aptum episcopatui presbyterum nomine Vighardum de clero Deusdedit episcopi, et hunc antistitem ordinandum Romam miserunt: quatinus accepto ipse gradu archiepiscopatus catholicos per omnem Brittaniam ecclesiis Anglorum ordinare posset antistites.

Verum Vighard Romam perueniens, priusquam consecrari in episcopatum posset, morte praereptus est, et huiusmodi litterae regi Osuiu Brittaniam remissae sunt:

'DOMINO excellenti filio Osuio regi Saxonum Vitalianus episcopus seruus seruorum dei. desiderabiles litteras excellentiae uestrae suscepimus, quas relegentes cognouimus eius piissimam deuotionem feruentissimumque amorem quem habet propter beatam uitam, et quia dextera domini protegente ad ueram et apostolicam fidem sit conuersus, sperans, sicut in sua gente regnat, ita et cum Christo de futuro conregnare. benedicta igitur gens, quae talem sapientissimum et dei cultorem promeruit habere regem: quia non solum ipse dei cultor extitit, sed etiam omnes subiectos suos meditatur die ac nocte ad fidem catholicam atque apostolicam pro suae animae redemtione conuerti. quis enim audiens haec suauia non laetetur? quis non exultet et gaudeat in his piis operibus? quia et gens uestra Christo omnipotenti deo credidit secundum diuinorum prophetarum uoces, sicut scriptum est in Isaia: "in die illa radix Iesse, qui stat in signum populorum, ipsum gentes deprecabuntur." et iterum: "audite insulae, adtendite populi de longe." et post paululum "parum" inquit "est ut mihi sis seruus ad suscitandas tribus Iacob et faeces Israel conuertendas. dedi

[3] *episcopatu* ms. *episcopatui* C[5]. [10] *Osuio* manus sec. [17] *ut* manus pr. *sicut* sec.

te in lucem gentium, ut sis salus mea usque ad extremum terrae." et rursum: "reges uidebunt et consurgent principes et adorabunt." et post pusillum: "dedi te in foedus populi, ut suscitares terram et possideres hereditates dissipatas et diceres his qui uincti sunt 'exite' et his qui in tenebris 'reuelamini.'" et rursum: "ego dominus uocaui te in iustitia et adprehendi manum tuam et seruaui et dedi te in foedus populi, in lucem gentium, ut aperires oculos caecorum et educeres de conclusione uinctum, de domo carceris sedentes in tenebris." ecce, excellentissime fili, quam luce clarius est, non solum de uobis, sed etiam de omnibus prophetatum gentibus, quod sint crediturae in Christo omnium conditore. quamobrem oportet uestram celsitudinem, utpote membrum existens Christi, in omnibus piam regulam sequi perenniter principis apostolorum, siue in pascha celebrandum siue in omnibus quae tradiderunt sancti apostoli Petrus et Paulus, qui ut duo luminaria caeli inluminant mundum, sic doctrina eorum corda hominum cotidie inlustrat credentium.'

Et post nonnulla, quibus de celebrando per orbem totum uno uero pascha loquitur.

'Hominem denique' inquit 'docibilem et in omnibus ornatum antistitem secundum uestrorum scriptorum tenorem minime ualuimus nunc reperire pro longinquitate itineris. profecto enim dum huiusmodi apta reperta persona fuerit, eum instructum ad uestram dirigemus patriam, ut ipse et uiua uoce et per diuina oracula omnem inimici zizaniam ex omni uestra insula cum diuino nutu eradicet. munuscula a uestra celsitudine beato principi apostolorum directa pro aeterna eius memoria suscepimus, gratiasque agimus ac pro eius incolumitate iugiter deum deprecamur cum Christi

[1] *extrimum* ms. [3] *possillum* ms. [24] *repperire* ms.
[25] *repertaq.* man pr corr in *reppertaq.*

clero. itaque qui haec obtulit munera de hac subtractus est luce situsque ad limina apostolorum, pro quo ualde sumus contristati cur hic esset defunctus. uerumtamen gerulis harum nostrarum litterarum uestris missis beneficia sanctorum, hoc est reliquias beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et sanctorum martyrum Laurentii Iohannis et Pauli et Grigorii atque Pancratii, eis fecimus dari uestrae excellentiae profecto omnes contradendas. nam et coniugi uestrae nostrae spiritali filiae direximus per praefatos gerulos crucem clauem auream habentem de sacratissimis uinculis beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum: de cuius pio studio cognoscentes, tantum cuncta sedes apostolica una nobiscum laetatur, quantum eius pia opera coram deo flagrant et uernant. festinet igitur quaesumus uestra celsitudo, ut optamus, totam suam insulam deo Christo dicare. profecto enim habet protectorem humani generis redemtorem dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui ei cuncta prospera inpertiet, uti nouum Christi populum coaceruet catholicam ibi et apostolicam constituens fidem. scriptum est enim: "quaerite primum regnum dei et iustitiam eius, et haec omnia adicientur uobis." nimirum enim quaerit et inpetrauit et ei omnes suae insulae, ut optamus, subdentur. paterno itaque affectu salutantes uestram excellentiam, diuinam precamur iugiter clementiam, quae uos uestrosque omnes in omnibus bonis operibus auxiliari dignetur, ut cum Christo in futuro regnetis saeculo. incolumem excellentiam uestram gratia superna custodiat.'

Quis sane pro Vighardo repertus ac dedicatus sit antistes, libro sequente oportunius dicetur.

[7] *Pancrati* ms. *dare* manus pr corr in *dari*.

XXX

EODEM tempore prouinciae Orientalium Saxonum post Suidhelmum, de quo supra diximus, praefuere reges Sigheri et Sebbi, quamuis ipsi regi Merciorum Vulfherae subiecti. quae uidelicet prouincia cum praefatae mortalitatis clade premeretur, Sigheri cum sua parte populi relictis Christianae fidei sacramentis ad apostasiam conuersus est. nam et ipse rex et plurimi de plebe siue optimatibus, diligentes hanc uitam et futuram non quaerentes siue etiam non esse credentes, coeperunt fana, quae derelicta erant, restaurare et adorare simulacra, quasi per haec possent a mortalitate defendi. porro socius eius et coheres regni eiusdem Sebbi magna fidem perceptam cum suis omnibus deuotione seruauit, magna, ut in sequentibus dicemus, uitam fidelem felicitate compleuit. quod ubi rex Vulfheri comperit, fidem uidelicet prouinciae ex parte profanatam, misit ad corrigendum errorem reuocandamque ad fidem ueritatis prouinciam Iaruman episcopum qui successor erat Trumheri. qui multa agens solertia, iuxta quod mihi presbyter qui comes itineris illi et cooperator uerbi extiterat referebat, erat enim religiosus et bonus uir, longe lateque omnia peruagatus et populum et regem praefatum ad uiam iustitiae reduxit: adeo ut relictis siue destructis fanis arisque quas fecerant aperirent ecclesias ac nomen Christi cui contradixerant confiteri gauderent, magis cum fide resurrectionis in illo mori quam in perfidiae sordibus inter idola uiuere cupientes. quibus ita gestis, et ipsi sacerdotes doctoresque eorum domum rediere laetantes.

LIBER TERTIVS HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE GENTIS ANGLORVM EXPLICIT.

INCIPIT LIBER QVARTVS[1]

HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE GENTIS ANGLORVM.

HAEC CONTINENTVR CAPITVLA IN LIBRO QVARTO HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE GENTIS ANGLORVM.

I *Vt defuncto Deusdedit Vighard ad suscipiendum episcopatum Romam sit missus*[2]*, sed illo ibidem defuncto Theodorus archiepiscopus ordinatus et cum Hadriano abbate sit Brittaniam missus.*

II *Vt Theodoro cuncta peragrante Anglorum ecclesiae cum catholica ueritate litterarum quoque sanctarum coeperint studiis inbui; et ut Putta pro Damiano Hrofensis ecclesiae sit factus antistes.*

III *Vt Ceadda, de quo supra dictum est, prouinciae Merciorum sit episcopus datus, et de uita et de obitu et sepultura eius.*

IIII *Vt Colman episcopus relicta Brittania duo monasteria in Scottia, unum Scottis alterum Anglis quos secum adduxerat, fecerit.*

V *De morte Osuiu et Ecgbercti regum, et de synodo facta ad locum Herutforda, cui praesidebat archiepiscopus Theodorus.*

VI *Vt deposito Vynfrido, Saexuulf episcopatum eius acceperit, et Earconuald Orientalibus Saxonibus episcopus sit datus.*

VII *Vt in monasterio Bericinensi, ubi corpora sanctimonialium feminarum poni deberent, caelesti sit luce monstratum.*

VIII *Vt in eodem monasterio puerulus moriens uirginem quae se erat secutura clamauerit, utque alia de corpore egressura iam particulam futurae lucis aspexerit.*

IX *Quae sint ostensa caelitus signa cum et ipsa mater congregationis illius e mundo transiret.*

X *Vt ad cymiterium eiusdem monasterii orans caeca lucem receperit.*

XI *Vt rex eiusdem prouinciae Sebbi in monachica uitam conuersatione finierit.*

XII *Vt episcopatum Occidentalium Saxonum pro*[3] *Leutherio Hæddi, episcopatum Hrofensis ecclesiae pro Putta Cuichelm et pro ipso Gefmund acceperit, et qui tunc Nordanhymbrorum fuerint episcopi.*

[1] heading om ms. [2] *misus* ms. [3] *pro* Cl. om ms.

XIII *Vt Vilfrid episcopus prouinciam Australium Saxonum ad Christum conuerterit.*

[XIIII] *Vt intercessione Osualdi regis pestifera mortalitas sit sublata.*

[XV] *Vt Caedualla rex interfecto rege Australium Saxonum Aedilualch prouinciam illam saeua caede ac depopulatione attriuerit.*

XIIII[1] [XVI] *Vt Vecta insula Christianos incolas susceperit cuius regii*[2] *duo pueri statim post acceptum baptisma sint interemti.*

XV [XVII] *De synodo facta in campo Hæthfelda praesidente archiepiscopo Theodoro.*

XVI [XVIII] *De Iohanne cantatore sedis apostolicae, qui propter docendum Britanniam uenerit.*

XVII [XIX] *Vt Edilthryd regina uirgo perpetua permanserit, cuius nec corpus in monumento corrumpi potuerit.*

XVIII [XX] *Hymnus de illa.*

XVIIII [XXI] *Vt Theodorus episcopus inter Ecgfridum et Aedilredum reges pacem fecerit.*

XX [XXII] *Vt uincula cuiusdam captiui, cum pro eo missae cantarentur, soluta sint.*

XXI [XXIII] *De uita et obitu Hildae abbatissae.*

XXII [XXIIII] *Quod in monasterio eius fuerit frater cui donum canendi sit diuinitus concessum.*

XXIII [XXV] *Qualis uisio cuidam uiro dei apparuerit, priusquam monasterium Coludane urbis esset incendio consumtum.*

XXIIII [XXVI] *De morte Ecgfridi et Hlotheri regum.*

XXV [XXVII] *Vt uir domini Cudberct sit episcopus factus, utque in monachica adhuc uita positus uixerit uel docuerit.*

XXVI [XXVIII] *Vt idem in uita anchoretica et fontem de arente terra orando produxerit et segetem de labore manuum ultra tempus serendi acceperit.*

XXVII [XXIX] *Vt idem iam episcopus obitum suum proxime futurum Heribercto anchoretae praedixerit.*

XXVIII [XXX] *Vt corpus illius post xi annos sepulturae sit corruptionis inmune repertum, nec multo post successor episcopatus eius de mundo transierit.*

XXVIIII [XXXI] *Vt quidam ad tumbam eius sit a paralysi sanatus.*

XXX [XXXII] *Vt alter ad reliquias eius nuper fuerit ab oculi langore curatus.*

[1] ms om titles of c XIIII and XV, XVI is numbered XIIII, XVII XV, etc.
[2] *regi* ms.

[EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA.] INCIPIT IPSE LIBER.

I

ANNO memorato praefatae eclypsis et mox subsequentis pestilentiae, quo et Colman episcopus unanima catholicorum intentione superatus ad suos reuersus est, Deusdedit uius ecclesiae Doruuernensis episcopus obiit ii iduum Iuliarum; sed et Erconberct rex Cantuariorum eodem mense ac die defunctus Ecgbercto filio sedem regni reliquit, quam ille susceptam per uiiii annos tenuit. tunc cessante non pauco tempore episcopatu missus est Romam ab ipso simul et a rege Nordanhymbrorum Osuio, ut praecedente libro paucis diximus, Vighard presbyter uir in ecclesiasticis disciplinis doctissimus de genere Anglorum, petentibus hunc ecclesiae Anglorum archiepiscopum ordinari: missis pariter apostolico papae donariis et aureis atque argenteis uasis non paucis. qui ubi Romam peruenit, cuius sedi apostolicae tempore illo Vitalianus praeerat, postquam itineris sui causam praefato papae apostolico patefecit, non multo post et ipse et omnes pene qui cum eo aduenerant socii pestilentia superueniente deleti sunt.

At apostolicus papa habito de his consilio quaesiuit sedulus quem ecclesiis Anglorum archiepiscopum mitteret. erat autem in monasterio Hiridano, quod est non longe a Neapoli Campaniae, abbas Hadrianus uir natione Afer sacris litteris diligenter inbutus monasterialibus simul et

[22] *Afir* manus pr. corr sec *Afer*.

ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutus Graecae pariter et Latinae linguae peritissimus. hunc ad se accitum papa iussit episcopatu accepto Brittaniam uenire. qui indignum se tanto gradui respondens ostendere posse se dixit alium, cuius magis ad suscipiendum episcopatum et eruditio conueniret et aetas. cumque monachum quendam de uicino uirginum monasterio nomine Andream pontifici offerret, hic ab omnibus qui nouere dignus episcopatu iudicatus est, uerum pondus corporeae infirmitatis, ne episcopus fieri posset, obstitit. et rursum Hadrianus ad suscipiendum episcopatum actus est: qui petens inducias, si forte alium, qui episcopus ordinaretur, ex tempore posset inuenire.

Erat ipso tempore Romae monachus Hadriano notus nomine Theodorus, natus Tarso Ciliciae, uir et saeculari et diuina litteratura et Graece instructus et Latine, probus moribus et aetate uenerandus, id est annos habens aetatis lx et vi. hunc offerens Hadrianus pontifici, ut episcopus ordinaretur obtinuit: his tamen condicionibus interpositis, ut ipse eum perduceret Brittaniam eo quod iam bis partes Galliarum diuersis ex causis adisset et ob id maiorem huius itineris peragendi notitiam haberet sufficiensque esset in possessione hominum propriorum, et ut ei doctrinae cooperator existens diligenter adtenderet ne quid ille contrarium ueritati fidei Graecorum more in ecclesiam cui praesset introduceret. qui subdiaconus ordinatus iiii exspectauit menses, donec illi coma cresceret, quo in coronam tondi posset; habuerat enim tonsuram more orientalium sancti apostoli Pauli. qui ordinatus est a Vitaliano papa anno dominicae incarnationis dclxuiii sub die uii kalendarum Aprilium, dominica. et ita una cum Hadriano ui kalendas Iunias Brittaniam missus est. qui cum pariter per mare ad Massiliam et deinde per terram Arhelas peruenissent et tradi-

[1] *ecclesiasticae* ms. [11] read *petiit*. [18] *obtenuit* ms corr in *-tin-*.

dissent Iohanni archiepiscopo ciuitatis illius scripta commendaticia Vitaliani pontificis, retenti sunt ab eo, quousque Ebrinus maior domus regiae copiam pergendi quoquo uellent tribuit eis. qua accepta Theodorus profectus est ad Agilberctum Parisiorum episcopum, de quo superius diximus, et ab eo benigne susceptus et multo tempore habitus est. Hadrianus perrexit primum ad Emme Senonum et postea ad Faronem Meldorum episcopos, et bene sub eis diutius fuit: coegerat enim eos inminens hiems ut ubicumque potuissent quieti manerent. quod cum nuntii certi narrassent regi Ecgbercto, esse scilicet episcopum quem petierant a Romano antistite in regno Francorum, misit illo continuo Raedfridum praefectum suum ad adducendum eum: quo cum uenisset, adsumsit Theodorum cum Ebrini licentia, et perduxit eum ad portum cui nomen est Quentauic, ibi fatigatus infirmitate aliquantisper moratus est et, cum conualescere coepisset, nauigauit Brittaniam. Hadrianum autem Ebrinus retinuit, quoniam suspicabatur eum habere aliquam legationem imperatoris ad Brittaniae reges aduersus regnum, cuius tunc ipse maximam curam gerebat. sed cum nihil tale illum habere uel habuisse ueraciter comperisset, absoluit eum et post Theodorum ire permisit. qui statim ut ad illum uenit, dedit monasterium beati Petri apostoli, ubi archiepiscopi Cantiae sepeliri, ut praefatus sum, solent. praeceperat enim Theodoro abeunti domnus apostolicus, ut in diocesi sua prouideret et daret ei locum in quo cum suis apte degere potuisset.

[5] *Pariseorum* pr man. *-ior-* sec. [9] *cogerat* ms.
[11] *petierunt* pr man. *-ant* sec.

II

PERVENIT autem Theodorus ad ecclesiam suam secundo postquam consecratus est anno sub die ui kalendarum Iuniarum dominica et fecit in ea annos xx et unum menses iii dies xxui. moxque peragrata insula tota quaquauersum Anglorum gentes morabantur, nam et libentissime ab omnibus suscipiebatur atque audiebatur, rectum uiuendi ordinem ritum paschae celebrandi canonicum per omnia comitante et cooperante Hadriano disseminabat. isque primus erat in archiepiscopis, cui omnis Anglorum ecclesia manus dare consentiret. et quia litteris sacris simul et saecularibus ut diximus abundanter ambo erant instructi, congregata discipulorum caterua scientiae salutaris cotidie flumina inrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant: ita ut etiam metricae artis astronomiae et arithmeticae ecclesiasticae disciplinam inter sacrorum apicum uolumina suis auditoribus contraderent. indicio est quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis qui Latinam Graecamque linguam aeque ut propriam in qua nati sunt norunt. neque umquam prorsus ex quo Brittaniam petierunt Angli feliciora fuere tempora; dum et fortissimos Christianosque habentes reges cunctis barbaris nationibus essent terrori et omnium uota ad nuper audita caelestis regni gaudia penderent et quicumque lectionibus sacris cuperent erudiri haberent in promtu magistros qui docerent.

Sed et sonos cantandi in ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum nouerant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere coeperunt: primusque, excepto Iacobo de quo supra diximus, cantandi magister Nordanhymbrorum ecclesiis Aeddi cognomento Stephanus fuit, inuitatus de Cantia a reuerentissimo uiro Vilfrido, qui primus inter

[15] *arithimeticae* ms.

episcopos qui de Anglorum gente essent catholicum uiuendi morem ecclesiis Anglorum tradere didicit.

Itaque Theodorus perlustrans uniuersa ordinabat locis oportunis episcopos et ea quae minus perfecta repperit his quoque iuuantibus corrigebat. in quibus et Ceadda episcopum cum argueret non fuisse rite consecratum, respondens ipse uoce humillima 'si me' inquit 'nosti episcopatum non rite suscepisse, libenter ab officio discedo, quippe qui neque me umquam hoc esse dignum arbitrabar, sed obedientiae causa iussus subire hoc, quamuis indignus consensi.' at ille audiens humilitatem responsionis eius dixit non eum episcopatum demittere debere: sed ipse ordinationem eius denuo catholica ratione consummauit. eo autem tempore, quo defuncto Deusdedit Doruuernensi ecclesiae episcopus quaerebatur ordinabatur mittebatur, Vilfrid quoque de Brittania Galliam ordinandus est missus: et quoniam ante Theodorum rediit, ipse etiam in Cantia presbyteros et diaconos, usquedum archiepiscopus ad sedem suam peruenirent, ordinabat. at ipse ueniens mox in ciuitate Hrofi, ubi defuncto Damiano episcopatus iam diu cessauerat, ordinauit uirum magis ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutum et uitae simplicitate contentum quam in saeculi rebus strenuum, cui nomen erat Putta, maxime autem modulandi in ecclesia more Romanorum, quem a discipulis beati papae Gregorii didicerat, peritum.

III

EO tempore prouinciae Merciorum rex Vulfheri praefuit qui, cum mortuo Iarumanno sibi quoque suisque a Theodoro episcopum dari peteret, non eis nouum uoluit ordinare episcopum, sed postulauit a rege Osuio ut illis episcopus Ceadda daretur, qui tunc in monasterio suo quod

est in Læstingae quietam uitam agebat, Vilfrido administrante episcopatum Eboracensis ecclesiae necnon et omnium Nordanhymbrorum, sed et Pictorum, quousque rex Osuiu imperium protendere poterat. et quia moris erat eidem reuerentissimo antistiti opus euangelii magis ambulando per loca quam equitando perficere, iussit eum Theodorus ubicumque longius iter instaret equitare, multumque renitentem studio et amore pii laboris ipse eum manu sua leuauit in equum, quia nimirum sanctum esse uirum comperit, atque equo uehi quo esset necesse compulit. susceptum itaque episcopatum gentis Merciorum simul et Lindisfarorum Ceadda iuxta exempla patrum antiquorum in magna uitae perfectione administrare curauit: cui etiam rex Vulfheri donauit terram 1 familiarum ad construendum monasterium in loco qui dicitur Adbaruæ, id est, Ad Nemus, in prouincia Lindissi, in quo usque hodie instituta ab ipso regularis uitae uestigia permanent.

Habuit autem sedem episcopalem in loco qui uocatur Lyccidfelth, in quo et defunctus ac sepultus est; ubi usque hodie sequentium quoque prouinciae illius episcoporum sedes est. fecerat uero sibi mansionem non longe ab ecclesia remotiorem; in qua secretius cum paucis, id est uii siue uiii, fratribus, quoties a labore et ministerio uerbi uacabat, orare ac legere solebat. qui cum in illa prouincia duobus annis ac dimidio ecclesiam gloriosissime rexisset, adfuit superno dispensante iudicio tempus, de quo loquitur ecclesiastes: 'quia tempus mittendi lapides et tempus colligendi.' superuenit namque clades diuinitus missa, quae per mortem carnis uiuos ecclesiae lapides de terrenis sedibus ad aedificium caeleste transferret. cumque plurimis de ecclesia eiusdem reuerentissimi antistitis de carne subtractis ueniret hora ipsius ut transiret ex hoc mundo ad

[32] *uenire* pr man. *-et* sec.

dominum, contigit die quadam ut in praefata mansione forte ipse cum uno tantum fratre cui uocabulum erat Ouini commoraretur, ceteris eius sociis pro causa oportuna ad ecclesiam reuersis. erat autem idem Ouini monachus magni meriti et pura intentione supernae retributionis mundum derelinquens dignusque per omnia cui dominus specialiter sua reuelaret arcana, dignus cui fidem narranti audientes accommodarent. uenerat enim cum regina Aedilthryde de prouincia Orientalium Anglorum eratque primus ministrorum et princeps domus eius. qui cum crescente fidei feruore saeculo abrenuntiare disponeret, non hoc segniter fecit, sed adeo se mundi rebus exuit ut, relictis omnibus quae habebat, simplici tantum habitu indutus et securim atque asciam in manu ferens ueniret ad monasterium eiusdem reuerentissimi patris, quod uocatur Laestingaeu. non enim ad otium, ut quidam, sed ad laborem se monasterium intrare signabat. quod ipsum etiam facto monstrauit: nam quo minus sufficiebat meditationi scripturarum, eo amplius operi manuum studium inpendebat. denique cum episcopo in praefata mansione pro suae reuerentia deuotionis inter fratres habitus, cum illi intus lectioni uacabant, ipse foris quae opus esse uidebantur operabatur. qui cum die quadam tale aliquid foris ageret digressis ad ecclesiam sociis, ut dicere coeperam, et episcopus solus in oratorio loci lectioni uel orationi operam daret, audiuit repente, ut postea referebat, uocem suauissimam cantantium atque laetantium de caelo ad terras usque descendere: quam uidelicet uocem ab euroaustro, id est ab alto brumalis exortus, primo se audisse dicebat ac deinde paulatim eam sibi adpropiare, donec ad tectum usque oratorii in quo erat episcopus perueniret: quod ingressa totum impleuit atque in gyro circumdedit. at ille dum sollicitus in ea quae

[21] *habetur* ms. [27] *discendere* ms.

audiebat animum intenderet, audiuit denuo transacto quasi dimidiae horae spatio ascendere de tecto eiusdem oratorii idem laetitiae canticum et ipsa qua uenerat uia ad caelos usque cum ineffabili dulcedine reuerti. qui cum aliquantulum horae quasi adtonitus maneret et quid haec essent sollerti animo scrutaretur, aperuit episcopus fenestram oratorii et sonitum manu faciens, ut saepe consueuerat, si quis foris esset, ad se intrare praecepit. introiuit ille concitus, cui dixit antistes: 'uade cito ad ecclesiam, et hos uii fratres huc uenire facito; tu quoque simul adesto.' qui cum uenissent, primo admonuit eos ut uirtutem dilectionis et pacis ad inuicem et ad omnes fideles seruarent, instituta quoque disciplinae regularis, quae uel ab ipso didicissent et in ipso uidissent uel in patrum praecedentium factis siue dictis inuenissent, indefessa instantia sequerentur. deinde subiunxit diem sui obitus iam proxime instare. 'namque hospes' inquit 'ille amabilis, qui fratres nostros uisitare solebat, ad me quoque hodie uenire meque de saeculo euocare dignatus est. propter quod reuertentes ad ecclesiam dicite fratribus ut et meum exitum domino precibus commendent et suum quoque exitum, cuius hora incerta est, uigiliis orationibus bonis operibus praeuenire meminerint.' cumque haec et huiusmodi plura loqueretur atque illi percepta eius benedictione iam multum tristes exissent, rediit ipse solus qui carmen caeleste audierat et prosternens se in terram 'obsecro' inquit, 'pater; licet aliquid interrogare?' 'interroga' inquit 'quod uis.' at ille 'obsecro' inquit 'ut dicas quod erat canticum illud laetantium quod audiui ueni entium de caelis super oratorium hoc et post tempus red untium ad caelos?' respondet ille: 'si uocem carminis audisti et caelestes superuenire coetus cognouisti, praecipio tibi in nomine domini, ne hoc cuiquam ante meum obitum dicas. reuera autem angelorum fuere spiritus, qui me ad

caelestia quae semper amabam ac desiderabam praemia uocare uenerunt et post dies uii se redituros aç me secum adducturos esse promiserunt.' quod quidem ita ut dictum ei erat, opere completum est. nam confestim languore corporis tactus est et hoc per dies ingrauescente septimo, ut promissum ei fuerat, die postquam obitum suum dominici corporis et sanguinis perceptione muniuit soluta ab ergastulo corporis anima sancta ducentibus, ut credi fas est, angelis comitibus aeterna gaudia petiuit. non autem mirum si diem mortis uel potius diem domini laetus aspexit, quem semper, usquedum ueniret, sollicitus exspectare curauit.

Namque inter plura continentiae humilitatis doctrinae orationum uoluntariae paupertatis et ceterarum uirtutum merita in tantum erat timori domini subditus, in tantum nouissimorum suorum in omnibus operibus suis memor, ut, sicut mihi frater quidam de his qui me in scripturis erudiebant et erat in monasterio ac magisterio illius educatus uocabulo Trumberct referre solebat, si forte legente eo uel aliud quid agente repente flatus uenti maior adsurgeret, continuo misericordiam domini inuocaret et eam generi humano propitiari rogaret; si autem uiolentior aura insisteret, iam clauso codice procideret in faciem atque obnixius orationi incumberet; at si procella fortior aut nimbus perurgeret uel etiam corusci ac tonitrua terras et aera terrerent, tunc ueniens ad ecclesiam sollicitus orationibus ac psalmis, donec serenitas aeris rediret, fixa mente uacaret. cumque interrogaretur a suis, quare hoc faceret, respondebat: 'non legistis, quia "intonuit de caelo dominus et altissimus dedit uocem suam; misit sagittas suas et dissipauit eos, fulgura multiplicauit et conturbauit eos"? mouet enim aera dominus uentos excitat iaculatur fulgora de caelo intonat, ut terrigenas ad timendum se suscitet, ut corda

22 *procederet* ms. 28–30 *et altissimus usque conturbauit eos* ms.

eorum in memoriam futuri iudicii reuocet, ut superbiam eorum dissipet et conturbet audaciam, reducto ad mentem tremendo illo tempore quando ipse caelis ac terris ardentibus uenturus est in nubibus in potestate magna et maiestate ad iudicandos uiuos et mortuos. propter quod' inquit 'oportet nos admonitioni eius caelesti debito cum timore et amore respondere; ut, quoties aere commoto manum quasi ad feriendum minitans exerit nec adhuc tamen percutit, mox inploremus eius misericordiam et discussis penetralibus cordis nostri atque expurgatis uitiorum ruderibus solliciti, ne umquam percuti mereamur, agamus.'

Conuenit autem reuelationi et relationi praefati fratris de obitu huius antistitis etiam sermo reuerentissimi patris Ecgbercti de quo supra diximus, qui dudum cum eodem Ceadda adulescente et ipse adulescens in Hibernia monachicam in orationibus et continentia et meditatione diuinarum scripturarum uitam sedulus agebat. sed illo postmodum patriam reuerso ipse peregrinus pro domino usque ad finem uitae permansit. cum ergo ueniret ad eum longo post tempore gratia uisitationis de Brittania uir sanctissimus et continentissimus uocabulo Hygbald qui erat abbas in prouincia Lindissi, et ut sanctos decebat de uita priorum patrum sermonem facerent atque hanc aemulari gauderent, interuenit mentio reuerentissimi antistitis Ceadda, dixitque Ecgberct: 'scio hominem in hac insula adhuc in carne manentem qui, cum uir ille de mundo transiret, uidit animam Ceddi fratris ipsius cum agmine angelorum descendere de caelo et adsumta secum anima eius ad caelestia regna redire.' quod utrum de se an de alio aliquo diceret, nobis manet incertum, dum tamen hoc quod tantus uir dixit quia uerum sit esse non possit incertum.

Obiit autem Ceadda sexto die nonarum Martiarum, et

[1] *iudici* ms. [22] *ut et* ms.

sepultus est primo quidem iuxta ecclesiam sanctae Mariae; sed postmodum constructa ibidem ecclesia beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri, in eandem sunt eius ossa translata. in quo utroque loco ad indicium uirtutis illius solent crebra sanitatum miracula operari. denique nuper freneticus quidam dum per cuncta errando discurreret, deuenit ibi uespere, nescientibus siue non curantibus loci custodibus, et ibi tota nocte requiescens, mane sanato sensu egressus mirantibus et gaudentibus cunctis, quid ibi sanitatis domino largiente consequeretur, ostendit. est autem locus idem sepulcri tumba lignea in modum domunculi facta coopertus habente foramen in pariete, per quod solent hi qui causa deuotionis illo adueniunt manum suam inmittere ac partem pulueris inde adsumere, quam cum in aquas miserint atque has infirmantibus iumentis siue hominibus gustandas dederint, mox infirmitatis ablata molestia cupitae sospitatis gaudia redibunt.

In cuius locum ordinauit Theodorus Vynfridum uirum bonum ac modestum, qui, sicut prodecessores eius, prouinciis Merciorum et Mediterraneorum Anglorum et Lindisfarorum episcopatus officio praeesset: in quibus cunctis Vulfheri, qui adhuc supererat, sceptrum regni tenebat. erat autem Vynfrid de clero eius cui ipse successerat antistitis et diaconatus officio sub eo non pauco tempore fungebatur.

IV

INTEREA Colmanus, qui de Scottia erat episcopus, relinquens Brittaniam tulit secum omnes quos in Lindisfarnensium insula congregauerat Scottos, sed et de gente Anglorum uiros circiter xxx, qui utrique monachicae conuersationis erant studiis inbuti. et relictis in ecclesia sua

fratribus aliquot primo uenit ad insulam Hii, unde erat ad praedicandum uerbum Anglorum genti destinatus; deinde secessit ad insulam quandam paruam, quae ad occidentalem plagam ab Hibernia procul secreta sermone Scottico Inisboufinde, id est 'insula uitulae albae,' nuncupatur. in hanc ergo perueniens construxit monasterium et monachos inibi quos de utraque natione collectos adduxerat collocauit. qui cum inuicem concordare non possent, eo quod Scotti tempore aestatis quo fruges erant colligendae relicto monasterio per nota sibi loca dispersi uagarentur, at uero hieme succedente redirent et his quae Angli praeparauerant communiter uti desiderarent; quaesiuit Colmanus huic dissensioni remedium, et circuiens omnia prope uel longe inuenit locum in Hibernia insula aptum monasterio construendo, qui lingua Scottorum Mageo nominatur; emitque partem eius non grandem ad construendum ibi monasterium a comite ad cuius possessionem pertinebat; ea condicione addita, ut pro ipso etiam qui eis locum commodaret consistentes ibi monachi domino preces offerrent. et constructo statim monasterio iuuante etiam comite ac uicinis omnibus Anglos ibidem locauit, relictis in praefata insula Scottis. quod uidelicet monasterium usque hodie ab Anglis tenetur incolis. ipsum namque est quod nunc grande de modico effectum Muigeo consuete uocatur, et conuersis iamdudum ad meliora instituta omnibus egregium examen continet monachorum, qui de prouincia Anglorum ibidem collecti ad exemplum uenerabilium patrum sub regula et abbate canonico in magna continentia et sinceritate proprio labore manuum uiuunt.

[2] *distinatus* ms. [19] *offerent* ms.

V

ANNO dominicae incarnationis dclxx^mo^, qui est annus secundus ex quo Brittaniam uenit Theodorus, Osuiu rex Nordanhymbrorum pressus est infirmitate, qua et mortuus est anno aetatis suae luiii. qui in tantum eo tempore tenebatur amore Romanae et apostolicae institutionis ut, si ab infirmitate saluaretur, etiam Romam uenire ibique ad loca sancta uitam finire disponeret, Vilfridumque episcopum ducem sibi itineris fieri promissa non parua pecuniarum donatione rogaret. qui defunctus die xu kalendarum Martiarum Ecgfridum filium regni heredem reliquit: cuius anno regni iii° Theodorus cogit concilium episcoporum, una cum eis qui canonica patrum statuta et diligerent et nossent magistris ecclesiae pluribus. quibus pariter congregatis, diligenter ea quae unitati pacis ecclesiasticae congruerent, eo quo pontificem decebat animo, coepit obseruanda docere. cuius synodicae actionis huiusmodi textus est:

'IN nomine domini dei et saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, regnante in perpetuum ac gubernante suam ecclesiam eodem domino Iesu Christo, placuit conuenire nos iuxta morem canonum uenerabilium tractaturos de necessariis ecclesiae negotiis. conuenimus autem die xx° iiii° mensis Septembris indictione prima in loco qui dicitur Herutford, ego quidem Theodorus, quamuis indignus, ab apostolica sede destinatus Doruuernensis ecclesiae episcopus, et consacerdos ac frater noster reuerentissimus Bisi Orientalium Anglorum episcopus: quibus etiam frater et consacerdos noster Vilfrid Nordanhymbrorum gentis episcopus per proprios legatarios adfuit. adfuerunt et fratres ac consacerdotes nostri, Putta episcopus castelli Cantuariorum quod dicitur Hrofescæstir, Leutherius episcopus Occidentalium Saxonum,

Vynfrid episcopus prouinciae Merciorum. cumque in unum conuenientes iuxta ordinem quique suum resedissemus, "rogo" inquam, "dilectissimi fratres, propter timorem et amorem redemtoris nostri, ut in commune omnes pro nostra fide tractemus, ut, quaeque decreta ac definita sunt a sanctis et probabilibus patribus, incorrupte ab omnibus nobis seruentur." haec et alia quamplura quae ad caritatem pertinebant unitatemque ecclesiae conseruandam prosecutus sum; cumque explessem praelocutionem, interrogaui unumquemque eorum per ordinem, si consentirent ea quae a patribus canonice sunt antiquitus decreta custodire. ad quod omnes consacerdotes nostri respondentes dixerunt: "optime omnibus placet, quaeque definierunt sanctorum canones patrum, nos quoque omnes alacri animo libentissime seruare." quibus statim protuli eundem librum canonum et ex eodem libro x capitula quae per loca notaueram, quia maxime nobis necessaria sciebam, illis coram ostendi et ut haec diligentius ab omnibus susciperentur rogaui.'

'PRIMVM capitulum: "Vt sanctum diem paschae in commune omnes seruemus dominica post xiiii[am] lunam mensis primi."

'Secundum: "Vt nullus episcoporum parrochiam alterius inuadat, sed contentus sit gubernatione creditae sibi plebis."

'Tertium: "Vt, quaeque monasteria deo consecrata sunt, nulli episcoporum liceat ea in aliquo inquietare nec quicquam de eorum rebus uiolenter abstrahere."

'Quartum: "Vt ipsi monachi non migrent de loco ad locum, hoc est de monasterio ad monasterium, nisi per dimissionem proprii abbatis, sed in ea permaneant oboedientia quam tempore suae conuersionis promiserunt."

[90] *demissionem* corr in *di-* ms.

'Quintum: "Vt nullus clericorum relinquens proprium episcopum passim quolibet discurrat, neque alicubi ueniens absque commendaticiis litteris sui praesulis suscipiatur. quod si semel susceptus noluerit inuitatus redire, et susceptor et is qui susceptus est excommunicationi subiacebit."

'Sextum: "Vt episcopi atque clerici peregrini contenti sint hospitalitatis munere oblato, nullique eorum liceat ullum officium sacerdotale absque permissu episcopi in cuius parrochia esse cognoscitur agere."

'Septimum: "Vt bis in anno synodus congregetur. sed quia diuersae causae inpediunt, placuit omnibus in commune, ut kalendis Augustis in loco qui appellatur Clofeshoch semel in anno congregemur."

'Octauum: "Vt nullus episcoporum se praeferat alteri per ambitionem, sed omnes agnoscant tempus et ordinem congregationis suae."

'Nonum capitulum in commune tractatum est: "Vt plures episcopi crescente numero fidelium augerentur;" sed de hac re ad praesens siluimus.

'Decimum capitulum pro coniugiis: "Vt nulli liceat nisi legitimum habere conubium. nullus incestum faciat, nullus coniugem propriam, nisi ut sanctum euangelium docet fornicationis causa, relinquat. quod si quisquam propriam expulerit coniugem legitimo sibi matrimonio coniunctam, si Christianus esse recte uoluerit, nulli alteri copuletur; sed ita permaneat aut propriae reconcilietur coniugi."

'His itaque capitulis in commune tractatis ac definitis, ut nullum deinceps ab aliquo nostrum oriatur contentionis scandalum aut alia pro aliis diuulgarentur, placuit ut, quaeque definita sunt, unusquisque nostrum manus propriae subscriptione confirmaret. quam sententiam definitionis

[5] *excommunicatione* ms.

nostrae Titillo notario scribendam dictaui. actum in mense et indictione supra scripta. quisquis igitur contra hanc sententiam, iuxta decreta canonum nostra etiam consensione ac subscriptione manus nostrae confirmatam, quoquo modo uenire eamque infringere temtauerit, nouerit se ab omni officio sacerdotali et nostra societate separatum. diuina nos gratia in unitate sanctae suae ecclesiae uiuentes custodiat incolumes.'

FACTA est autem haec synodus anno ab incarnatione domini dclxxtertio, quo anno rex Cantuariorum Ecgberct mense Iulio obierat, succedente in regnum fratre Hlothere quod ipse annos xi et menses uii tenuit. Bisi autem episcopus Orientalium Anglorum, qui in praefata synodo fuisse perhibetur, ipse erat successor Bonifatii, cuius supra meminimus, uir multae sanctitatis et religionis. nam Bonifatio post x et uii episcopatus sui annos defuncto, episcopus ipse pro eo, Theodoro ordinante, factus est. quo adhuc superstite sed grauissima infirmitate ab administrando episcopatu prohibito, duo sunt pro illo, Aecci et Baduuini, electi et consecrati episcopi: ex quo usque hodie prouincia illa duos habere solet episcopos.

VI

NON multo post haec elapso tempore offensus a Vynfrido Merciorum episcopo per meritum cuiusdam inoboedientiae Theodorus archiepiscopus, deposuit eum de episcopatu post annos accepti episcopatus non multos, et in loco eius ordinauit episcopum Sexuulfum, qui erat constructor et abbas monasterii quod dicitur Medeshamstedi in regione Gyruiorum. depositus uero Vynfrid rediit ad monasterium suum quod dicitur Adbaruæ, ibique in optima uitam conuersatione finiuit.

[13] *praefato* ms. *praefata* C[1].

Tum etiam Orientalibus Saxonibus, quibus eo tempore praefuerunt Sebbi et Sigheri quorum supra meminimus, Earconualdum constituit episcopum in ciuitate Lundonia: cuius uidelicet uiri et in episcopatu et ante episcopatum uita et conuersatio fertur fuisse sanctissima, sicut etiam nunc caelestium signa uirtutum indicio sunt. etenim usque hodie feretrum eius caballarium, quo infirmus uehi solebat, seruatum a discipulis eius multos febricitantes uel alio quolibet incommodo fessos sanare non desistit. non solum autem subpositi eidem feretro uel adpositi curantur aegroti, sed et astulae de illo abscissae atque ad infirmos adlatae citam illis solent adferre medellam.

Hic sane priusquam episcopus factus esset duo praeclara monasteria, unum sibi alterum sorori suae Aedilburgae, construxerat, quod utrumque regularibus disciplinis optime instituerat: sibi quidem in regione Sudergeona iuxta fluuium Tamensem in loco qui uocatur Cerotaesei, id est Ceroti insula; sorori autem in Orientali Saxonum prouincia, in loco qui nuncupatur In Berecingum, in quo ipsa deo deuotarum mater ac nutrix posset existere feminarum. quae suscepto monasterii regimine condignam se in omnibus episcopo fratre et ipsa recte uiuendo et subiectis regulariter et pie consulendo praebuit; ut etiam caelestia indicio fuere miracula.

VII

IN hoc etenim monasterio plura uirtutum sunt signa patrata, quae et ad memoriam aedificationemque sequentium ab his qui nouere descripta habentur a multis: e quibus et nos aliqua historiae nostrae ecclesiasticae inserere curauimus. cum tempestas saepe dictae cladis late cuncta

10 *egroti* ms. 30 *dicta* ms.

depopulans etiam partem monasterii huius illam qua uiri tenebantur inuasisset et passim cotidie raperentur ad dominum, sollicita mater congregationis, qua hora etiam eam monasterii partem qua ancillarum dei caterua a uirorum erat secreta contubernio eadem plaga tangeret, crebrius in conuentu sororum perquirere coepit quo loci in monasterio corpora sua poni et cymiterium fieri uellent, cum eas eodem quo ceteros exterminio raptari e mundo contingeret. cumque nihil certi responsi, tametsi saepius inquirens, a sororibus accepisset, accepit ipsa cum omnibus certissimum supernae prouisionis responsum. cum enim nocte quadam expletis matutinae laudis psalmodiis egressae de oratorio famulae Christi ad sepulchra fratrum, qui eas ex hac luce praecesserant, solitas domino laudes decantarent, ecce subito lux emissa caelitus ueluti linteum magnum uenit super omnes, tantoque eas stupore perculit ut etiam canticum quod canebant tremefactae intermitterent. ipse autem splendor emissae lucis, in cuius comparatione sol meridianus uideri posset obscurus, non multo post illo eleuatus de loco in meridianam monasterii partem, hoc est ad occidentem oratorii, secessit, ibique aliquandiu remoratus et ea loca operiens sic uidentibus cunctis ad caeli se alta subduxit, ut nulli esset dubium, quin ipsa lux, quae animas famularum Christi esset ductura uel susceptura in caelis, etiam corporibus earum locum in quo requietura et diem resurrectionis essent expectatura, monstraret. cuius radius lucis tantus extitit, ut quidam de fratribus senior qui ipsa hora in oratorio eorum cum alio iuniore positus fuerat referret mane, quod ingressi per rimas ostiorum uel fenestrarum radii lucis omnem diurni luminis uiderentur superare fulgorem.

[9] *sepius* ms.

VIII

ERAT in eodem monasterio puer trium circiter non amplius annorum Aesica nomine, qui propter infantilem adhuc aetatem in uirginum deo dedicatarum solebat cella nutriri ibique meditari. hic praefata pestilentia tactus ubi ad extrema peruenit, clamauit tertio unam de consecratis Christo uirginibus, proprio eam nomine quasi praesentem alloquens, Eadgyd, Eadgyd, Eadgyd; et sic terminans temporalem uitam intrauit aeternam. at uirgo illa quam moriens uocabat, mox in loco quo erat, eadem adtacta infirmitate, ipso quo uocata est die de hac luce subtracta et illum qui se uocauit ad regnum caeleste secuta est.

Item quaedam ex eisdem ancillis dei, cum praefato tacta morbo atque ad extrema esset perducta, coepit subito circa mediam noctem clamare his quae sibi ministrabant, petens ut lucernam quae inibi accensa erat extinguerent. quod cum frequenti uoce repeteret nec tamen ei aliquis obtemperaret, ad extremum intulit: 'scio quod me haec insana mente loqui arbitramini; sed iam nunc non ita esse cognoscite: nam uere dico uobis, quod domum hanc tanta luce impletam esse perspicio, ut uestra illa lucerna mihi omnimodis esse uideatur obscura.' et cum ne adhuc quidem talia loquenti quisquam responderet uel adsensum praeberet, iterum dixit: 'accendite ergo lucernam illam quam diu uultis; attamen scitote quia non est mea: nam mea lux incipiente aurora mihi aduentura est.' coepitque narrare quia apparuerit sibi quidam uir dei qui eodem anno fuerat defunctus, dicens quod adueniente diluculo perennem esset exitura ad lucem. cuius ueritas uisionis cita circa exortum diei puellae morte probata est.

[18] *ancellis* ms.

IX

CVM autem et ipsa mater pia deo deuotae congregationis Aedilburga esset rapienda de mundo, apparuit uisio miranda cuidam de sororibus cui nomen erat Torctgyd, quae multis iam annis in eodem monasterio commorata et ipsa semper in omni humilitate ac sinceritate deo seruire satagebat et adiutrix disciplinae regularis eidem matri existere minores docendo uel castigando curabat. cuius ut uirtus iuxta apostolum in infirmitate perficeretur, tacta est repente grauissimo corporis morbo et per annos uiiii pia redemtoris nostri prouisione multum fatigata: uidelicet ut, quicquid in ea uitii sordidantis inter uirtutes per ignorantiam uel incuriam resedisset, totum hoc caminus diutinae tribulationis excoqueret. haec ergo quadam nocte incipiente crepusculo egressa de cubiculo quo manebat, uidit manifeste quasi corpus hominis, quod esset sole clarius, sindone inuolutum in sublime ferri, elatum uidelicet de domo in qua sorores pausare solebant. cumque diligentius intueretur quo trahente leuaretur sursum haec quam contemplabatur species corporis gloriosi, uidit quod quasi funibus auro clarioribus in superna tolleretur, donec caelis patentibus introducta amplius ab illa uideri non potuit. nec dubium remansit cogitanti de uisione, quin aliquis de illa congregatione citius esset moriturus, cuius anima per bona quae fecisset opera quasi per funes aureos leuanda esset ad caelos: quod reuera ita contigit. nam non multis interpositis diebus deo dilecta mater congregationis ipsius ergastulo carnis educta est, cuius talem fuisse constat uitam, ut nemo qui eam nouerit dubitare debeat quin ei exeunti de hac uita caelestis patriae patuerit ingressus.

[14] *enim* pr man. *ergo* sec.

In eodem quoque monasterio quaedam erat femina sanctimonialis et ad saeculi huius dignitatem nobilis et in amore futuri saeculi nobilior: quae ita multis iam annis omni corporis fuerat officio destituta, ut ne unum quidem mouere ipsa membrum ualeret. haec ubi corpus abbatissae uenerabilis in ecclesiam delatum donec sepulturae daretur cognouit, postulauit se illo adferri et in modum orantium ad illud adclinari. quod dum fieret, quasi uiuentem adlocuta rogauit, ut apud misericordiam pii conditoris inpetraret se a tantis tamque diutinis cruciatibus absolui. nec multo tardius exaudita est: nam post dies duodecim et ipsa educta ex carne temporales adflictiones aeterna mercede mutauit.

Cum uero praefata Christi famula Torctgyd tres adhuc annos post obitum dominae in hac uita teneretur, in tantum ea quam praediximus infirmitate decocta est, ut uix ossibus haereret; et ad ultimum, cum tempus iam resolutionis eius instaret, non solum membrorum ceterorum sed et linguae motu caruit. quod dum tribus diebus ac totidem noctibus ageretur, subito uisione spiritali recreata os et oculos aperuit; aspectansque in caelum sic ad eam quam intuebatur uisionem coepit loqui: 'gratus mihi est multum aduentus tuus et bene uenisti:' et hoc dicto parumper reticuit, quasi responsum eius quem uidebat et cui loquebatur exspectans. rursumque quasi leuiter indignata subiunxit: 'nequaquam hoc laeta ferre queo.' rursumque modicum silens tertio dixit: 'si nullatenus hodie fieri potest, obsecro ne sit longum spatium in medio.' dixit et, sicut antea parum silens, ita sermonem conclusit: 'si omnimodis ita definitum est neque hanc sententiam licet inmutari, obsecro ne amplius quam haec solummodo proxima nox intersit.' quibus dictis interrogata a circumsedentibus, cum

12 *mercide* ms. 25 *sub* [in fine uersus] *subiunxit* ms. 30 *difinitum* ms.

quo loqueretur, 'cum carissima' inquit 'mea matre Aedilburge.' ex quo intellexere quod ipsa ei tempus suae transmigrationis in proximum nuntiare uenisset. nam et, ita ut rogabat, transacta una die ac nocte soluta carnis simul et infirmitatis uinculis ad aeternae gaudia salutis intrauit.

X

SVCCESSIT autem Aedilburgi in officio abbatissae deuota deo famula nomine Hildilid, multisque annis, id est usque ad ultimam senectutem, eidem monasterio strenuissime in obseruantia disciplinae regularis et in earum quae ad communes usus pertinent rerum prouidentia praefuit. cui cum, propter augustiam loci in quo monasterium constructum est, placuisset ut ossa famulorum famularumque Christi quae ibidem fuerant tumulata tollerentur et transferrentur omnia in ecclesiam beatae dei genetricis unoque conderentur in loco, quoties ibi claritas luminis caelestis quanta saepe flagrantia mirandi apparuerit odoris quae alia sint signa ostensa, in ipso libro de quo haec excerpsimus, quisque legerit, inueniet.

Sane nullatenus praetereundum arbitror miraculum sanitatis, quod ad ipsum cymiterium deo dicatae congregationis factum idem libellus refert. erat quippe in proximo comes quidam, cuius uxor ingruente oculis caligine subita tantum per dies eadem molestia crebrescente grauata est, ut ne minimam quidem lucis alicuius posset particulam uidere. cui, dum aliquandiu caecitatis huius nocte clausa maneret, repente uenit in mentem quia, si ad monasterium delata uirginum sanctimonialium ad reliquias sanctorum peteret,

[2] *et* ms. *ei* C[1]. [17] *fragrantia* C[1].
[25] *minimum* ms. *minimam* C[1].

perditam posset recipere lucem. nec distulit quin continuo, quod mente conceperat, expleret. perducta namque a puellis suis ad monasterium, quia in proximo erat, ubi fidem suae sanationis integram se habere professa est, introducta est ad cymiterium et, cum ibidem diutius flexis genibus oraret, nihilo tardius meruit exaudiri. nam exsurgens ab oratione, priusquam exiret de loco, petitae lucis gratiam recepit, et quae famularum manibus adducta fuerat, ipsa libero pedum incessu domum laeta reuersa est: quasi ad hoc solum modo lucem amitteret temporalem ut, quanta sanctos Christi lux in caelis quae gratia uirtutis possideret, sua sanatione demonstraret.

XI

EO tempore praeerat regno Orientalium Saxonum, ut idem etiam libellus docet, uir multum deo deuotus nomine Sebbi, cuius supra meminimus. erat enim religiosis actibus crebris precibus piis elimosynarum fructibus plurimum intentus, uitam priuatam et monachicam cunctis regni diuitiis et honoribus praeferens, quam et olim iam, si non obstinatus coniugis animus diuortium negaret, relicto regno subisset. unde multum uisum et saepe dictum est, quia talis animi uirum episcopum magis quam regem ordinari deceret. cumque annos xxx in regno miles regni caelestis exegisset, correptus est corporis infirmitate permaxima, qua et mortuus est: ammonuitque coniugem, ut uel tunc diuino se seruitio pariter manciparent, cum amplius pariter mundum amplecti uel potius mundo seruire non possent. quod dum aegre inpetraret ab ea, uenit ad antistitem Lundoniae ciuitatis uocabulo Valdheri, qui Erconualdo successerat; et per eius

benedictionem habitum religionis quem diu desiderabat accepit. attulit autem eidem et summam pecuniae non paruam pauperibus erogandam, nil omnimodis sibi reseruans, sed pauper spiritu magis propter regnum caelorum manere desiderans.

Qui cum ingrauescente praefata aegritudine diem sibi mortis inminere sensisset, timere coepit homo animi regalis, ne ad mortem ueniens tanto adfectus dolore aliquid indignum suae personae uel ore proferret uel aliorum motu gereret membrorum. unde accito ad se praefato urbis Lundoniae in qua tunc ipse manebat episcopo, rogauit ne plures eo moriente quam ipse episcopus et duo sui ministri adessent. quod dum episcopus libentissime se facturum promitteret, non multo post idem uir dei, dum membra sopori dedisset, uidit uisionem consolatoriam, quae omnem ei anxietatem memoratae sollicitudinis auferret, insuper et, qua die esset hanc uitam terminaturus, ostenderet. uidit enim, ut post ipse referebat, tres ad se uenisse uiros claro indutos habitu : quorum unus residens ante lectulum eius, stantibus his qui secum aduenerant comitibus et interrogantibus de statu eius quem languentem uisitare uenerant, dixit quod anima eius et sine ullo dolore et cum magno lucis splendore esset egressura de corpore : sed et tertium exinde diem quo esset moriturus insinuauit. quod ita utrumque ut ex uisione didicit completum est. nam die dehinc tertio completa hora nona subito quasi leuiter obdormiens sine ullo sensu doloris emisit spiritum.

Cuius corpori tumulando praeparauerant sarcofagum lapideum : sed cum huic corpus inponere coepissent, inuenerunt hoc mensura palmi longius esse sarcofago. dolantes ergo lapidem in quantum ualebant, addiderunt longitudini sarcofagi quasi duorum mensuram digitorum. sed nec sic quidem corpus capiebat. unde facta difficultate

tumulandi cogitabant aut aliud quaerere loculum aut ipsum corpus, si possent, in genibus inflectendo breuiare, donec ipso loculo caperetur. sed mira res et non nisi caelitus facta, ne aliquid horum fieri deberet, prohibuit. nam subito adstante episcopo et filio regis eiusdem ac monachi Sighardo, qui post illum cum fratre Suefredo regnauit, et turba hominum non modica, inuentum est sarcofagum illud congruae longitudinis ad mensuram corporis, adeo ut a parte capitis etiam ceruical posset interponi, a parte uero pedum mensura iiii digitorum in sarcofago corpus excederet. conditus est autem in ecclesia beati doctoris gentium, cuius edoctus monitis caelestia sperare didicerat.

XII

QVARTVS Occidentalium Saxonum antistes Leutherius fuit. siquidem primus Birinus, secundus Agilberctus, tertius extitit Vini. cumque mortuus esset Coinualch quo regnante idem Leutherius episcopus factus est, acceperunt subreguli regnum gentis et diuisum inter se tenuerunt annis circiter x: ipsisque regnantibus defunctus est ille et episcopatu functus est Haeddi pro eo, consecratus a Theodoro in ciuitate Lundonia. cuius episcopatus tempore deuictis atque amotis subregulis Caedualla suscepit imperium et, cum duobus annis hoc tenuisset, tandem superni regni amore compunctus reliquit eodem adhuc praesule ecclesiam gubernante; ac Romam abiens ibi uitam finiuit, ut in sequentibus latius dicendum est.

Anno autem dominicae incarnationis dmo clxxmo uito, cum Aedilred rex Merciorum adducto maligno exercitu Cantiam uastaret et ecclesias ac monasteria sine respectu pietatis uel diuini timoris foedaret, ciuitatem quoque Hrofi,

30 *fedaret* ms.

in qua erat Putta episcopus quamuis eo tempore absens, communi clade absumsit. quod ille ubi comperit, ecclesiam uidelicet suam rebus ablatis omnibus depopulatam, diuertit ad Sexuulfum Merciorum antistitem et accepta ab eo possessione ecclesiae cuiusdam et agelli non grandis, ibidem in pace uitam finiuit, nil omnino de restaurando episcopatu suo agens, quia sicut supra diximus magis in ecclesiasticis quam in mundanis rebus erat industrius, sed in illa solum ecclesia deo seruiens et ubicumque rogabatur ad docenda ecclesiae carmina diuertens. pro quo Theodorus in ciuitate Hrofi Cuichelmum consecrauit episcopum: sed illo post non multum temporis prae inopia rerum ab episcopatu decedente atque ad alia loca secedente, Gebmundum pro eo substituit antistitem.

Anno dominicae incarnationis d° clxx° uiii°, qui est annus imperii regis Ecgfridi uiii, apparuit mense Augusto stella quae dicitur cometa, et tribus mensibus permanens matutinis horis oriebatur, excelsam radiantis flammae quasi columnam praeferens. quo etiam anno orta inter ipsum regem Ecgfridum et reuerentissimum antistitem Vilfridum dissensione, pulsus est idem antistes a sede sui episcopatus et duo in locum eius substituti episcopi, qui Nordanhymbrorum genti praeessent, Bosa uidelicet qui Derorum et Eata qui Berniciorum prouinciam gubernaret: hic in ciuitate Eburaci, ille in Hagustaldensi siue in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia cathedram habens episcopalem, ambo de monachorum collegio in episcopatus gradum adsciti. cum quibus et Eadhaed in prouincia Lindisfarorum, quam nuperrime rex Ecgfrid superato in bello et fugato Vulfhere obtinuerat, ordinatur episcopus. et hunc primum eadem prouincia proprium accepit praesulem, secundum Ediluini, tertium Eadgarum, quartum Cyniberctum, quem in praesenti habet.

[6] *restaurato* ms. *-ndo* C[1]. [12] *non* C[1] om ms.

habebat enim ante Eadhaedum antistitem Sexuulfum, qui etiam Merciorum et Mediterraneorum Anglorum simul episcopus fuit: unde et expulsus de Lindissi, in illarum prouinciarum regimine permansit. ordinati sunt autem Eadhaed Bosa et Eata Eboraci ab archiepiscopo Theodoro: qui etiam post tres abscessionis Vilfridi annos horum numero duos addidit antistites, Tunberctum ad ecclesiam Hagustaldensem remanente Eata ad Lindisfarnensem, et Trumuini ad prouinciam Pictorum quae tunc temporis Anglorum erat imperio subiecta. Eadhaedum de Lindissi reuersum, eo quod Aedilred prouinciam recepisset, Hrypensi ecclesiae praefecit.

XIII

PVLSVS est autem ab episcopatu suo Vilfrid, et multa diu loca peruagatus Romam adiit, Brittaniam rediit; et si propter inimicitias memorati regis in patria siue parrochia sua recipi non potuit, non tamen ab euangelizandi potuit ministerio cohiberi: siquidem diuertens ad prouinciam Australium Saxonum, quae post Cantuarios ad austrùm et ad occidentem usque ad Occidentales Saxones pertingit habens terram familiarum uii milium et eo adhuc tempore paganis cultibus seruiebat, huic uerbum fidei et lauacrum salutis ministrabat. erat autem rex gentis ipsius Aediluach, non multo ante baptizatus in prouincia Merciorum praesente ac suggerente rege Vulfhere, a quo etiam egressus de fonte loco filii susceptus est: in cuius signum adoptionis duas illi prouincias donauit, Vectam uidelicet insulam et Meanuarorum prouinciam in gente Occidentalium Saxonum. itaque episcopus, concedente immo multum gaudente rege, primos prouinciae duces ac milites sacrosancto fonte abluebat; uerum presbyteri Eappa et Padda

et Burghelm et Oiddi ceteram plebem uel tunc uel tempore sequente baptizabant. porro regina nomine Eabae in sua, id est Huicciorum, prouincia fuerat baptizata. erat autem filia Eanfridi fratris Ænheri, qui ambo cum suo populo Christiani fuere. ceterum tota prouincia Australium Saxonum diuini nominis et fidei erat ignara.

Erat autem ibi monachus quidam de natione Scottorum uocabulo Dicul, habens monasteriolum permodicum in loco qui uocatur Bosanhamm siluis et mari circumdatum, et in eo fratres u siue ui in humili et paupere uita dominq famulantes. sed prouincialium nullus eorum uel uitam aemulari uel praedicationem curabat audire.

Euangelizans autem genti episcopus Vilfrid, non solum eam ab aerumna perpetuae damnationis uerum et a clade infanda temporalis interitus eripuit. siquidem tribus annis ante aduentum eius in prouinciam nulla illis in locis pluuia ceciderat, unde et fames acerbissima plebem inuadens impia nece prostrauit. denique ferunt quia saepe xl simul aut l homines inedia macerati procederent ad praecipitium aliquod siue ripam maris, et iunctis misere manibus pariter omnes aut ruina perituri aut fluctibus absorbendi decederent. uerum ipso die, quo baptisma fidei gens suscepit illa, descendit pluuia serena sed copiosa, refloruit terra, rediit uiridantibus aruis annus laetus et frugifer. sicque abiecta prisca superstitione, exsufflata idolatria, cor omnium et caro omnium exultauerunt in deum uiuum: intellegentes eum, qui uerus est deus, et interioribus se bonis et exterioribus caelesti gratia ditasse. nam et antistes cum uenisset in prouinciam tantamque ibi famis poenam uideret, docuit eos piscando uictum quaerere. namque mare et flumina eorum piscibus abundabant, sed piscandi peritia genti nulla nisi

[14] *erumna* ms. [17] *acervissima* ms. [21] *obser-* ms.

ad anguillas tantum inerat. collectis ergo undecumque retibus anguillaribus, homines antistitis miserunt in mare, et diuina se iuuante gratia mox cepere pisces diuersi generis ccc. quibus trifariam diuisis centum pauperibus dederunt, centum his a quibus retia acceperant, centum in suos usus habebant. quo beneficio multum antistes cor omnium in suum conuertit amorem et libentius eo praedicante caelestia sperare coeperunt, cuius ministerio temporalia bona sumserunt.

Quo tempore rex Aedilualch donauit reuerentissimo antistiti Vilfrido terram lxxx uii familiarum, ubi suos homines qui exules uagabantur recipere posset, uocabulo Selæseu, quod dicitur Latine insula uituli marini. est enim locus ille undique mari circumdatus praeter ab occidente, unde habet ingressum amplitudinis quasi iactus fundae: qualis locus a Latinis paeninsula, a Graecis solet cherronesos uocari. hunc ergo locum cum accepisset episcopus Vilfrid, fundauit ibi monasterium ac regulari uita instituit, maxime ex his quos secum adduxerat fratribus: quod usque hodie successores eius tenere noscuntur. nam ipse illis in partibus annos u, id est usque ad mortem Ecgfridi regis, merito omnibus honorabilis officium episcopatus et uerbo exercebat et opere. et quoniam illi rex cum praefata loci possessione omnes qui ibidem erant facultates cum agris et hominibus donauit, omnes fide Christi institutos unda baptismatis abluit: inter quos seruos et ancillas ducentos quinquaginta, quos omnes ut baptizando a seruitute daemonica saluauit, etiam libertate donando humanae iugo seruitutis absoluit.

1-2 *anguilas -ilaribus* ms. 3 *coepere* ms.
5 *-unt* ms. 6 *antistitis* ms. *-stes* C1. 19 *quis* ms.

XIIII

IN quo tunc monasterio nonnulla caelestis gratiae dona specialiter ostensa fuisse perhibentur, utpote ubi nuper expulsa diaboli tyrrannide Christus iam regnare coeperat. e quibus unum, quod mihi reuerentissimus antistes Acca saepius referre et a fidelissimis eiusdem monasterii fratribus sibi relatum asserere solebat, memoriae mandare commodum duximus. eodem ferme tempore, quo ipsa prouincia nomen Christi susceperat, multas Brittaniae prouincias mortalitas saeua corripiebat. quae cum praefatum quoque monasterium cui tunc regendo religiosissimus Christi sacerdos uocabulo Eappa praefuit nutu diuinae dispensationis attingeret, multique, siue de his qui cum antistite illo uenerant siue de illis qui de eadem prouincia Saxonum nuper ad fidem fuerant uocati, passim de hac uita raperentur, uisum est fratribus triduanum ieiunium agere et diuinam suppliciter obsecrare clementiam, ut misericordiam sibi dignaretur inpendere et siue periclitantes hoc morbo a praesenti morte liberaret seu raptos e mundo a perpetua animae damnatione seruaret.

Erat tunc temporis in eodem monasterio puerulus quidam de natione Saxonum nuper uocatus ad fidem, qui eadem tactus infirmitate non pauco tempore recubans in lectulo iacebat. cum ergo secunda memorati ieiunii ac supplicationum dies ageretur, contigit forte ipsum puerum hora ferme secunda diei in loco in quo aeger iacebat solum inueniri: cui diuina dispositione subito beatissimi apostolorum principes dignati sunt apparere. erat enim puer multum simplicis ae mansueti animi sinceraque deuotione sacramenta fidei quae susceperat seruans. salutantes ergo illum uerbis piissimis apostoli dicebant: 'noli timere, fili,

[26] *eger* ms.

mortem pro qua sollicitus es: nos enim te hodierna die ad caelestia sumus regna perducturi. sed primum exspectare habes donec missae celebrentur ac uiatico dominici corporis ac sanguinis accepto sic infirmitate simul et morte absolutus ad aeterna in caelis gaudia subleueris. clama ergo ad te presbyterum Eappan, et dicito illi quia dominus exaudiuit preces uestras et deuotionem ac ieiunia propitius aspexit, neque aliquis de hoc monasterio siue adiacentibus ei possessiunculis hac clade ultra moriturus est; sed omnes, qui alicubi de uestris hac aegritudine laborant, resurrecturi a languore pristina sunt sospitate recuperandi, praeter te solum qui hodierna es die liberandus a morte et ad uisionem domini Christi cui fideliter seruisti perducendus in caelum: quod diuina uobis misericordia per intercessionem religiosi ac deo dilecti regis Osualdi, qui quondam genti Nordanhymbrorum et regni temporalis auctoritate et Christianae pietatis quae ad regnum perenne ducit deuotione sublimiter praefuit, conferre dignata est. hac etenim die idem rex ab infidelibus in bello corporaliter extinctus, mox ad sempiterna animarum gaudia adsumtus in caelum et electorum est sociatus agminibus. quaerant in suis codicibus in quibus defunctorum est adnotata depositio, et inuenient illum hac ut diximus die raptum esse de saeculo. celebrent ergo missas per cuncta monasterii oratoria huius, siue pro gratiarum actione exauditae suae deprecationis siue etiam in memoriam praefati regis Osualdi qui quondam ipsorum genti praeerat ideoque pro eis quasi pro suae gentis aduenis supplex orabat ad dominum. et cunctis conuenientibus ad ecclesiam fratribus, communicent omnes sacrificiis caelestibus et ita soluto ieiunio corpus quoque suis reficiant alimentis.'

Quae cum omnia uocato ad se presbytero puer uerba

[8] *sibi* ms. *siue* C[1]. [28] *aduenientibus* pr man. *conu-* sec.

narrasset, interrogauit eum sollicitus quales essent habitu uel specie uiri qui sibi apparuissent. respondit: 'praeclari omnino habitus et uultus erant laetissimi ac pulcherrimi, quales numquam ante uideram neque aliquos hominum tanti decoris ac uenustatis esse posse credebam. unus quidem attonsus erat ut clericus, alius barbam habebat prolixam: dicebantque quod unus eorum Petrus, alius uocaretur Paulus, et ipsi essent ministri domini et saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi ad tuitionem nostri monasterii missi ab ipso de caelis.' credidit ergo uerbis pueri presbyter, ac statim egressus requisiuit in annale suo et inuenit eadem ipsa die Osualdum regem fuisse peremtum: uocatisque fratribus parari prandium missas fieri atque omnes communicare more solito praecepit: simul et infirmanti puero de eodem sacrificio dominicae oblationis particulam deferri mandauit. quibus ita gestis non multo post eadem ipsa die puer defunctus est, suaque morte probauit uera fuisse uerba quae ab apostolis Christi audierat. sed et hoc eius uerbis testimonium perhibuit, quod nemo praeter ipsum tempore illo ex eodem est monasterio raptus de mundo. ex qua nimirum uisione multi, qui haec audire potuerunt, ad exorandam in aduersis diuinam clementiam ad salutaria ieiuniorum remedia subeunda sunt mirabiliter accensi: et ex eo tempore non solum in eodem monasterio, sed et in plerisque locis aliis, coepit annuatim eiusdem regis ac militis Christi natalicius dies missarum celebratione uenerari.

[XV]

INTEREA superueniens cum exercitu Caedualla iuuenis strenuissimus de regio genere Geuissorum, cum exularet a patria sua, interfecit regem Aedilualch ac prouinciam illam

[21] *et ex-* ms. *ad ex-* C[2]. ? *et ad* bis 21 and 22.

[27] c XV and XVI form part of c XIV in ms.

saeua caede ac depopulatione attriuit; sed mox expulsus est a ducibus regis Bercthuno et Andhuno, qui deinceps regnum prouinciae tenuerunt: quorum prior postea ab eodem Caedualla, cum esset rex Geuissorum, occisus est et prouincia grauiore seruitio subacta. sed et Ini, qui post Caeduallan regnauit, simili prouinciam illam adflictione plurimo annorum tempore mancipauit. quare factum est ut toto illo tempore episcopum proprium habere nequiret, sed reuocato domum Vilfrido primo suo antistite ipsi episcopo Geuissorum, id est Occidentalium Saxonum qui essent in Venta ciuitate, subiacerent.

[XVI]

POSTQVAM ergo Caedualla regno potitus est Geuissorum, cepit et insulam Vectam quae erat tota idolatriae dedita, ac tragica caede omnes indigenas exterminare ac suae prouinciae homines pro his substituere contendit, uoto se obligans, quamuis necdum regeneratus ut ferunt in Christo, quia, si cepisset insulam, quartam partem eius simul et praedae domino daret. quod ita soluit, ut hanc Vilfrido episcopo, qui tunc forte de gente sua superueniens aderat, utendam pro domino offerret. est autem mensura eiusdem insulae iuxta aestimationem Anglorum mille ducentarum familiarum: unde data est episcopo possessio terrae trecentarum familiarum. at ipse partem quam accepit commendauit cuidam de clericis suis, cui nomen Bernuini et erat filius sororis ejus, dans illi presbyterum nomine Hiddila, qui omnibus qui saluari uellent uerbum ac lauacrum uitae ministraret.

Vbi silentio praetereundum non esse reor, quod in primi-

[12] see p 120 n 27. [14] *coepit* ms. [15] *stragica* ms.

tias eorum qui de eadem insula credendo saluati sunt, duo regii pueri, fratres uidelicet Arualdi regis insulae, speciali sunt dei gratia coronati: siquidem inminentibus insulae hostibus fuga lapsi sunt de insula et in proximam Iutorum prouinciam translati: ubi, cum delati in locum qui uocatur Ad Lapidem occulendos se a facie regis uictoris credidissent, proditi sunt atque occidi iussi. quod cum audisset abbas quidam et presbyter uocabulo Cyniberct, habens non longe ab inde monasterium in loco qui uocatur Hreutford, id est 'uadum harundinis,' uenit ad regem, qui tunc eisdem in partibus occultus curabatur a uulneribus quae ei inflicta fuerant proelianti in insula Vecta, postulauitque ab eo ut, si necesse esset pueros interfici, prius eos liceret fidei Christianae sacramentis inbui. concessit rex, et ipse instructos uerbo ueritatis ac fonte saluatoris ablutos de ingressu regni aeterni certos reddidit. moxque illi instante carnifice mortem laeti subiere temporalem per quam se ad uitam animae perpetuam non dubitabant esse transituros. hoc ergo ordine, postquam omnes Brittaniarum prouinciae fidem Christi susceperant, suscepit et insula Vecta, in qua tamen ob aerumnam externae subiectionis nemo gradum ministerii ac sedis episcopalis ante Danihelem, qui nunc Occidentalium Saxonum est episcopus, accepit.

Sita est autem haec insula contra medium Australium Saxonum et Geuissorum, interposito pelago latitudinis trium milium quod uocatur Soluente: in quo uidelicet pelago bini aestus oceani, qui circum Brittaniam ex infinito oceano septentrionali erumpunt, sibimet inuicem cotidie compugnantes occurrunt ultra ostium fluminis Homelea, quod per terras Iutorum quae ad regionem Geuissorum pertinent

19 *interfeci* ms.
20 *susceperunt* pr man. *-ant* sec.
21 *erumnam* ms.
15 *absolutos* ms. *ablutos* C^1.
quam ms. *qua* C^5.

praefatum pelagus intrat, finitoque conflictu in oceanum refusi, unde uenerant, redeunt.

[XVII]

HIS temporibus audiens Theodorus fidem ecclesiae Constantinopoli per haeresim Eutychetis multum esse turbatam et ecclesias Anglorum quibus praeerat ab huiusmodi labe inmunes perdurare desiderans, collecto uenerabilium sacerdotum doctorumque plurimorum coetu, cuius essent fidei singuli sedulus inquirebat omniumque unianimem in fide catholica repperit consensum: et hunc synodalibus litteris ad instructionem memoriamque sequentium commendare curauit, quarum uidelicet litterarum istud exordium est:

'IN nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi saluatoris, imperantibus dominis piissimis nostris Ecgfrido rege Hymbronensium, anno x° regni eius sub die xu kalendas Octobres indictione uiii, et Aedilredo rege Mercinensium anno sexto regni eius, et Alduulfo rege Estranglorum anno xuii° regni eius, et Hlothario rege Cantuariorum regni eius anno uii°: praesidente Theodoro gratia dei archiepiscopo Brittaniae insulae et ciuitatis Doruuernis: una cum eo sedentibus ceteris episcopis Brittaniae insulae uiris uenerabilibus praepositis sacrosanctis euangeliis in loco qui Saxonico uocabulo Haethfelth nominatur, pariter tractantes fidem rectam et orthodoxam exposuimus, sicut dominus noster Iesus Christus incarnatus tradidit discipulis suis qui praesentialiter uiderunt et audierunt sermones eius, atque sanctorum patrum tradidit symbolum, et generaliter omnes sancti et uniuersales synodi et omnis probabilium catholicae ecclesiae doctorum

[3] *XV* ms. [8] *que* C[1]. om ms.

chorus. hos itaque sequentes nos pie atque orthodoxe iuxta diuinitus inspiratam doctrinam eorum professi credimus consonanter et confitemur secundum sanctos patres, proprie et ueraciter patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum trinitatem in unitate consubstantialem et unitatem in trinitate, hoc est unum deum in tribus subsistentiis uel personis consubstantialibus aequalis gloriae et honoris.' et post multa huiusmodi quae ad rectae fidei confessionem pertinebant, haec quoque sancta synodus suis litteris addit: 'suscepimus sanctas et uniuersales quinque synodos beatorum et deo acceptabilium patrum; id est qui in Nicaea congregati fuerunt cccx et uiii contra Arrium impiissimum et eiusdem dogmata, et in Constantinopoli cl contra uaesaniam Macedoni et Eudoxii et eorum dogmata, et in Efeso primo ducentorum contra nequissimum Nestorium et eiusdem dogmata, et in Calcedone dc^{rum} et xxx contra Eutychen et Nestorium et eorum dogmata; et iterum in Constantinopoli quinto congregati sunt concilio in tempore Iustiniani minoris contra Theodorum et Theodoreti et Ibae epistulas et eorum dogmata contra Cyrillum.' et paulo post: 'et synodum quae facta est in urbe Roma in tempore Martini papae beatissimi indictione uiii^{a} imperante Constantino piissimo anno nono suscepimus. et glorificamus dominum nostrum Iesum, sicut isti glorificauerunt, nihil addentes uel subtrahentes; et anathematizamus corde et ore quos anathematizarunt et quos susceperunt suscepimus: glorificantes deum patrem sine initio et filium eius unigenitum et patre generatum ante saecula et spiritum sanctum procedentem ex patre et filio inenarrabiliter, sicut praedicauerunt hi, quos memorauimus supra, sancti apostoli et prophetae et doctores. et nos omnes subscripsimus, qui cum Theodoro archiepiscopo fidem catholicam exposuimus.'

[6] *subsistentis* ms. [25] *detrahentes* pr man. *subtr-* sec.

[XVIII]

INTERERAT huic synodo pariterque catholicae fidei decreta firmabat uir uenerabilis Iohannes archicantator ecclesiae sancti apostoli Petri et abbas monasterii beati Martini, qui nuper uenerat a Roma per iussionem papae Agathonis duce reuerentissimo abbate Biscopo cognomine Benedicto, cuius supra meminimus. cum enim idem Benedictus construxisset monasterium Brittaniae in honorem beatissimi apostolorum principis iuxta ostium fluminis Viuri, uenit Romam cum cooperatore ac socio eiusdem operis Ceolfrido qui post ipsum eiusdem monasterii abbas fuit, quod et ante saepius facere consueuerat, atque honorifice a beatae memoriae papa Agathone susceptus est: petiitque et accepit ab eo, in munimentum libertatis monasterii quod fecerat, epistulam priuilegii ex auctoritate apostolica firmatam; iuxta quod Ecgfridum regem uoluisse ac licentiam dedisse nouerat, quo concedente et possessionem terrae largiente ipsum monasterium fecerat.

Accepit et praefatum Iohannem abbatem Brittaniam perducendum, quatenus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annuum, sicut ad sanctum Petrum Romae agebatur, edoceret: egitque abba Iohannes ut iussionem acceperat pontificis, et ordinem uidelicet ritumque canendi ac legendi uiua uoce praefati monasterii cantores edocendo, et ea quae totius anni circulus in celebratione dierum festorum poscebat etiam litteris mandando: quae hactenus in eodem monasterio seruata et a multis iam sunt circumquaque transscripta. non solum autem idem Iohannes ipsius monasterii fratres docebat, uerum de omnibus pene eiusdem prouinciae monasteriis ad audiendum eum qui cantandi

[1] *XVI* ms.

erant periti confluebant, sed et ipsum per loca, in quibus doceret, multi inuitare curabant.

Ipse autem excepto cantandi uel legendi munere et aliud in mandatis ab apostolico papa acceperat, ut cuius esset fidei Anglorum ecclesia diligenter edisceret Romamque rediens referret. nam et synodum beati papae Martini centum quinque episcoporum consensu non multo ante Romae celebratam, contra eos maxime qui unam in Christo operationem et uoluntatem praedicabant, secum ueniens adtulit atque in praefato religiosissimi abbatis Benedicti monasterio transscribendam commodauit. tales namque eo tempore fidem Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae multum conturbauerunt, sed domino donante proditi iam tunc et uicti sunt. unde uolens Agatho papa, sicut in aliis prouinciis ita etiam in Brittania qualis esset status ecclesiae, quam ab haereticorum contagiis castus, ediscere, hoc negotium reuerentissimo abbati Iohanni Brittaniam destinato iniunxit. quamobrem collecta pro hoc in Brittania synodo quam diximus, inuenta est in omnibus fides inuiolata catholica: datumque illi exemplar eius Romam perferendum.

Verum ille patriam reuertens, non multo postquam oceanum transiit arreptus infirmitate ac defunctus est: corpusque eius ab amicis propter amorem sancti Martini, cuius monasterio praeerat, Turonis delatum atque honorifice sepultum est. nam et benigno ecclesiae illius hospitio, cum Brittaniam iret, exceptus est rogatusque multum a fratribus, ut Romam reuertens illo itinere ueniret atque ad eam diuerteret ecclesiam. denique ibidem adiutores itineris et iniuncti operis accepit: qui etsi in itinere defunctus est, nihilominus exemplum catholicae fidei Anglorum Romam perlatum est, atque ab apostolico papa omnibusque qui audiere uel legere gratantissime susceptum.

[27] *deuertens* ms. *re-* C[1].

[XVIIII]

ACCEPIT autem rex Ecgfrid coniugem nomine Aedilthrydam, filiam Anna regis Orientalium Anglorum, cuius saepius mentionem fecimus, uiri bene religiosi ac per omnia mente et opere egregii: quam et alter ante illum uir habuerat uxorem, princeps uidelicet australium Guruiorum uocabulo Tondberct. sed illo post modicum temporis ex quo eam accepit defuncto, data est regi praefato: cuius consortio cum xii annis uteretur, perpetua tamen mansit uirginitatis integritate gloriosa: sicut mihimet sciscitanti, cum hoc an ita esset quibusdam uenisset in dubium, beatae memoriae Vilfrid episcopus referebat, dicens se testem integritatis eius esse certissimum: adeo ut Ecgfridus promiserit se ei terras ac pecunias multas esse donaturum, si reginae posset persuadere eius uti conubio, quia sciebat illam nullum uirorum plus illo diligere. nec diffidendum est nostra etiam aetate fieri potuisse, quod aeuo praecedente aliquoties factum fideles historiae narrant: donante uno eodemque domino, qui se nobiscum usque in finem saeculi manere pollicetur. nam etiam signum diuini miraculi, quo eiusdem feminae sepulta caro corrumpi non potuit, indicio est quia a uiri contactu incorrupta durauerit.

Quae multum diu regem postulans, ut saeculi curas relinquere atque in monasterio tantum uero regi Christo seruire permitteretur, ubi uix aliquando inpetrauit, intrauit monasterium Aebbæ abbatissae quae erat amita regis Ecgfridi, positum in loco quem Coludi Vrbem nominant, accepto uelamine sanctimonialis habitus a praefato antistite Vilfrido. post annum uero ipsa facta est abbatissa in regione quae uocatur Elge; ubi constructo monasterio uirginum deo

[1] *XVII* ms.

deuotarum perplurium mater uirgo et exemplis uitae caelestis esse coepit et monitis. de qua ferunt quia, ex quo monasterium petiit, numquam lineis sed solum laneis uestimentis uti uoluerit, raroque in calidis balneis, praeter inminentibus sollemniis maioribus uerbi gratia paschae pentecostes epiphaniae, lauari uoluerit, et tunc nouissima omnium, lotis prius suo suarumque ministrarum obsequio ceteris quae ibi essent famulis Christi; raro praeter maiora sollemnia uel artiorem necessitatem plus quam semel per diem manducauerit; semper, si non infirmitas grauior prohibuisset, ex tempore matutinae synaxeos usque ad ortum diei in ecclesia precibus intenta perstiterit. sunt etiam qui dicant quia per prophetiae spiritum et pestilentiam qua ipsa esset moritura praedixerit, et numerum quoque eorum, qui de suo monasterio hac essent de mundo rapiendi, palam cunctis praesentibus intimauerit. rapta est autem ad dominum in medio suorum post annos uii ex quo abbatissae gradum susceperat, et aeque ut ipsa iusserat, non alibi quam in medio eorum, iuxta ordinem quo transierat, ligneo in locello sepulta.

Cui successit in ministerium abbatissae soror eius Sexburg, quam habuerat in coniugem Earconberct rex Cantuariorum. et cum sedecim annis esset sepulta, placuit eidem abbatissae leuari ossa eius et in locello nouo posita in ecclesiam transferri, iussitque quosdam e fratribus quaerere lapidem, de quo locellum in hoc facere possent. qui ascensa naui, ipsa enim regio Elge undique est aquis ac paludibus circumdata neque lapides maiores habet, uenerunt ad ciuitatulam quandam desolatam non procul inde sitam, quae lingua Anglorum Grantacaestir uocatur: et mox inuenerunt iuxta muros ciuitatis locellum de marmore albo pulcherrime factum, operculo quoque similis lapidis aptissime tectum,

[5] *sollemnis* ms.

unde intellegentes a domino suum iter esse prosperatum, gratias agentes rettulerunt ad monasterium.

Cumque corpus sacrae uirginis ac sponsae Christi aperto sepulchro esset prolatum in lucem, ita incorruptum inuentum est, ac si eodem die fuisset defuncta siue humo condita; sicut et praefatus antistes Vilfrid et multi alii qui nouere testantur, sed certiori notitia medicus Cynifrid, qui et morienti illi et eleuatae de tumulo adfuit: qui referre erat solitus, quod illa infirmata habuerit tumorem maximum sub maxilla, 'iusseruntque me' inquit 'incidere tumorem illum, ut efflueret noxius umor qui inerat: quod dum facerem, uidebatur illa per biduum aliquanto leuius habere, ita ut multi putarent quia sanari posset a languore. tertia autem die prioribus adgrauata doloribus et rapta confestim de mundo dolorem omnem ac mortem perpetua salute ac uita mutauit. cumque post tot annos eleuanda essent ossa de sepulchro et extento desuper papilione omnis congregatio hinc fratrum inde sororum psallens circumstaret, ipsa autem abbatissa intus cum paucis ossa elatura et dilutura intrasset, repente audiuimus abbatissam intus uoce clara proclamare: "sit gloria nomini domini." nec multo post clamauerunt me intus reserato ostio papilionis uidique eleuatum de tumulo et positum in lectulo corpus sacrae deo uirginis quasi dormientis simile; sed et discooperto uultus indumento monstrauerunt mihi etiam uulnus incisurae quod feceram curatum, ita ut mirum in modum pro aperto et hiante uulnere cum quo sepulta erat tenuissima tunc cicatricis uestigia parerent. sed et linteamina omnia, quibus inuolutum erat corpus, integra apparuerunt et ita noua, ut ipso die uiderentur castis eius membris esse circumdata.' ferunt autem quia, cum praefato tumore ac dolore maxillae siue colli premeretur, multum delectata sit hoc genere infirmitatis ac

[8] *tumolo* ms.

solita dicere: 'scio certissime, quia merito in collo pondus languoris porto, in quo iuuenculam me memini superuacua moniliorum pondera portare: et credo quod ideo me superna pietas dolore colli uoluit grauari, ut sic absoluar reatu superuacuae leuitatis, dum mihi nunc pro auro et margaritis de collo rubor tumoris ardorque promineat.' contigit autem tactu indumentorum eorumdem et daemonia ab obsessis effugata corporibus et infirmitates alias aliquoties esse curatas. sed et loculum, in quo primo sepulta est, nonnullis oculos dolentibus saluti fuisse perhibent, qui cum suum caput eidem loculo adponentes orassent, mox doloris siue caliginis incommodum ab oculis amouerent. lauerunt igitur uirgines corpus et nouis indutum uestibus intulerunt in ecclesiam, atque in eo quod adlatum erat sarcofago posuerunt, ubi usque hodie in magna ueneratione habetur. mirum uero in modum ita aptum corpori uirginis sarcofagum inuentum est, ac si ei specialiter praeparatum fuisset: et locus quoque capitis seorsum fabrefactus ad mensuram capitis illius aptissime figuratus apparuit.

Est autem Elge in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum regio familiarum circiter sexcentarum, in similitudinem insulae uel paludibus, ut diximus, circumdata uel aquis, unde et a copia anguillarum quae in eisdem paludibus capiuntur nomen accepit: ubi monasterium habere desiderauit memorata Christi famula, quoniam de provincia eorumdem Orientalium Anglorum ipsa, ut praefati sumus, carnis originem duxerat.

[XX]

VIDETVR oportunum huic historiae etiam hymnum virginitatis inserere, quem ante annos plurimos in laudem ac praeconium eiusdem reginae ac sponsae Christi

[38] *anguilarum* ms. [38] *XVIII* ms.

et ideo ueraciter reginae quia sponsae Christi elegiaco metro composuimus, et imitari morem sacrae scripturae, cuius historiae carmina plurima indita et haec metro ac uersibus constat esse conposita.

ALMA deus trinitas, quae saecula cuncta gubernas,
adnue iam coeptis, alma deus trinitas.
bella Maro resonet, nos pacis dona canamus.
munera nos Christi, bella Maro resonet.
carmina casta mihi, foedae non raptus Helenae.
luxus erit lubricis, carmina casta mihi.
dona superna loquar, miserae non proelia Troiae
terra quibus gaudet. dona superna loquar.
en deus altus adit uenerandae uirginis aluum.
liberet ut homines, en deus altus adit.
femina uirgo parit mundi deuota parentem:
porta Maria dei, femina uirgo parit.
gaudet amica cohors de uirgine matre tonantis:
uirginitate micans gaudet amica cohors.
huius honor genuit casto de germine plures:
uirgineos flores huius honor genuit.
ignibus usta feris uirgo non cessat Agathe,
Eulalia et perfert ignibus usta feris.
casta feras superat mentis pro culmine Tecla,
Eufemia sacra casta feras superat.
laeta ridet gladios ferro robustior Agnes,
Caecilia infestos laeta ridet gladios.
multus in orbe uiget per sobria corda triumphus,
sobrietatis amor multus in orbe uiget.
nostra quoque egregia iam tempora uirgo beauit:
Aedilthryda nitet nostra quoque egregia.
orta patre eximio, regali et stemmate clara:

23.24 *Kasta* ms.

nobilior domino est, orta patre eximio.
percipit inde decus reginae et sceptra sub astris:
plus super astra manens percipit inde decus.
quid petis alma uirum, sponso iam dedita summo?
sponsus adest Christus, quid petis alma uirum?
regis ut aetherei matrem iam credo sequaris,
tu quoque sis mater regis ut aetherei.
sponsa dicata deo bis sex regnauerat annis,
inque monasterio est sponsa dicata deo.
tota sacrata polo celsis ubi floruit actis,
reddidit atque animam tota sacrata polo.
uirginis alma caro est tumulata bis octo Nouembres,
nec putet in tumulo uirginis alma caro.
Christe, tui est operis, quia uestis et ipsa sepulchro
inuiolata nitet: Christe, tui est operis.
ydros et ater abit sacrae pro uestis honore:
morbi diffugiunt, ydros et ater abit.
zelus in hoste furit, quondam qui uicerat Euam:
uirgo triumphat ouans, zelus in hoste furit.
aspice nupta deo, quae sit tibi gloria terris:
quae maneat caelis, aspice nupta deo.
munera laeta capis festiuis fulgida taedis:
ecce uenit sponsus, munera laeta capis.
et noua dulcisono modularis carmina plectro,
sponsa hymno exultas et noua dulcisono.
nullus ab altithroni comitatu segregat agni,
quam affectu tulerat nullus ab altithroni.

[XXI]

ANNO regni Ecgfridi nono conserto graui proelio inter ipsum et Ædilredum regem Merciorum iuxta fluuium Treanta, occisus est Aelfuini frater regis Ecgfridi iuuenis

[28] *XVIIII* ms.

circiter x et uiii annorum utrique prouinciae multum amabilis. nam et sororem eius, quae dicebatur Osthryd, rex Aedilred habebat uxorem. cumque materies belli acrioris et inimicitiae longioris inter reges populosque feroces uideretur exorta, Theodorus deo dilectus antistes diuino functus auxilio salutifera exhortatione coeptum tanti periculi funditus extinguit incendium: adeo ut pacatis alterutrum regibus ac populis nullius anima hominis pro interfecto regis fratre sed debita solummodo multa pecuniae regi ultori daretur. cuius foedera pacis multo exinde tempore inter eosdem reges eorumque regna durarunt.

[XXII]

IN praefato autem proelio, quo occisus est rex Aelfuini, memorabile quiddam factum esse constat, quod nequaquam silentio praetereundum arbitror sed multorum saluti, si referatur, fore proficuum. occisus est ibi inter alios de militia eius iuuenis uocabulo Imma; qui cum die illo et nocte sequenti inter cadauera occisorum similis mortuo iaceret, tandem recepto spiritu reuixit ac residens sua uulnera prout potuit ipse alligauit: dein modicum requietus leuauit se et coepit abire sicubi amicos, qui sui curam agerent, posset inuenire. quod dum faceret, inuentus est et captus a uiris hostilis exercitus et ad dominum ipsorum, comitem uidelicet Aedilredi regis, adductus. a quo interrogatus quis esset, timuit se militem fuisse confiteri; rusticum se potius et pauperem atque uxoreo uinculo conligatum fuisse respondit, et propter uictum militibus adferendum in expeditionem se cum suis similibus uenisse testatus est. at ille suscipiens eum, curam uulneribus egit; et ubi sanescere coepit, noctu eum, ne aufugeret, uinciri praecepit. nec

[6] *exortatione* ms. [13] *XX* ms.

tamen uinciri potuit: nam mox ut abiere qui uinxerant, eadem eius sunt uincula soluta.

Habebat enim germanum fratrem cui nomen erat Tunna, presbyterum et abbatem monasterii in ciuitate quae hactenus ab eius nomine Tunnacaestir cognominatur: qui cum eum in pugna peremtum audiret, uenit quaerere si forte corpus eius inuenire posset, inuentumque alium illi per omnia simillimum, putauit ipsum esse: quem ad monasterium suum deferens, honorifice sepeliuit et pro absolutione animae eius saepius missas facere curauit. quarum celebratione factum est quod dixi, ut nullus eum posset uincire, quin continuo solueretur. interea comes, qui eum tenebat, mirari et interrogare coepit quare ligari non posset, an forte litteras solutorias, de qualibus fabulae ferunt, apud se haberet, propter quas ligari non posset. at ille respondit, nil se talium artium nosse: 'sed habeo fratrem' inquit 'presbyterum in mea prouincia, et scio quia ille me interfectum putans pro me missas crebras facit et, si nunc in alia uita essem, ibi anima mea per intercessiones eius solueretur a poenis.' dumque aliquanto tempore apud comitem teneretur, animaduerterunt qui eum diligentius considerabant ex uultu et habitu et sermonibus eius, quia non erat de paupere uulgo, ut dixerat, sed de nobilibus. tunc secreto aduocans eum comes, interrogauit eum intentius unde esset, promittens se nihil ei mali facturum pro eo, si simpliciter sibi quis fuisset proderet. quod dum ille faceret, ministrum se regis fuisse manifestans, respondit: 'et ego per singula tua responsa cognoueram quia rusticus non eras, et nunc dignus quidem es morte, quia omnes fratres et cognati mei in illa sunt pugna interemti; nec te tamen occidam, ne fidem mei promissi praeuaricer.'

Vt ergo conualuit, uendidit eum Lundoniam Freso

[10] *sepius* ms. [25] *nil* prim man *nihil* sec. [31] *promisi* ms.

cuidam; sed nec ab illo cum illuc duceretur ullatenus potuit alligari. uerum cum alia atque alia uinculorum ei genera hostes inponerent cumque uidisset qui emerat uinculis eum non potuisse cohiberi, donauit ei facultatem sese redimendi si posset. a tertia autem hora, quando missae fieri solebant, saepissime uincula soluebantur. at ille dato iureiurando ut rediret uel pecuniam illi pro se mitteret, uenit Cantiam ad regem Hlotheri qui erat filius sororis Aedilthrydæ reginae de qua supra dictum est, quia et ipse quondam eiusdem reginae minister fuerat: petiitque et accepit ab eo pretium suae redemtionis ac suo domino pro se, ut promiserat, misit.

Qui post haec patriam reuersus atque ad suum fratrem perueniens, replicauit ex ordine cuncta quae sibi aduersa quaeue in aduersis solacia prouenissent, cognouitque referente illo illis maxime temporibus sua fuisse uincula soluta, quibus pro se missarum fuerant celebrata sollemnia. sed et alia, quae periclitanti ei commoda contigissent et prospera, per intercessionem fraternam et oblationem hostiae salutaris caelitus sibi fuisse donata intellexit. multique haec a praefato uiro audientes accensi sunt in fide ac deuotione pietatis ad orandum uel ad elimosynas faciendas uel ad offerendas deo uictimas sacrae oblationis pro ereptione suorum qui de saeculo migrauerant: intellexerunt enim quia sacrificium salutare ad redemtionem ualeret et animae et corporis sempiternam.

Hanc mihi historiam etiam quidam eorum, qui ab ipso uiro in quo facta est audiere, narrarunt: unde eam quia liquido comperi, indubitanter historiae nostrae ecclesiasticae inserendam credidi.

[1] *ullatinus* pr man. [6] *sep-* ms.

[XXIII]

ANNO post hunc sequente, hoc est anno dominicae incarnationis dc^mo^ lxxx^mo^, religiosissima Christi famula Hild, abbatissa monasterii quod dicitur Strenaeshalc ut supra rettulimus, post multa quae fecit in terris opera caelestia ad percipienda praemia uitae caelestis de terris ablata transiuit die xu kalendarum Decembrium, cum esset annorum lxui, quibus aequa portione diuisis xxxiii primos in saeculari habitu nobilissime conuersata compleuit et totidem sequentes nobilius in monachica uita domino consecrauit. nam et nobilis natu erat, hoc est filia nepotis Eduini regis uocabulo Hererici: cum quo etiam rege, ad praedicationem beatae memoriae Paulini primi Nordanhymbrorum episcopi, fidem et sacramenta Christi suscepit atque haec, usquedum ad eius uisionem peruenire meruit, intemerata seruauit.

Quae cum relicto habitu saeculari illi soli seruire decreuisset, secessit ad prouinciam Orientalium Anglorum, erat namque propinqua regis illius, desiderans exinde, si quo modo posset, derelicta patria et omnibus quaecumque haberat, Galliam peruenire atque in monasterio Cale peregrinam pro domino uitam ducere, quo facilius perpetuam in caelis patriam posset mereri. nam et in eodem monasterio soror ipsius Heresuid, mater Alduulfi regis Orientalium Anglorum, regularibus subdita disciplinis ipso tempore coronam expectabat aeternam: cuius aemulata exemplum et ipsa proposito peregrinandi annum totum in praefata prouincia retenta est, deinde ab Aidano episcopo in patriam reuocata accepit locum unius familiae ad septentrionalem plagam Viuri fluminis, ubi aeque anno uno monachicam cum perpaucis sociis uitam agebat.

[1] *XXI* ms. [13] *Nordam-* ms. [23] *meriri* pr man.

Post haec facta est abbatissa in monasterio quod uocatur Heruteu; quod uidelicet monasterium factum erat non multo ante a religiosa Christi famula Heiu, quae prima feminarum fertur in prouincia Nordanhymbrorum propositum uestemque sanctimonialis habitus consecrante Aidano episcopo suscepisse. sed illa post non multum tempus facti monasterii secessit ad ciuitatem Calcariam quae a gente Anglorum Kælcacaestir appellatur, ibique sibi mansionem instituit. praelata autem regimini monasterii illius famula Christi Hild, mox hoc regulari uita per omnia, prout a doctis uiris discere poterat, ordinare curabat: nam et episcopus Aidan et quique nouerant eam religiosi, pro insita ei sapientia et amore diuini famulatus, sedulo eam uisitare obnixe amare diligenter erudire solebant.

Cum ergo aliquot annos huic monasterio regularis uitae institutioni multum intenta praeesset, contigit eam suscipere etiam construendum siue ordinandum monasterium in loco qui uocatur Streaneshalch, quod opus sibi iniunctum non segniter impleuit. nam eisdem, quibus prius monasterium, etiam hoc disciplinis uitae regularis instituit: et quidem multam ibi quoque iustitiae pietatis et castimoniae ceterarumque uirtutum sed maxime pacis et caritatis custodiam docuit: ita ut in exemplum primitiuae ecclesiae nullus ibi diues nullus esset egens, omnibus essent omnia communia. cum nihil cuiusquam esse uideretur proprium. tantae autem erat ipsa prudentiae, ut non solum mediocres quique in necessitatibus suis, sed etiam reges ac principes nonnumquam ab ea quaererent consilium et inuenirent. tantum lectioni diuinarum scripturarum suos uacare subditos, tantum operibus iustitiae se exercere faciebat, ut facillime uiderentur ibidem, qui ecclesiasticum gradum, hoc est altaris officium, apte subirent, plurimi posse reperiri.

Denique u ex eodem monasterio postea episcopos uidi-

mus, et hos omnes singularis meriti ac sanctitatis uiros, quorum haec sunt nomina, Bosa Aetla Oftfor Iohannes et Vilfrid. de primo supra diximus quod Eboraci fuerit consecratus antistes: de secundo breuiter intimandum quod in episcopatum Dorciccaestræ fuerit ordinatus: de ultimis infra dicendum est quod eorum primus Hagustaldensis, secundus Eboracensis ecclesiae sit ordinatus episcopus. de medio nunc dicamus, quia cum in utroque Hildae abbatissae monasterio lectioni et obseruationi scripturarum operam dedisset, tandem perfectiora desiderans uenit Cantiam ad archiepiscopum beatae recordationis Theodorum: ubi postquam aliquandiu lectionibus sacris uacauit, etiam Romam adire curauit, quod eo tempore magnae uirtutis aestimabatur: et inde cum rediens Brittaniam adisset, diuertit ad prouinciam Huicciorum cui tunc rex Osric praefuit; ibique uerbum fidei praedicans, simul et exemplum uiuendi sese uidentibus atque audientibus exhibens, multo tempore mansit. quo tempore antistes prouinciae illius uocabulo Bosel tanta erat corporis infirmitate depressus, ut officium episcopatus per se implere non posset: propter quod omnium iudicio praefatus uir in episcopatum pro eo electus ac iubente Aedilredo rege per Vilfridum beatae memoriae antistitem, qui tunc temporis Mediterraneorum Anglorum episcopatum gerebat, ordinatus est: pro eo quod archiepiscopus Theodorus iam defunctus erat et necdum alius pro eo ordinatus episcopus. in quam uidelicet prouinciam paulo ante, hoc est ante praefatum uirum dei Boselum, uir strenuissimus et doctissimus atque excellentis ingenii uocabulo Tatfrid de eiusdem abbatissae monasterio electus est antistes sed, priusquam ordinari posset, morte inmatura praereptus est.

Non solum ergo praefata Christi ancilla et abbatissa Hild, quam omnes qui nouerant ob insigne pietatis et

[31] *ancella* pr man.

gratiae matrem uocare consuerant, in suo monasterio uitae exemplo praesentibus extitit; sed etiam plurimis longe manentibus, ad quos felix industriae ac uirtutis eius rumor peruenit, occasionem salutis et correctionis ministrauit. oportebat namque inpleri somnium quod mater eius Bregusuid in infantia eius uidit. quae cum uir eius Hereric exularet sub rege Brettonum Cerdice, ubi et ueneno periit, uidit per somnium, quasi subito sublatum eum quaesierit cum omni diligentia nullumque eius uspiam uestigium apparuerit. uerum cum sollertissime illum quaesierit, extimplo se repperire sub ueste sua monile pretiosissimum quod, dum attentius consideraret, tanti fulgore luminis refulgere uidebatur, ut omnes Brittaniae fines illius gratia splendoris impleret. quod nimirum somnium ueraciter in filia eius de qua loquimur expletum est: cuius uita non sibi solummodo, sed multis bene uiuere uolentibus exempla operum lucis praebuit.

Verum illa cum multis annis huic monasterio praeesset, placuit pio prouisori salutis nostrae sanctam eius animam longa etiam infirmitate carnis examinari, ut iuxta exemplum apostoli uirtus eius in infirmitate perficeretur. percussa etenim febribus acri coepit ardore fatigari, et per sex continuos annos eadem molestia laborare non cessabat: in quo toto tempore numquam ipsa uel conditori suo gratias agere uel commissum sibi gregem et publice et priuatim docere praetermittebat. nam suo praedocta exemplo, monebat omnes et in salute accepta corporis domino obtemperanter seruiendum et in aduersis rerum siue infirmitatibus membrorum fideliter domino esse gratias semper agendas. septimo ergo suae infirmitatis anno conuerso ad interanea dolore ad diem peruenit ultimum, et circa galli cantum percepto uiatico sacrosanctae communionis cum arcessitis

[5] *im-* sec man.

ancillis Christi quae erant in eodem monasterio, de seruanda eas inuicem immo cum omnibus pace euangelica ammoneret, inter uerba exhortationis laeta mortem uidit, immo, ut uerbis domini loquar, de morte transiuit ad uitam.

Qua uidelicet nocte dominus omnipotens obitum ipsius in alio longius posito monasterio, quod ipsa eodem anno construxerat et appellatur Hacanos, manifesta uisione reuelare dignatus est. erat in ipso monasterio quaedam sanctimonialis femina nomine Begu, quae xxx et amplius annos dedicata domino uirginitate in monachica conuersatione seruiebat. haec tunc in dormitorio sororum pausans audiuit subito in aere notum campanae sonum, quo ad orationes excitari uel conuocari solebant cum quis eorum de saeculo fuisset euocatus, apertisque, ut sibi uidebatur, oculis aspexit detecto domus culmine fusam desuper lucem omnia repleuisse : cui uidelicet luci dum sollicita intenderet, uidit animam praefatae dei famulae in ipsa luce comitantibus ac ducentibus angelis ad caelum ferri. cumque somno excussa uideret ceteras pausantes circa se sorores, intellexit uel in somnio uel in uisione mentis ostensum sibi esse quod uiderat. statimque exsurgens nimio timore perterrita cucurrit ad uirginem quae tunc monasterio abbatissae uice praefuit, cui nomen erat Frigyd, fletuque ac lacrimis multum perfusa ac suspiria longa trahens nuntiauit matrem illarum omnium Hild abbatissam iam migrasse de saeculo et se aspectante cum luce inmensa ducibus angelis ad aeternae limina lucis et supernorum consortia ciuium ascendisse. quod cum illa audisset, suscitauit cunctas sorores et in ecclesiam conuocatas orationibus ac psalmis pro anima matris operam dare monuit. quod cum residuo noctis tempore diligenter agerent, uenerunt primo diluculo fratres, qui eius obitum nuntiarent, a loco ubi defuncta est. at illae respondentes dixerunt se

[1] *ancellis* pr man. [31] *deluculo* ms.

prius eadem cognouisse et, cum exponerent per ordinem quomodo haec uel quando didicissent, inuentum est eadem hora transitum eius illis ostensum esse per uisionem, qua illam referebant exisse de mundo : pulchraque rerum concordia procuratum est diuinitus ut, cum illi exitum eius de hac uita uiderent, tunc isti introitum eius in perpetuam animarum uitam cognoscerent. distant autem inter se monasteria haec xiii ferme milibus passuum.

Ferunt autem quod eadem nocte in ipso quoque monasterio, ubi praefata dei famula obiit, cuidam uirginum deo deuotarum quae illam inmenso amore diligebat obitus illius in uisione apparuerit, quae animam eius cum angelis ad caelum ire conspexerit atque hoc ipsa qua factum est hora his quae secum erant famulis Christi manifeste narrauerit, easque ad orandum pro anima eius, etiam priusquam cetera congregatio eius obitum cognouisset, excitauerit. quod ita fuisse factum mox congregationi mane facto innotuit. erat enim haec ipsa hora cum aliis nonnullis Christi ancillis in extremis monasterii locis seorsum posita, ubi nuper uenientes ad conuersationem feminae solebant probari, donec regulariter institutae in societatem congregationis susciperentur.

[XXIIII]

IN huius monasterio abbatissae fuit frater quidam diuina gratia specialiter insignis, quia carmina religioni et pietati apta facere solebat ita ut, quicquid ex diuinis litteris per interpretes disceret, hoc ipse post pusillum uerbis poeticis maxima suauitate et compunctione compositis in sua, id est Anglorum, lingua proferret. cuius carminibus multorum saepe animi ad contemtum saeculi et appetitum sunt uitae caelestis accensi. et quidem et alii post illum in gente

[26] *ancellis* pr man. [23] *XXII* ms. [27] *pussillum* ms.

Anglorum religiosa poemata facere temtabant, sed nullus eum aequiparare potuit. namque ipse non ab hominibus neque per hominem institutus canendi artem didicit, sed diuinitus adiutus gratis canendi donum accepit. unde nil umquam friuoli et superuacui poematis facere potuit sed ea tantummodo quae ad religionem pertinent religiosam eius linguam decebant. siquidem in habitu saeculari usque ad tempora prouectioris aetatis constitutus nil carminum aliquando didicerat: unde nonnumquam in conuiuio, cum esset laetitiae causā decretum ut omnes per ordinem cantare deberent, ille ubi adpropinquare sibi citharam cernebat, surgebat a media caena et egressus ad suam domum repedabat.

Quod dum tempore quodam faceret, et relicta domo conuiuii egressus esset ad stabula iumentorum quorum ei custodia nocte illa erat delegata, ibique hora competenti membra dedisset sopori, adstitit ei quidam per somnium eumque salutans ac suo appellans nomine, 'Caedmon,' inquit 'cantā mihi aliquid.' at ille respondens 'nescio' inquit 'cantare; nam et ideo de conuiuio egressus huc secessi, quia cantare non poteram.' rursum ille qui cum eo loquebatur, 'attamen' ait 'mihi cantare habes.' 'quid' inquit 'debeo cantare?' at ille 'canta' inquit 'principium creaturarum.' quo accepto responso statim ipse coepit cantare in laudem dei conditoris uersus quos numquam audierat, quorum iste est sensus: 'nunc laudare debemus auctorem regni caelestis, potentiam creatoris et consilium illius, facta patris gloriae; quomodo ille, cum sit aeternus deus, omnium miraculorum auctor extitit, qui primo filiis hominum caelum pro culmine tecti, dehinc terram custos humani generis omnipotens creauit.' hic est sensus, non autem ordo ipse uerborum quae dormiens ille canebat:

[13] *cena* pr man. [14] *domu* pr man. [15] *conuiui* ms.

neque enim possunt carmina, quamuis optime composita, ex alia in aliam linguam ad uerbum sine detrimento sui decoris ac dignitatis transferri. exsurgens autem a somno cuncta quae dormiens cantauerat memoriter retinuit, et eis mox plura in eundem modum uerba deo digni carminis adiunxit.

Veniensque mane ad uilicum qui sibi praeerat, quid doni percepisset indicauit, atque ad abbatissam perductus iussus est multis doctioribus uiris praesentibus indicare somnium et dicere carmen, ut uniuersorum iudicio, quid uel unde esset quod referebat, probaretur. uisumque est omnibus caelestem ei a domino concessam esse gratiam; exponebantque illi quendam sacrae historiae siue doctrinae sermonem, praecipientes eum, si posset, hunc in modulationem carminis transferre. at ille suscepto negotio abiit, et mane rediens optimo carmine quod iubebatur compositum reddidit. unde mox abbatissa amplexata est gratiam dei in uiro; saecularem illum habitum relinquere et monachicum suscipere propositum docuit, susceptumque in monasterium cum omnibus suis fratrum cohorti adsociauit iussitque illum seriem sacrae historiae doceri. at ipse cuncta quae audiendo discere poterat rememorando secum et quasi mundum animal ruminando in carmen dulcissimum conuertebat, suauiusque resonando doctores suos uicissim auditores sui faciebat. canebat autem de creatione mundi et origine humani generis et tota genesis historia, de egressu Israel ex Aegypto et ingressu in terram repromissionis, de aliis plurimis sacrae scripturae historiis, de incarnatione dominica, passione resurrectione et ascensione in caelum, de spiritus sancti aduentu et apostolorum doctrina. item de terrore futuri iudicii et horrore poenae gehennalis ac dulcedine regni caelestis multa carmina faciebat, sed et alia perplura de beneficiis et iudiciis

[20] *iusit* ms.

diuinis, in quibus cunctis homines ab amore scelerum abstrahere, ad dilectionem uero et solertiam bonae actionis excitare curabat. erat enim uir multum religiosus et regularibus disciplinis humiliter subditus, aduersum uero illos qui aliter facere uolebant zelo magni feruoris accensus: unde et pulchro uitam suam fine conclusit.

Nam propinquante hora sui decessus, xiiii diebus praeueniente corporea infirmitate pressus est, adeo tamen moderate ut et loqui toto eo tempore posset et ingredi. erat autem in proximo casa, in qua infirmiores et qui prope morituri esse uidebantur induci solebant. rogauit ergo ministrum suum uespere incumbente, nocte qua de saeculo erat exiturus, ut in ea sibi locum quiescendi praepararet: qui miratus cur hoc rogaret, qui nequaquam adhuc moriturus esse uidebatur, fecit tamen quod dixerat. cumque ibidem positi uicissim aliqua gaudente animo, una cum eis qui ibidem ante inerant, loquerentur ac iocarentur et iam mediae noctis tempus esset transcensum, interrogauit, si eucharistiam intus haberent. respondebant, 'quid opus est eucharistia? neque enim mori adhuc habes, qui tam hilariter nobiscum uelut sospes loqueris.' rursus ille 'et tamen' ait 'afferte mihi eucharistiam.' qua accepta in manu interrogauit, si omnes placidum erga se animum et sine querela controuersiae ac rancoris haberent. respondebant omnes placidissimam se mentem ad illum et ab omni ira remotam habere, eumque uicissim rogabant placidam erga ipsos mentem habere. qui confestim respondit: 'placidam ego mentem, filioli, erga omnes dei famulos gero.' sicque se caelesti muniens uiatico uitae alterius ingressu parauit, et interrogauit, quam prope esset hora qua fratres ad dicendas domino laudes nocturnas excitari deberent. respondebant, 'non longe est.' at ille: 'bene, ergo exspectemus horam

[8] *presus* ms.

illam.' et signans se signo sanctae crucis reclinauit caput ad ceruical, modicumque obdormiens ita cum silentio uitam finiuit. sicque factum est ut, quomodo simplici ac pura mente tranquillaque deuotione domino seruierat, ita etiam tranquilla morte mundum relinquens ad eius uisionem ueniret illaque lingua, quae tot salutaria uerba in laudem conditoris composuerat, ultima quoque uerba in laudem ipsius signando sese et spiritum suum in manus eius commendando clauderet[11]: qui etiam praescius sui obitus extitisse ex his quae narrauimus uidetur.

[XXV]

HIS temporibus monasterium uirginum quod Coludi Vrbem cognominant, cuius et supra meminimus, per culpam incuriae flammis absumtum est. quod tamen a malitia inhabitantium in eo, et praecipue illorum qui maiores esse uidebantur, contigisse, omnes qui nouere facillime potuerunt aduertere. sed non defuit puniendis admonitio diuinae pietatis, qua correcti per ieiunia fletus et preces iram a se instar Nineuitarum iusti iudicis auerterent.

Erat namque in eodem monasterio uir de genere Scottorum Adamnanus uocabulo, ducens uitam in continentia et orationibus multum deo deuotam, ita ut nil umquam cibi uel potus excepta die dominica et quinta sabbati perciperet, saepe autem noctes integras peruigil in oratione transigeret. quae quidem illi districtio uitae artioris primo ex necessitate emendandae suae prauitatis obuenerat, sed procedente tempore necessitatem in consuetudinem uerterat.

Siquidem in adulescentia sua sceleris aliquid commiserat, quod commissum ubi ad cor suum rediit grauissime exhoruit, et se pro illo puniendum a districto iudice timebat.

[11] *XXIII* ms.

accedens ergo ad sacerdotem a quo sibi sperabat iter salutis posse demonstrari, confessus est reatum suum petiitque ut consilium sibi daret quo posset fugere a uentura ira. qui audito eius commisso dixit: 'grande uulnus grandioris curam medellae desiderat; et ideo ieiuniis psalmis et orationibus, quantum uales, insiste, quo praeoccupando faciem domini in confessione propitium eum inuenire merearis.' at ille, quem nimius reae conscientiae tenebat dolor, et internis peccatorum uinculis quibus grauabatur ocius desiderabat absolui, 'adulescentior' inquit 'sum aetate et uegetus corpore: quicquid mihi inposueris agendum, dummodo saluus fiam in die domini, totum facile feram, etiam si totam noctem stando in precibus peragere, si integram septimanam iubeas abstinendo transigere.' qui dixit: 'multum est ut tota septimana absque alimento corporis perdures; sed biduanum uel triduanum sat est obseruare ieiunium. hoc facito, donec post modicum tempus rediens ad te, quid facere debeas et quamdiu paenitentiae insistere, tibi plenius ostendam.' quibus dictis et descripta illi mensura paenitendi, abiit sacerdos, et ingruente causa subita secessit Hiberniam unde originem duxerat, neque ultra ad eum iuxta suum condictum rediit. at ipse memor praecepti eius simul et promissi sui totum se lacrimis paenitentiae uigiliis sanctis et continentiae mancipauit; ita ut quinta solum sabbati et dominica sicut praedixi reficeret, ceteris septimanae diebus ieiunus permaneret. cumque sacerdotem suum Hiberniam secessisse ibique defunctum esse audisset, semper ex eo tempore iuxta condictum eius memoratum continentiae modum obseruabat et, quod causa diuini timoris semel ob reatum compunctus coeperat, iam causa diuini amoris delectatus praemiis indefessus agebat.

Quod dum multo tempore sedulus exsequeretur, contigit

[5] *iciunis* ms. [7] *meriaris* ms. [10] *adulis-* ms. [23] *promisi* ms.

eum die quadam de monasterio illo longius egressum, comitante secum uno de fratribus, peracto itinere redire. qui cum monasterio propinquarent et aedificia illius sublimiter erecta aspicerent, solutus est in lacrimas uir dei et tristitiam cordis uultu indice prodebat. quod intuens comes, quare faceret inquisiuit. at ille 'cuncta' inquit 'haec quae cernis aedificia puplica uel priuata in proximo est ut ignis absumens in cinerem conuertat.' quod ille audiens, mox ut intrauerunt monasterium, matri congregationis uocabulo Aebbæ curauit indicare. at illa merito turbata de tali praesagio uocauit ad se uirum, et diligentius ab eo rem, uel unde hoc ipse nosset, inquirebat. qui ait: 'nuper occupatus noctu uigiliis et psalmis uidi adstantem mihi subito quendam incogniti uultus: cuius praesentia cum essem exterritus, dixit mihi ne timerem, et quasi familiari me uoce alloquens 'bene facis' inquit 'qui tempore isto nocturnae quietis non somno indulgere, sed uigiliis et orationibus insistere maluisti.' At ego 'noui' inquam 'multum mihi esse necesse uigiliis salutaribus insistere et pro meis erratibus sedulo dominum deprecari.' qui adiciens 'uerum' inquit 'dicis, quia et tibi et multis opus est peccata sua bonis operibus redimere et, cum cessant a laboribus rerum temporalium, tunc pro appetitu aeternorum bonorum liberius laborare; sed hoc tamen paucissimi faciunt. siquidem modo totum hoc monasterium ex ordine perlustrans singulorum casas ac lectos inspexi et neminem ex omnibus praeter te erga sanitatem animae suae occupatum repperi, sed omnes prorsus et uiri et feminae aut somno torpent inerti aut ad peccata uigilant. nam et domunculae, quae ad orandum uel legendum factae erant, nunc in comesationum potationum fabulationum et ceterarum sunt inlecebrarum cubilia conuersae, uirgines quoque deo dicatae contemta reuerentia suae pro-

[4] *lacrimis* pr man. [18] *inquit* ms. [30] *facta* ms.

fessionis, quotiescumque uacant, texendis subtilioribus indumentis operam dant, quibus aut se ipsas ad uicem sponsarum in periculum sui status adornent aut externorum sibi uirorum amicitiam comparent. unde merito loco huic et habitatoribus eius grauis de caelo uindicta flammis saeuientibus praeparata est.' dixit autem abbatissa: 'et quare non citius hoc conpertum mihi reuelare uoluisti?' qui respondit: 'timui propter reuerentiam tuam, ne forte nimium conturbareris: et tamen hanc consolationem habeas, quod in diebus tuis haec plaga non superueniet.' qua diuulgata uisione aliquantulum loci accolae paucis diebus timere et seipsos intermissis facinoribus castigare coeperunt. uerum post obitum ipsius abbatissae redierunt ad pristinas sordes, immo sceleratiora fecerunt. et cum dicerent 'pax et securitas,' extimplo praefatae ultionis sunt poena multati.

Quae mihi cuncta sic esse facta reuerentissimus meus compresbyter Aedgils referebat, qui tunc in illo monasterio degebat, postea autem, discedentibus inde ob desolationem plurimis incolarum, in nostro monasterio plurimo tempore conuersatus ibidemque defunctus est. haec ideo nostrae historiae inserenda credidimus, ut admoneremus lectorem operum domini, quam terribilis in consiliis super filios hominum: ne forte nos tempore aliquo carnis inlecebris seruientes minusque dei iudicium formidantes repentina eius ira corripiat et uel temporalibus damnis iuste saeuiens affligat uel ad perpetuam perditionem districtius examinans tollat.

[XXVI]

ANNO Dominicae incarnationis dclxxxiiii, Ecgfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum, misso Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Bercto, uastauit misere gentem innoxiam et nationi

10 *deu-* ms. 18 *desc-* ms. 26 *destr-* ms. 28 *XXIIII* ms.

Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita ut ne ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis manus parceret hostilis. at insulani et quantum ualuere armis arma repellebant, et inuocantes diuinae auxilium pietatis caelitus se uindicari continuis diu inprecationibus postulabant. et quamuis maledici regnum dei possidere non possint, creditum est tamen quod hi, qui merito impietatis suae maledicebantur, ocius domino uindice poenas sui reatus luerent. siquidem anno post hunc proximo idem rex, cum temere exercitum ad uastandam Pictorum prouinciam duxisset, multum prohibentibus amicis et maxime beatae memoriae Cudbercto qui nuper fuerat ordinatus episcopus, introductus est simulantibus fugam hostibus in angustias inaccessorum montium, et cum maxima parte copiarum quas secum adduxerat extinctus anno aetatis suae xl regni autem xv die xiii kalendarum Iuniarum. et quidem ut dixi prohibuerunt amici ne hoc bellum iniret sed, quoniam anno praecedente noluerat audire reuerentissimum patrem Ecgberctum ne Scottiam nil se laedentem inpugnaret, datum est illi ex poena peccati illius, ne nunc eos qui ipsum ab interitu reuocare cupiebant audiret.

Ex quo tempore spes coepit et uirtus regni Anglorum fluere ac retro sublapsa referri. nam et Picti terram possessionis suae, quam tenuerunt Angli et Scotti qui erant in Brittania, Brettonum quoque pars nonnulla libertatem receperunt quam et hactenus habent per annos circiter xlui. ubi inter plurimos gentis Anglorum uel interemtos gladio uel seruitio addictos uel de terra Pictorum fuga lapsos etiam reuerentissimus uir domini Triumuini, qui in eos episcopatum acceperat, recessit cum suis qui erant in monasterio Aebbercurnig posito quidem in regione Anglorum sed in uicinia freti quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disterminat, eosque ubicumque poterat amicis per monasteria commen-

[5] *malefici* pr man. [13] *angustiam* pr man. [18] *led-* ms.

dans ipse in saepedicto famulorum famularumque dei monasterio, quod uocatur Streanæshalch, locum mansionis elegit; ibique cum paucis suorum in monachica districtione uitam non sibi solummodo sed et multis utilem plurimo annorum tempore duxit. ubi etiam defunctus, in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli iuxta honorem et uita et gradu eius condignum conditus est. praeerat quidem tunc eidem monasterio regia uirgo Aelbfled una cum matre Eanflede, quarum supra fecimus mentionem. sed adueniente illuc episcopo maximum regendi auxilium simul et suae uitae solacium deuota deo doctrix inuenit. successit autem Ecgfrido in regnum Aldfrid uir in scripturis doctissimus, qui frater eius et filius Osuiu regis esse dicebatur, destructumque regni statum, quamuis intra fines angustiores, nobiliter recuperauit.

Quo uidelicet anno, qui est ab incarnatione dominica dclxxxv, Hlotheri Cantuariorum rex, cum post Ecgberctum fratrem suum qui uiiii annis regnauerat ipse xii annis regnasset, mortuus erat uiii idus Februarias. uulneratus namque est in pugna Australium Saxonum quos contra eum Edric filius Ecgbercti adgregarat, et inter medendum defunctus; ac post eum idem Edric anno uno ac dimidio regnauit. quo defuncto regnum illud aliquod temporis spatium reges dubii uel externi disperdiderunt; donec legitimus rex Victred, id est filius Ecgbercti, confortatus in regno religione simul et industria gentem suam ab extranea inuasione liberaret.

[XXVII]

IPSO etiam anno quo finem uitae accepit rex Ecgfrid episcopum ut diximus fecerat ordinari Lindisfarnensium ecclesiae uirum sanctum et uenerabilem Cudberctum qui in

[23] *aliquot* ms. [28] *XXV* ms.

insula permodica, quae appellatur Farne et ab eadem ecclesia nouem ferme milibus passuum in oceano procul abest, uitam solitariam per annos plures in magna corporis et mentis continentia duxerat. qui quidem a prima aetate pueritiae studio religiosae uitae semper ardebat, sed ab ineunte adulescentia monachicum et nomen adsumsit et habitum. intrauit autem primo monasterium Mailros, quod in ripa Tuidi fluminis positum tunc abbas Eata uir omnium mansuetissimus ac simplicissimus regebat, qui postea episcopus Hagustaldensis siue Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae factus est, ut supra memorauimus, cui tempore illo propositus Boisil magnarum uirtutum et prophetici spiritus sacerdos fuit. huius discipulatui Cudberct humiliter subditus, et scientiam ab eo scripturarum et bonorum operum sumsit exempla.

Qui postquam migrauit ad dominum, Cudberct eidem monasterio factus propositus plures et auctoritate magistri et exemplo suae actionis regularem instituebat ad uitam. nec solum ipsi monasterio regularis uitae monita simul et exempla praebebat, sed et uulgus circumpositum longe late- que a uita stultae consuetudinis ad caelestium gaudiorum conuertere curabat amorem. nam et multi fidem quam habebant iniquis profanabant operibus, et aliqui etiam tempore mortalitatis, neglectis fidei sacramentis quibus erant inbuti, ad erratica idolatriae medicamina concurrebant; quasi missam a deo conditore plagam per incantationes uel fylacteria uel alia quaelibet daemoniacae artis arcana cohibere ualerent. ad utrorumque ergo corrigendum errorem crebro ipse de monasterio egressus, aliquotiens equo sedens sed saepius pedes incedens, circumpositas ueniebat ad uillas et uiam ueritatis praedicabat errantibus; quod ipsum etiam Boisil suo tempore facere consueuerat. erat quippe moris eo tempore populis Anglorum, ut ueniente in uillam clerico

[6] *religiose* ms. [26] *daemonicae* ms. [29] *sepius* ms.

uel presbytero cuncti ad eius imperium uerbum audituri confluerent, libenter ea quae dicerentur audirent, libentius quae audire et intellegere poterant operando sequerentur. porro Cudbercto tanta erat dicendi peritia tantus amor persuadendi quae coeperat tale uultus angelici lumen, ut nullus praesentium latebras ei sui cordis celare praesumeret omnes palam quae gesserant confitendo proferrent quia nimirum haec eadem illum latere nullo modo putabant, et confessa dignis ut imperabat paenitentiae fructibus abstergerent. solebat autem ea maxime loca peragrare, illis praedicare in uiculis, qui in arduis asperisque montibus procul positi aliis horrori erant ad uisendum et paupertate pariter ac rusticitate sua doctorum arcebant accessum: quos tamen ille pio libenter mancipatus labori tanta doctrinae sollertis excolebat industria, ut de monasterio egressus saepe ebdomade integra, aliquando duabus uel tribus, nonnumquam etiam mense pleno domum non rediret, sed demoratus in montanis plebem rusticam uerbo praedicationis simul et opere uirtutis ad caelestia uocaret.

Cum ergo uenerabilis domini famulus multos in Mailronensi monasterio degens annos magnis uirtutum signis effulgeret, transtulit eum reuerentissimus abbas ipsius Eata ad insulam Lindisfarnensium, ut ibi quoque fratribus custodiam disciplinae regularis et auctoritate propositi intimaret et propria actione praemonstraret. nam et ipsum locum tunc idem reuerentissimus pater abbatis iure regebat; siquidem a temporibus ibidem antiquis et episcopus cum clero et abbas solebat manere cum monachis, qui tamen et ipsi ad curam episcopi familiariter pertinerent. quia nimirum Aidan, qui primus eius loci episcopus fuit, cum monachis illuc et ipse monachus aduenies monachicam in eo conuersationem instituit: quomodo et prius beatus pater Augustinus in

[14] *solertis* pr man. [22] *eful-* ms.

Cantia fecisse noscitur, scribente ei reuerentissimo papa Gregorio quod et supra posuimus. 'sed quia tua fraternitas' inquit 'monasterii regulis erudita seorsum fieri non debet a clericis suis, in ecclesia Anglorum quae nuper auctore deo ad fidem perducta est hanc debet conuersationem instituere, quae initio nascentis ecclesiae fuit patribus nostris, in quibus nullus eorum ex his quae possidebant aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant illis omnia communia.'

[XXVIII]

EXIN Cudberct crescentibus meritis religiosae intentionis ad anchoreticae quoque contemplationis quae diximus silentia secreta peruenit. uerum quia de uita illius et uirtutibus ante annos plures sufficienter et uersibus heroicis et simplici oratione conscripsimus, hoc tantum in praesenti commemorare satis sit, quod aditurus insulam protestatus est fratribus, dicens: 'si mihi diuina gratia in loco illo donauerit ut de opere manuum mearum uiuere queam, libens ibi morabor; sin alias, ad uos citissime deo uolente reuertar.' erat autem locus et aquae prorsus et frugis et arboris inops, sed et spirituum malignorum frequentia humanae habitationi minus accommodus: sed ad uotum uiri dei habitabilis per omnia factus est, siquidem ad aduentum eius spiritus recessere maligni. cum autem ipse sibi ibidem expulsis hostibus mansionem angustam circumuallante aggere et domos in ea necessarias iuuante fratrum manu, id est oratorium et habitaculum commune, construxisset, iussit fratres in eiusdem habitaculi pauimento foueam facere: erat autem tellus durissima et saxosa, cui nulla omnino spes uenae fontanae uideretur inesse. quod

7 *possedebant* ms. 9 *XXVI* ms. 11 *anchoriticae* pr man.
21 *accomodus* ms. 25 *domus* pr man. 28 *saxossa* ms.

dum facerent ad fidem et preces famuli dei, alio die aqua plena inuenta est, quae usque ad hanc diem sufficientem cunctis illo aduenientibus gratiae suae caelestis copiam ministrat. sed et ferramenta sibi ruralia cum frumento adferri rogauit, quod dum praeparata terra tempore congruo seminaret, nil omnino, non dico spicarum sed ne herbae quidem, ex eo germinare usque ad aestatis tempora contigit. unde uisitantibus se ex more fratribus ordeum iussit adferri, si forte uel natura soli illius uel uoluntas esset superni largitoris ut illius frugis ibi potius seges oriretur. quod dum sibi adlatum ultra omne tempus serendi ultra omnem spem fructificandi eodem in agro sereret, mox copiosa seges exorta desideratam proprii laboris uiro dei refectionem praebebat.

Cum ergo multis ibidem annis deo solitarius seruiret (tanta autem erat altitudo aggeris quo mansio eius erat uallata, ut caelum tantum ex ea cuius introitum sitiebat aspicere posset), contigit ut congregata synodo non paruo sub praesentia regis Ecgfridi iuxta fluuium Alne in loco qui dicitur Adtuifyrdi, quod significat 'ad duplex uadum,' cui beatae memoriae Theodorus archiepiscopus praesidebat, uno animo omniumque consensu ad episcopatum ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis eligeretur. qui cum multis legatariis ac litteris ad se praemissis nequaquam suo monasterio posset erui, tandem rex ipse praefatus, una cum sanctissimo antistite Trumuine nec non et aliis religiosis ac potentibus uiris, insulam nauigauit. conueniunt et de ipsa insula Lindisfarnensi in hoc ipsum multi de fratribus, genuflectunt omnes adiurant per dominum lacrimas fundunt obsecrant, donec ipsum quoque lacrimis plenum dulcibus extrahunt latebris atque ad synodum pertrahunt. quo dum perueniret, quamuis multum renitens, unanima cunctorum uoluntate superatur

[23] *legataris* ms.

atque ad suscipiendum episcopatus officium collum submittere compellitur; eo maxime uictus sermone, quod famulus domini Boisil, cum ei mente prophetica cuncta quae eum essent superuentura patefaceret, antistitem quoque eum futurum esse praedixerat. nec tamen statim ordinatio decreta, sed peracta hieme quae inminebat, in ipsa sollemnitate paschali completa est Eboraci sub praesentia praefati regis Ecgfridi, conuenientibus ad consecrationem eius uii episcopis in quibus beatae memoriae Theodorus primatum tenebat. electus est autem primo in episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiae pro Tunbercto qui ab episcopatu fuerat depositus: sed quoniam ipse plus Lindisfarnensi ecclesiae, in qua conuersatus fuerat, dilexit praefici, placuit ut Eata reuerso ad sedem ecclesiae Hagustaldensis, cui regendae primo fuerat ordinatus, Cudberct ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis gubernacula susciperet.

Qui susceptum episcopatus gradum ad imitationem beatorum apostolorum uirtutum ornabat operibus. commissam namque sibi plebem et orationibus protegebat adsiduis et admonitionibus saluberrimis ad caelestia uocabat. et, quod maxime doctores iuuare solet, ea quae agenda docebat ipse prius agendo praemonstrabat. erat quippe ante omnia diuinae caritatis igne feruidus patientiae uirtute modestus orationum deuotioni solertissime intentus affabilis omnibus qui ad se consolationis gratia ueniebant, hoc ipsum quoque orationis loco ducens, si infirmis fratribus opem suae exhortationis tribueret; sciens quia, qui dixit 'diliges dominum deum tuum,' dixit et 'diliges proximum.' erat abstinentiae castigatione insignis, erat gratia compunctionis semper ad caelestia suspensus. denique cum sacrificium deo uictimae salutaris offerret, non eleuata in altum uoce sed profusis ex imo pectore lacrimis domino sua uota commendabat.

[4] *patefecerit* ms corr in *patefacerit*. [18] *commisam* ms.

DVOBVS autem annis in episcopatu peractis repetiit insulam ac monasterium suum, diuino admonitus oraculo quia dies sibi mortis uel uitae magis illius, quae sola uita dicenda est, iam adpropiaret introitus: sicut ipse quoque tempore eodem nonnullis, sed uerbis obscurioribus quae tamen postmodum manifeste intellegerentur, solita sibi simplicitate pandebat, quibusdam autem hoc idem etiam manifeste reuelabat.

[XXVIIII]

ERAT enim presbyter uitae uenerabilis nomine Heriberct, iamdudum uiro dei spiritalis amicitiae foedere copulatus qui, in insula stagni illius pergrandis de quo Deruuentionis fluui primordia erumpunt uitam ducens solitariam, annis singulis eum uisitare et monita ab eo perpetuae salutis audire solebat. hic cum audiret eum ad ciuitatem Lugubaliam deuenisse, uenit ex more, cupiens salutaribus eius exhortationibus ad superna desideria magis magisque accendi. qui dum sese alterutrum caelestis uitae poculis debriarent, dixit inter alia antistes: 'memento, frater Heriberct, ut modo quicquid opus habes me interroges mecumque loquaris: postquam enim ab inuicem digressi fuerimus, non ultra nos in hoc saeculo carnis obtutibus inuicem aspiciemus. certus sum namque quod tempus meae resolutionis instat et uelox est depositio tabernaculi mei.' qui haec audiens prouolutus est eius uestigiis et fusis cum gemitu lacrimis 'obsecro' inquit 'per dominum ne me deseras, sed tui memor sis fidissimi sodalis rogesque supernam pietatem ut, cui simul in terris seruiuimus, ad eius uidendam gratiam simul transeamus ad caelos. nosti enim quia ad tui oris imperium semper uiuere studui et, quicquid ignorantia uel

1 *duobus* incipit c *XXVII* ms. 30 *studiui* pr man.

fragilitate deliqui, aeque ad tuae uoluntatis examen mox emendare curaui.' incubuit precibus antistes statimque edoctus in spiritu inpetrasse se quod petebat a domino 'surge' inquit, 'frater mi, et noli plorare, sed gaudio gaude quia quod rogauimus superna nobis clementia donauit.'

Cuius promissi et prophetiae ueritatem sequens rerum astruxit euentus; quia et digredientes ab inuicem non se ultra corporaliter uiderunt, et uno eodemque die, hoc est xiii° kalendarum Aprilium, egredientes e corpore spiritus eorum mox beata inuicem uisione coniuncti sunt atque angelico ministerio pariter ad regnum caeleste translati. sed Heriberct diutina prius infirmitate decoquitur, illa ut credibile est dispensatione dominicae pietatis ut, si quid minus haberet meriti a beato Cuthbercto, suppleret hoc castigans longae aegritudinis dolor: quatinus aequatus gratia suo intercessori, sicut uno eodemque tempore cum eo de corpore egredi ita etiam una atque indissimili sede perpetuae beatitudinis meruisset recipi.

Obiit autem pater reuerentissimus in insula Farne, multum deprecatus fratres ut ibi quoque sepeliretur ubi non paruo tempore pro domino militarat. attamen tandem eorum precibus uictus assensum dedit, ut ad insulam Lindisfarnensium relatus in ecclesia deponeretur. quod dum factum esset, episcopatum ecclesiae illius anno uno seruabat uenerabilis antistes Vilfrid, donec eligeretur qui pro Cudbercto antistes ordinari deberet.

Ordinatus est autem post haec Eadberct, uir scientia diuinarum scripturarum simul et praeceptorum caelestium obseruantia ac maxime elimosynarum operatione insignis, ita ut iuxta legem omnibus annis decimam non solum quadrupedum, uerum etiam frugum omnium atque pomorum, necnon et uestimentorum partem pauperibus daret.

1 *fragill-* ms. 12 *ille* pr man. 15 *egr-* ms. 21 *-taret* ms.

[XXX]

VOLENS autem latius demonstrare diuina dispensatio, quanta in gloria uir domini Cudberct post mortem uiueret cuius ante mortem uita sublimis crebris etiam miraculorum patebat indiciis, transactis sepulturae eius annis xi inmisit in animo fratrum ut tollerent ossa illius, quae more mortuorum consumto iam et in puluerem redacto reliquo corpore sicca inuenienda putabant, atque in nouo recondita loculo in eodem quidem loco sed supra pauimentum dignae uenerationis gratia locarent. quod dum sibi placuisse Eadbercto antistiti suo referrent, adnuit consilio eorum iussitque ut die depositionis eius hoc facere meminissent. fecerunt autem ita et aperientes sepulchrum inuenerunt corpus totum quasi adhuc uiueret integrum et flexilibus artuum compagibus multo dormienti quam mortuo similius: sed et uestimenta omnia quibus indutum erat non solum intemerata uerum etiam prisca nouitate et claritudine miranda parebant. quod ubi uidere fratres, nimio mox timore perculsi festinarunt referre antistiti quae inuenerant. qui tum forte in remotiore ab ecclesia loco refluis undique pelagi fluctibus cincto solitarius manebat; in hoc etenim semper quadragesimae tempus agere, in hoc xl ante dominicum natale dies in magna continentiae orationis et lacrimarum deuotione transigere solebat; in quo etiam uenerabilis praedecessor eius Cudberct, priusquam insulam Farne peteret, aliquandiu secretus domino militabat. adtulerunt autem ei et partem indumentorum quae corpus sanctum ambierant, quae cum ille et munera gratanter acciperet et miracula libenter audiret, nam et ipsa indumenta quasi patris adhuc corpori circumdata miro deosculabatur

[1] *XXVIII* ms. [17] *claritate* pr man.
[19] *inuenerunt* pr man. [23] *magnae* ms.

affectu, 'noua' inquit 'indumenta corpori pro his quae tulistis circumdate, et sic reponite in arca quam parastis. scio autem certissime quia non diu uacuus remanebit locus ille qui tanta miraculi caelestis gratia sacratus est; et quam beatus est cui in eo facultatem quiescendi dominus totius beatitudinis auctor atque largitor praestare dignabitur!' haec et huiusmodi plura ubi multis cum lacrimis et magna compunctione antistes lingua etiam tremente compleuit, fecerunt fratres ut iusserat, et inuolutum nouo amictu corpus nouaque in theca reconditum supra pauimentum sanctuarii posuerunt. nec mora, deo dilectus antistes Eadberct morbo correptus est acerbo, ac per dies crescente multumque ingrauescente ardore languoris non multo post, id est pridie nonas Maias, etiam ipse migrauit ad dominum, cuius corpus in sepulchro benedicti patris Cudbercti ponentes adposuerunt desuper arcam in qua incorrupta eiusdem patris membra locauerant. in quo etiam loco signa sanitatum aliquoties facta meritis amborum testimonium ferunt, e quibus aliqua in libro uitae illius olim memoriae mandauimus. sed et in hac historia quaedam quae nos nuper audisse contigit, superadicere commodum duximus.

[XXXI]

ERAT in eodem monasterio frater quidam nomine Badudegn, tempore non pauco hospitum ministerio deseruiens, qui nunc usque superest, testimonium habens ab uniuersis fratribus cunctisque superuenientibus hospitibus, quod uir esset multae pietatis ac religionis iniunctoque sibi officio supernae tantum mercedis gratia subditus. hic cum quadam die lenas siue saga quibus in hospitale utebatur in mari lauasset, rediens domum repentina medio itinere

[18] *aceruo* ms. [18] *in* pr man. [21] *-adiecere* ms. [22] *XXVIIII* ms.

molestia tactus est, ita ut corruens in terram et aliquandiu pronus iacens uix tandem resurgeret. resurgens autem sensit dimidiam corporis sui partem a capite usque ad pedes paralysis languore depressam, et maximo cum labore baculo innitens domum peruenit. crescebat morbus paulatim et nocte superueniente grauior effectus est, ita ut die redeunte uix ipse per se exsurgere aut incedere ualeret. quo affectus incommodo concepit utillimum mente consilium, ut ad ecclesiam quoquo modo posset perueniens intraret ad tumbam reuerentissimi patris Cudbercti, ibique genibus flexis supplex supernam pietatem rogaret ut uel ab huiuscemodi languore si hoc sibi utile esset liberaretur uel, si se tali molestia diutius castigari diuina prouidente gratia oporteret, patienter dolorem ac placida mente sustineret inlatum. fecit igitur ut animo disposuerat, et inbecilles artus baculo sustentans intrauit ecclesiam ac prosternens se ad corpus uiri dei, pia intentione per eius auxilium dominum sibi propitium fieri precabatur: atque inter preces uelut in soporem solutus sentit, ut ipse postea referre erat solitus, quasi magnam latamque manum caput sibi in parte qua dolebat tetigisse, eodemque tactu totam illam quae languore pressa fuerat corporis sui partem paulatim fugiente dolore ac sanitate subsequente ad pedes usque pertransisse. quo facto mox euigilans sanissimus surrexit, ac pro sua sanitate domino gratias denuo referens quid erga se actum esset fratribus indicauit, cunctisque congaudentibus ad ministerium quod sollicitus exhibere solebat, quasi flagello probante castigatior, rediit.

Sed et indumenta, quibus deo dicatum corpus Cudbercti uel uiuum antea uel postea defunctum uestierant, etiam ipsa a gratia curandi non uacarunt, sicut in uolumine uitae et uirtutum eius quisque legerit inueniet.

[15] *inbeciles* ms. [21] *tacto* ms. [27] *exhibebere* ms. [27] *flagillo* ms.

[XXXII]

NEC silentio praetereundum quod ante triennium per reliquias eius factum nuper mihi per ipsum, in quo factum est, fratrem innotuit. est autem factum in monasterio quod iuxta amnem Dacore constructum ab eo cognomen accepit, cui tunc uir religiosus Suidberct abbatis iure praefuit. erat in eo quidam adulescens cui tumor deformis palpebram oculi foedauerat: qui cum per dies crescens oculo interitum minaretur, curabant medici hunc adpositis pigmentorum fomentis emollire nec ualebant; quidam abscidendum esse docebant, alii hoc fieri metu maioris periculi uetabant. cumque tempore non pauco frater praefatus tali incommodo laboraret neque inminens oculo exitium humana manus curare ualeret quin per dies augesceret, contigit eum subito diuinae pietatis gratia per sanctissimi patris Cudbercti reliquias sanari. nam quando fratres sui corpus ipsius post multos sepulturae annos incorruptum reperierunt, tulerunt partem de capillis quam more reliquiarum rogantibus amicis dare uel ostendere in signum miraculi possent.

Harum particulam reliquiarum eo tempore habebat penes se quidam de presbyteris eiusdem monasterii nomine Thruidred, qui nunc ipsius monasterii abbas est. qui cum die quadam ingressus ecclesiam aperuisset thecam reliquiarum ut portionem earum roganti amico praestaret, contigit et ipsum adulescentem, cui oculus languebat, in eadem ecclesia tunc adesse. cumque presbyter portionem quantam uoluit amico dedisset, residuum dedit adulescenti, ut suo in loco reponeret. at ille salubri instinctu admonitus, cum accepisset capillos sancti capitis, adposuit palpebrae lan-

[1] *XXX* ms. [8] *fed-* ms. [26] *aduliscentem* ms.

guenti et aliquandiu tumorem illum infestum horum adpositione comprimere ac mollire curabat. quo facto reliquias ut iussus erat sua in theca recondidit, credens suum oculum capillis uiri dei quibus adtactus erat ocius esse sanandum. neque eum sua fides fefellit. erat enim, ut referre erat solitus, tunc hora circiter secunda diei. sed cum alia, quaeque dies illa exigebat, cogitaret et faceret, inminente hora ipsius diei sexta repente contingens oculum ita sanum cum palpebra inuenit, ac si nil umquam in eo deformitatis ac tumoris apparuisset.

LIBER QVARTVS EXPLICIT.

APPENDIX

I BEDA'S PREFACE.
II LETTER TO ALBINUS.
III HIST ECCL V 24.

GLORIOSISSIMO REGI

C E O L V V L F O

BEDA FAMVLVS CHRISTI ET PRESBYTER.

HISTORIAM gentis Anglorum ecclesiasticam, quam nuper edideram, libentissime tibi desideranti, rex, et prius ad legendum ac probandum transmisi et nunc ad transscribendum ac plenius ex tempore meditandum retransmitto: satisque studium tuae sinceritatis amplector, quo non solum audiendis scripturae sanctae uerbis aurem sedulus accommodas, uerum etiam noscendis priorum gestis siue dictis et maxime nostrae gentis uirorum illustrium curam uigilanter impendis. siue enim historia de bonis bona referat, ad imitandum bonum auditor sollicitus instigatur; seu mala commemoret de prauis, nihilominus religiosus ac pius auditor siue lector deuitando quod noxium est ac per-

[7] *accomodas* ms.

uersum ipse sollertius ad exsequenda ea quae bona ac deo digna esse cognouerit accenditur. quod ipsum tu quoque uigilantissime deprehendens historiam memoratam in notitiam tibi simulque eis quibus te regendis diuina praefecit auctoritas, ob generalis curam salutis latius propalari desideras.

Vt autem in his quae scripsi uel tibi uel ceteris auditoribus siue lectoribus huius historiae occasionem dubitandi subtraham, quibus haec maxime auctoribus didicerim breuiter intimare curabo. auctor ante omnes atque adiutor opusculi huius Albinus abba reuerentissimus uir per omnia doctissimus extitit; qui in ecclesia Cantuariorum a beatae memoriae Theodoro archiepiscopo et Hadriano abbate uiris uenerabilibus atque eruditissimis institutus, diligenter omnia, quae in ipsa Cantuariorum prouincia uel etiam in contiguis eidem regionibus a discipulis beati papae Gregorii gesta fuere, uel monimentis litterarum uel seniorum traditione cognouerat, et ea mihi de his quae memoria digna uidebantur per religiosum Lundoniensis ecclesiae presbyterum Nothelmum, siue litteris mandata siue ipsius Nothelmi uiua uoce referenda, transmisit. qui uidelicet Nothelmus postea Romam ueniens nonnullas ibi beati Gregorii papae simul et aliorum pontificum epistulas perscrutato eiusdem sanctae ecclesiae Romanae scrinio permissu eius qui nunc ipsi ecclesiae praeest Gregorii pontificis inuenit, reuersusque nobis nostrae historiae inserendas cum consilio praefati Albini reuerentissimi patris adtulit. a principio itaque uoluminis huius usque ad tempus quo gens Anglorum fidem Christi percepit ex priorum maxime scriptis hinc inde collectis ea quae promeremus didicimus. exinde autem usque ad tempora praesentia, quae in ecclesia Cantuariorum per discipulos beati papae Gregorii siue successores eorum uel sub quibus regibus gesta sint, memorati abbatis Albini in-

dustria Nothelmo ut diximus perferente cognouimus. qui etiam prouinciae Orientalium simul et Occidentalium Saxonum nec non et Orientalium Anglorum atque Nordanhymbrorum a quibus praesulibus uel quorum tempore regum gratiam euangelii perceperint, nonnulla mihi ex parte prodiderunt. denique hortatu praecipue ipsius Albini ut hoc opus adgredi auderem prouocatus sum. sed et Danihel reuerentissimus Occidentalium Saxonum episcopus, qui nunc usque superest, nonnulla mihi de historia ecclesiastica prouinciae ipsius simul et proxima illi Australium Saxonum nec non et Vectae insulae litteris mandata declarauit. qualiter uero per ministerium Ceddi et Ceadda religiosorum Christi sacerdotum uel prouincia Merciorum ad fidem Christi quam non nouerat peruenerit, uel prouincia Orientalium Saxonum fidem quam olim exsufflauerat recuperauerit, qualis etiam ipsorum patrum uita uel obitus extiterit, diligenter a fratribus monasterii quod ab ipsis conditum Læstingaeu cognominatur agnouimus. porro in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum quae fuerint gesta ecclesiastica, partim ex scriptis uel traditione priorum partim reuerentissimi abbatis Esi relatione comperimus. at uero in prouincia Lindissi quae sint gesta erga fidem Christi quaeue successio sacerdotalis extiterit, uel litteris reuerentissimi antistitis Cynibercti uel aliorum fidelium uirorum uiua uoce didicimus. quae autem in Nordanhymbrorum prouincia ex quo tempore fidem Christi perceperunt usque ad praesens per diuersas regiones in ecclesia sint acta, non uno quolibet auctore sed fideli innumerorum testium qui haec scire uel meminisse poterant adsertione cognoui, exceptis his quae per meipsum nosse poteram. inter quae notandum quod ea, quae de sanctissimo patre et antistite Cudbercto uel in hoc uolumine uel in libello gestorum ipsius conscripsi, partim ex eis quae de illo prius a

[7] *aggredi* sec man.

fratribus ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis scripta repperi adsumsi simpliciter fidem historiae quam legebam accommodans, partim uero ea quae certissima fidelium uirorum adtestatione per me ipse cognoscere potui sollerter adicere curaui. lectoremque suppliciter obsecro, ut si qua in his quae scripsimus aliter quam se ueritas habet posita reppererit, non hoc nobis imputet qui, quod uera lex historiae est, simpliciter ea quae fama uulgante collegimus ad instructionem posteritatis litteris mandare studuimus.

Praeterea omnes ad quos haec eadem historia peruenire potuerit nostrae nationis legentes siue audientes suppliciter precor, ut pro meis infirmitatibus et mentis et corporis apud supernam clementiam saepius interuenire meminerint et in suis quique prouinciis hanc mihi suae remunerationis uicem rependant ut, qui de singulis prouinciis siue locis sublimioribus quae memoratu digna atque incolis grata credideram diligenter adnotare curaui, apud omnes fructum piae intercessionis inueniam.

BEDA. LETTER TO ALBINUS.

DESIDERANTISSIMO et reuerentissimo patri ALBINO, BEDA Christi famulus salutem. gratantissime suscepi munuscula tuae dilectionis, quae per uenerabilem fratrem nostrum NOTHELMVM presbyterum mittere dignatus es, et maxime litteras, quibus me iam secunda uice in ecclesiastica gentis nostrae historia, ad quam me scribendam iamdudum instigaueras, creber adiuuare atque instituere curasti. propter quod et ipse tibi rectissime eamdem historiam, mox ut con-

[2] *accomodans* ms. 20 Mabillon uetera analecta Paris 1723 fol p 398.

summare potui, ad transscribendum remisi. sed et aliud, quod te partim desiderare comperi, uolumen tibi uice remunerationis aeque ad transscribendum destinaui, uidelicet illud quod de structura templi Salomonis atque allegorica eius interpretatione nuper edidi. teque, amantissime pater, supplex obsecro, ut pro mea fragilitate cum his qui tecum sunt famulis Christi apud pium iudicem sedulus intercedere memineris: sed et eos ad quos eadem nostra opuscula peruenire feceris, hoc idem facere monueris. bene uale, semper amantissime in Christo pater optime.

H E V 24

VERVM ea quae temporum distinctione latius digesta sunt ob memoriam conseruandam breuiter recapitulari placuit.

Anno igitur ante incarnationem dominicam sexagesimo Gaius Iulius Caesar primus Romanorum Brittanias bello pulsauit et uicit, nec tamen ibi regnum potuit obtinere.

Anno ab incarnatione domini xlui Claudius, secundus Romanorum Brittanias adiens, plurimam insulae partem in deditionem recepit et Orcadas quoque insulas Romano adiecit imperio.

Anno incarnationis dominicae clxuii Eleuther Romae praesul factus xu annos ecclesiam gloriosissime rexit, cui

[10] hanc epistolam ex ms codice Mettensis monasterii sancti Arnulfi eruit mihique transmisit uir religiosus Domnus Placidus Beuuillionius, eiusdem loci tum subprior. quo in codice habetur haec epistola cum hac inscriptione: *incipit praefatio Praesbyteri ad Alcuinum Abbatum* [sic]. quod argumento est superiorem epistolam praefationis uice in Anglicana Bedae historia fuisse appositam a scribis nonnullis, qui Albinum hunc eundem esse cum Alcuino putauerunt. MABILLON.

[22] *Romanae* ms.

litteras rex Brittaniae Lucius mittens ut Christianus efficeretur petiit et inpetrauit.

Anno ab incarnatione domini clxxxuiiii Seuerus imperator factus xuii annis regnauit, qui Brittaniam uallo a mari usque ad mare praecincxit.

Anno ccclxxxi Maximus in Brittania creatus imperator in Galliam transiit et Gratianum interfecit.

Anno ccccuiiii Roma a Gothis fracta, ex quo tempore Romani in Brittania regnare cessarunt.

Anno ccccxxx Palladius ad Scottos in Christum credentes a Caelestino papa primus mittitur episcopus.

Anno ccccxluiiii Marcianus cum Valentiniano imperium suscipiens uii annis tenuit: quorum tempore Angli a Brettonibus arcessiti Brittaniam adierunt.

Anno dxxxuiii eclipsis solis facta est xiiii kalendas Martias ab hora prima usque ad tertiam.

Anno dxl eclypsis solis facta xii kalendas Iulias, et apparuerunt stellae pene hora dimidia ab hora diei tertia.

Anno dxluii Ida regnare coepit, a quo regalis Nordanhymbrorum prosapia originem tenet, et xii annis in regno permansit.

Anno dlxu Columba presbyter de Scottia uenit Brittaniam ad docendos Pictos et in insula Hii monasterium fecit.

Anno dxcui Gregorius papa misit Brittaniam Augustinum cum monachis, qui uerbum dei genti Anglorum euangelizarent.

Anno dxcuii uenere Brittaniam praefati doctores, qui fuit annus plus minus cl aduentus Anglorum in Brittaniam.

Anno dci misit papa Gregorius pallium Brittaniam Augustino iam facto episcopo et plures uerbi ministros, in quibus et Paulinum.

Anno dciii pugnatum ad Degsastanæ.

[14] *arcesiti* ms. [16] *mār* ms.

Anno dciiii Orientales Saxones fidem Christi percipiunt sub rege Sabercto antistite Mellito.

Anno dcu Gregorius obiit.

Anno dcxui Aedilberct rex Cantuariorum defunctus est.

Anno dcxxu Paulinus a Iusto archiepiscopo ordinatur -genti Nordanhymbrorum antistes.

Anno dcxxui Eanfled filia Aeduini regis baptizata cum xii in sabbato pentecostes.

Anno dcxxuii Eduini rex baptizatus cum sua gente in pascha.

Anno dcxxxiii Eduine rege peremto Paulinus Cantiam rediit.

Anno dcxl Eadbald rex Cantuariorum obiit.

Anno dcxlii Osuald rex occisus.

Anno dcxliiii Paulinus, quondam Eboraci sed tunc Hrofensis antistes ciuitatis, migrauit ad dominum.

Anno dcli Osuini rex occisus et Aidan episcopus defunctus est.

Anno dcliii Middilangli sub principe Peada fidei mysteriis sunt inbuti.

Anno dclu Penda periit et Mercii sunt facti Christiani.

Anno dclxiiii eclypsis facta; Earconberct rex Cantuariorum defunctus et Colman cum Scottis ad suos reuersus est; et pestilentia uenit; et Ceadda ac Vilfrid Nordanhymbrorum ordinantur episcopi.

Anno dclxuiii Theodorus ordinatur episcopus.

Anno dclxx Osuiu rex Nordanhymbrorum obiit.

Anno dclxxiii Ecgberct rex Cantuariorum obiit; et synodus facta est ad Herutforda praesente Ecgfrido rege praesidente archiepiscopo Theodoro, utillima, x capitulorum.

Anno dclxxu Vulfheri rex Merciorum, postquam xuii annos regnauerat, defunctus Aedilredo fratri reliquit imperium.

Anno dclxxui Aedilred uastauit Cantiam.

Anno dclxxuiii cometa apparuit; Vilfrid episcopus a sede sua pulsus est ab Ecgfrido rege, et pro eo Bosa Eata et Eadhaeth consecrati antistites.

Anno dclxxuiiii Ælfuini occisus.

Anno dclxxx synodus factus est in campo Hæthfeltha de fide catholica praesidente archiepiscopo Theodoro, in quo adfuit Iohannes abba Romanus. quo anno Hild abbatissa in Streanæshalæ obiit.

Anno dclxxxu Ecgfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum occisus est. anno eodem Hlotheri rex Cantuariorum obiit.

Anno dclxxxuiii Caeduald rex Occidentalium Saxonum Romam de Brittania pergit.

Anno dcxc Theodorus archiepiscopus obiit.

Anno dcxcuii Osthryd regina a suis, id est Merciorum, primatibus interemta.

Anno dcxcuiii Berctred dux regius Nordanhymbrorum a Pictis interfectus.

Anno dcciiii Aedilred, postquam xxxi annos Merciorum genti praefuit, monachus factus Coenredo regnum dedit.

Anno dccu Aldfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum defunctus est.

Anno dccuiiii Coenred rex Merciorum, postquam u annos regnabat, Romam pergit.

Anno dccxi Berctfrid praefectus cum Pictis pugnauit.

Anno dccxui Osred rex Nordanhymbrorum interfectus; et rex Merciorum Ceolred defunctus; et uir domini Ecgberct Hienses monachos ad catholicum pascha et ecclesiasticam correxit tonsuram.

Anno dccxxu Victred rex Cantuariorum obiit.

Anno dccxxuiiii cometae apparuerunt; sanctus Ecgberct transiit; Osric mortuus est.

Anno dccxxxi Berctuald archiepiscopus obiit. anno eodem Tatuini consecratus archiepiscopus nonus Doruuer-

nensis ecclesiae Aedilbaldo rege Merciorum xu agente annum inperii.

HAEC de historia ecclesiastica Brittaniarum et maxime gentis Anglorum, prout uel ex litteris antiquorum uel ex traditione maiorum uel ex mea ipse cognitione scire potui, domino adiuuante digessi Baeda famulus Christi et presbyter monasterii beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli quod est ad Viuraemuda et Ingyruum.

Qui natus in territorio eiusdem monasterii, cum essem annorum septem, cura propinquorum datus sum educandus reuerentissimo abbati Benedicto ac deinde Ceolfrido: cunctumque ex eo tempus uitae in eiusdem monasterii habitatione peragens omnem meditandis scripturis operam dedi, atque inter obseruantiam disciplinae regularis et cotidianam cantandi in ecclesia curam semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere dulce habui.

Nonodecimo autem uitae meae anno diaconatum, tricesimo gradum presbyteratus, utrumque per ministerium reuerentissimi episcopi Iohannis iubente Ceolfrido abbate suscepi.

Ex quo tempore accepti presbyteratus usque ad annum aetatis meae luiiii haec in scripturam sanctam meae meorumque necessitati ex opusculis uenerabilium patrum breuiter adnotare siue etiam ad formam sensus et interpretationis eorum superadicere curaui.

'In principium genesis, usque ad natiuitatem Isaac et iectionem Ismahelis, libros iiii.

'De tabernaculo et uasis eius ac uestibus sacerdotum libros iii.

'In primam partem Samuhelis, id est usque ad mortem Saulis, libros iii.

'De aedificatione templi, allegoricae expositionis sicut et cetera, libros ii.

'Item in regum librum xxx quaestionum.

'In prouerbia Salomonis libros iii.

'In cantica canticorum libros uii.

'In Isaiam Danihelem xii prophetas et partem Hieremiae distinctiones capitulorum ex tractatu beati Hieronymi excerptas.

'In Ezram et Neemiam libros iii.

'In canticum Habacum librum i.

'In librum beati patris Tobiae explanationis allegoricae de Christo et ecclesia librum i.

'Item capitula lectionum in pentateucum Mosi, Iosue, iudicum.

'In libros regum et uerba dierum.

'In librum beati patris Iob.

'In parabolas ecclesiasten et cantica canticorum.

'In Isaiam prophetam, Ezram quoque et Neemiam.

'In euangelium Marci libros iiii.

'In euangelium Lucae libros ui.

'Omeliarum euangelii libros ii.

'In apostolum quaecumque in opusculis sancti Augustini exposita inueni cuncta per ordinem transscribere curaui.

'In actus apostolorum libros ii.

'In epistolas uii catholicas libros singulos.

'In apocalypsin sancti Iohannis libros iii.

'Item capitula lectionum in totum nouum testamentum excepto euangelio.

'Item librum epistularum ad diuersos: quarum de sex aetatibus saeculi una est; de mansionibus filiorum Israel una; una de eo quod ait Isaias: 'et claudentur ibi in carcerem et post dies multos uisitabuntur'; de ratione bissexti una; de aequinoctio iuxta Anatolium una.

'Item de historiis sanctorum: librum uitae et passionis sancti Felicis confessoris de metrico Paulini opere in prosam transtuli; librum uitae et passionis sancti Anastasii, male de Graeco translatum et peius a quodam inperito emendatum, prout potui ad sensum correxi; uitam sancti patris monachi simul et antistitis Cudbercti, et prius heroico metro et postmodum plano sermone, descripsi.

'Historiam abbatum monasterii huius, in quo supernae pietati deseruire gaudeo, Benedicti Ceolfridi et Huaetbercti in libellis duobus.

'Historiam ecclesiasticam nostrae insulae ac gentis in libris u.

'Martyrologium de nataliciis sanctorum martyrum diebus; in quo omnes quos inuenire potui, non solum qua die uerum etiam quo genere certaminis uel sub quo iudice mundum uicerint, diligenter adnotare studui.

'Librum hymnorum diuerso metro siue rhythmo.

'Librum epigrammatum heroico metro siue elegiaco.

'De natura rerum et de temporibus libros singulos; item de temporibus librum i maiorem.

'Librum de orthographia alphabeti ordine distinctum.

'Item librum de metrica arte, et huic adiectum alium de schematibus siue tropis libellum, hoc est de figuris modisque locutionum quibus scriptura sancta contexta est.'

Teque deprecor, bone Iesu, ut cui propitius donasti uerba tuae scientiae dulciter haurire, dones etiam benignus aliquando ad te fontem omnis sapientiae peruenire et parere semper ante faciem tuam.

EXPLICIT DOMINO IVVANTE LIBER QVINTVS HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE GENTIS ANGLORVM.

[21] *albabeti* ms. [26] *aurire* ms.

ANNO dccxxxi Ceoluulf rex captus et adtonsus et remissus in regnum; Acca episcopus de sua sede fugatus.

Anno dccxxxii Ecgberct pro Vilfrido episcopus factus.

Anno dccxxxiii eclypsis facta est solis xuiiii kal Sep circa horam diei tertiam, ita ut pene totus orbis solis quasi niger- rimo et horrendo scuto uideretur esse coopertus.

Anno dccxxxiiii luna, sanguineo rubore perfusa quasi hora integra ii kal Febr circa galli cantum, dehinc nigredine subsequente ad lucem propriam reuersa.

Anno eodem Tatuini episcopus obiit.

Anno dccxxxu Nothelmus archiepiscopus ordinatur; et Ecgberctus episcopus, accepto ab apostolica sede pallio primus post Paulinum in archiepiscopatum confirmatus est; ordinauitque Fruidbertum et Fruiduualdum episcopos, et Baeda presbyter obiit.

Anno dccxxxuii nimia siccitas terram fecit infecundam; et Ceoluulfus sua uoluntate adtonsus, regnum Eadbercto reliquit.

Anno dccxxxix Edilhartus Occidentalium Saxonum rex obiit; et Nothelmus archiepiscopus.

Anno dccxl Cudberctus pro Nothelmo consecratus est. Aedilbaldus rex Merciorum per impiam fraudem uastabat partem Nordanhymbrorum; eratque rex eorum Eadberctus occupatus cum suo exercitu contra Pictos. Aediluualdus quoque episcopus obiit, et pro eo Conuulfus ordinatur antistes. Aruwini et Eadberctus interempti.

Anno dccxli siccitas magna terram occupauit. Carolus rex Francorum obiit; et pro eo filii Caroloman et Pippin regnum acceperunt.

Anno dccxlu Vilfrid episcopus et Ingualdus Lundoniae episcopus migrauerunt ad dominum.

Anno dccxluii Herefridus uir dei obiit.

Anno dccl Cudretus, rex Occidentalium Saxonum, surrexit contra Aedilbaldum regem et Oengusum. Theneorus atque

Eanredus obierunt. Eadberctus campum Cyil cum aliis regionibus suo regno addidit.

Anno dcclui anno regni Eadbercti quinto idibus Ianuarii eclipsis solis facta est. Postea eodem anno et mense, hoc est nono kalendarum Februariarum, luna eclipsim pertulit, horrendo et nigerrimo scuto, ita ut sol paulo ante, cooperta.

Anno dccliu Bonifatius, qui et Vinfridus, Francorum episcopus, cum quinquaginta tribus martyrio coronatus est; et pro eo Redgerus consecratur archiepiscopus a Stephano papa.

Anno dccluii Aedilbaldus rex Merciorum a suis tutoribus noctu morte fraudulenta miserabiliter peremptus occubuit: Beornredus regnare coepit: Cyniuulfus rex Occidentalium Saxonum obiit. eodem etiam anno Offa, fugato Beornredo, Merciorum regnum sanguinolento quaesiuit gladio.

Anno dccluiii Eadberctus rex Nordanhymbrorum dei amoris causa et caelestis patriae uiolentia, accepta sancta Petri tonsura, filio suo Osuulfo regnum reliquit.

Anno dcclix Osuulfus a suis ministris facinorose occisus est; et Edilualdus anno eodem a sua plebe electus intrauit in regnum: cuius secundo anno magna tribulatio mortalitatis uenit et duobus ferme annis permansit, populantibus duris ac diuersis aegritudinibus, maxime tamen dysenteriae languore.

Anno dcclxi Oengus Pictorum rex obiit, qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruento tyrannus perduxit carnifex: et Osuini occisus est.

Anno dcclxu Aluchredus rex susceptus est in regnum.

Anno dcclxui Ecgberctus archiepiscopus prosapia regali ditatus ac diuina scientia imbutus et Frithubertus uere fideles episcopi ad dominum migrauerunt.

TESTIMONIA

I

DILECTISSIMO in Christo collectori Cuthwino Cuthbertus condiscipulus in deo aeternam salutem. munusculum quod misisti multum libenter accepi, multumque gratanter litteras tuae deuotae eruditionis legi, in quibus, quod maxime desiderabam, missas uidelicet et oraciones sacrosanctas pro deo dilecto patre ac magistro Baeda a uobis diligenter celebrari repperi. unde delectat magis pro eius caritate, quam fretus ingenio, paucis sermonibus dicere, quo ordine migraret a saeculo, cum etiam hoc te desiderasse et poposcisse intellexi. grauatus est quidem infirmitate et maxime creberrimi anhelitus, sed tamen pene sine aliquo dolore, ante diem autem resurrectionis dominice, id est fere duabus ebdomadibus; et sic postea letus et gaudens graciasque agens omnipotenti deo omni die et nocte, immo horis omnibus usque ad diem ascensionis dominicae, id est uii id maī uitam ducebat, et nobis suis discipulis cottidie lecciones dabat, et quidquid reliquum fuit diei in psalmorum cantu, prout potuit, se occupabat; totam uero noctem letus in oracionibus et graciarum accione deo ducere studebat nisi tantum modicus somnus impediret. itemque autem euigilans statim consueta scripturarum modulamina ruminabat extensisque manibus deo gratias agere non est oblitus. uere fateor quia neminem unquam alium oculis meis uidi nec auribus audiui, tam diligenter gracias deo uiuo referre. o uere beatus uir! canebat autem sentenciam sancti Pauli apostoli dicentis 'horrendum est incidere in manus dei uiuentis' et multa alia de

1 ² *dilectissimo...salutem* not in CCLIV but 'incipit de ualetudine et obitu uenerabilis Beda presbyteri.'

sancta scriptura, in quibus nos a somno animae exsurgere precogitando ultimam horam amonebat et in nostra quoque lingua, ut erat doctus in nostris carminibus, dicens de terribili exitu animarum e corpore:

Fore then neidfaerae
naenig uiuurthit
thonc snotturra
than him tharf sie
to ymb hycggannae
aer his hin iongae
huaet his gastae
godaes aeththa yflaes
aefter deothdaege
doemid uueorthae.

quod ita latine sonat: 'ante necessarium exitum prudentior quam opus fuerit nemo existit, ad cogitandum uidelicet antequam hinc proficiscatur anima, quid boni uel mali egerit, qualiter post exitum iudicanda fuerit'. cantabat etiam antiphonas ob nostram consolationem et suam quarum una est: 'o rex gloriae, domine uirtutum, qui triumphator hodie super omnes celos ascendisti, ne derelinquas nos orphanos, usque ueritatis. alleluia'. cum uenisset autem ad illud uerbum, 'ne derelinquas nos orphanos,' prorupit in lacrimas et multum flebat. et post horam cepit repetere quae incoauerat. et sic tota die faciebat et nos quidem audientes haec luximus cum illo et fleuimus; altera uice legimus, altera plorauimus, immo cum fletu legimus. in tali leticia quinquagesimales dies usque ad diem praefatum deduximus. et ille multum gauisus est et deo gratias referebat, quia sic meruisset infirmari. et saepe dicebat 'flagellat deus omnem filium quem recipit', et sentenciam Ambrosii: 'non sic uixi, ut me pudeat inter uos uiuere; sed nec mori

15—18 *quod...fuerit* not in CCLIV.

timeo, quia bonum dominum habemus'. in istis autem diebus dua opuscula memoriae digna, exceptis lectionibus quas cottidie accepimus ab eo et cantu psalmorum, facere studuit. id est a capite sancti euangelii Iohannis usque ad eum locum in quo dicitur, 'sed haec quid sunt inter tantos?' in nostram linguam ad utilitatem ecclesiae dei conuertit, et de libris Isidori episcopi excerptiones quasdam dicens: 'nolo ut pueri mei mendacium legant et in hoc post meum obitum sine fructu laborent'. cum uenisset autem tertia feria ante ascensionem domini coepit uehementius egrotare in anhelitu et modicus tumor in suis pedibus apparuit. totum tamen illum diem docebat et hilariter dictabat et nonnumquam inter alia dixit: 'discite cum festinatione; quia nescio quamdiu subsistam et si post modicum tollat me factor meus'. nobis tamen uidebatur ne forte exitum suum bene sciret et sic noctem in gratiarum actione peruigil duxit. et mane inlucescente, id est quarta feria, praecepit diligenter scribi quae coeperamus. et hoc fecimus usque ad terciam horam. a tercia autem hora ambulauimus cum reliquiis sanctorum, ut consuetudo illius diei poscebat. et unus erat ex nobis cum illo, qui dixit illi: 'adhuc capitulum unum de libro quem dictasti deest. et uidetur mihi difficile tibi esse plus te interrogare'; at ille inquid, 'facile est, accipe tuum calamum et tempera, festinanterque scribe.' et ille hoc fecit. a nona hora dixit mihi: 'quaedam preciosa in mea capsella habeo, id est piperum oraria et incensa; sed curre uelociter et adduc presbiteros nostri monasterii ad me, ut et ego munuscula qualia mihi deus donauit illis distribuam'. et hoc cum tremore feci et praesentibus illis locutus est ad eos et unumquemque, monens et obsecrans pro eo missas diligenter et orationes facere: et illi libenter respondere. lugebant autem et flebant omnes,

[26] marg *uel piper.*

maxime autem in uerbo quod dixerat quia aestimarent quod faciem eius amplius non multo in hoc saeculo essent uisuri. gaudebant autem de eo quod dixit: 'tempus est, si sic factori meo uidetur, ut ad eum modo absolutus ex carne ueniam, qui me quando non eram ex nihilo formauit. multum tempus uixi, beneque mihi pius iudex uitam meam praeuidit. tempus absolucionis meae prope est, etenim anima mea desiderat regem meum Christum in decore suo uidere'. sic et alia multa utilitatis causa ad aedificationem nostram locutus in letitia diem ultimum usque ad uesperum duxit, et praefatus puer nomine uuilberche adhuc dixit: 'magister dilecte, restat adhuc una sententia non descripta'. at ille 'bene' inquid 'scribe'. et post modicum dixit puer: 'modo descripta est'. at ille 'bene' inquid 'consummatum est, ueritatem dixisti; accipe meum caput in manus tuas, quia multum me delectat sedere ex aduerso loco sancto meo, in quo orare solebam, ut et ego sedens patrem meum inuocare possim.' et sic in pauimento suae casulae decantans 'gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto' et cetera, ultimum e corpore exhalauit spiritum. atque ut sine dubio credendum est quod pro eo quia hic semper deuotissimus in dei laudibus laborauerat ad gaudia desideriorum celestium anima eius ab angelis portaretur. omnes autem qui audiere uel uidere obitum Baedani patris nostri, numquam se uidisse alium in tam magna deuocione atque tranquillitate uitam suam finisse dicebant: quia, sicut audisti, quousque anima eius in corpore fuit, 'gloria patri' et alia quaedam ad gloriam dei cecinit et expansis manibus deo gratias agere non cessabat. scire autem debes quia adhuc multa narrari et scribi possunt de eo sed nunc breuitatem sermonis ineruditio meae linguae facit. attamen cogito deo adiuuante ex tempore plenius de eo scribere quae oculis uidi et auribus audiui. finit de obitu Bedani presbyteri.

II

PRAETEREA obsecro, ut mihi de opusculis Bedan lectoris aliquos tractatus conscribere et dirigere digneris —quem nuper, ut audiuimus, diuina gratia spiritali intellectu ditauit et in uestra prouincia fulgere concessit—et ut candela, quam uobis dominus largitus est, nos quoque fruamur.

III

INTEREA rogamus, ut aliqua de opusculis sagacissimi inuestigatoris scripturarum Bedan monachi, quem nuper in domo dei apud uos uice candelae ecclesiasticae scientia scripturarum fulsisse audiuimus, conscripta nobis transmittere dignemini. et si uobis laboriosum non sit, ut cloccam unam nobis transmittatis, grande solacium peregrinationis nostrae transmittitis.

IV

MODO enim inhianter desiderantes flagitamus, ut nobis ad gaudium maeroris nostri eo modo, quo et ante iam fecistis, aliquam particulam uel scintillam de candela ecclesiae, quam inluxit spiritus sanctus in regionibus prouinciae uestrae, nobis destinare curetis; id est ut de tractatibus, quos spiritalis presbiter et inuestigator sanctarum scripturarum Beda reserando conposuit, partem qualemcumque transmittere dignemini; maxime autem, si fore possit—quod nobis praedicantibus habile et manuale et utillimum esse uidetur—super lectionarium anniuersarium et prouerbia Salomonis. quia conmentarios super illa eum condidisse audiuimus.

[1] Bonifatius ep 61 p 180 Jaffé to Ecgbert abp of York.
[7] Idem ep 62 p 181 to Huetberht abbat of Wearmouth and Jarrow.
[15] Idem ep 100 p 250 to Ecgbert abp of York.

V

OBSECRO, ut quemlibet horum librorum adquiras et nobis mittere digneris, quos beatae memoria Beda presbiter exposuit, ad consolationem peregrinationis nostrae; id est in primam partem Samuelis usque ad mortem Saulis libros quattuor, siue in Esdram et Nehemiam libros tres, uel in euangelium Marci libros quattuor. grauia forte postulo; sed nihil graue uerae caritati iniungo.

VI

PETIMVS etiam, ut ad consolationem non solum peregrinationis sed etiam infirmitatis nostrae libros istos, a beatae memoriae Beda expositos, mittere digneris: de aedificatione templi, uel in cantica canticorum, siue epigrammatum heroico metro siue elegiaco conpositorum; si fieri potest, omnes, sin autem, de aedificatione templi libros tres. fortassis difficilis petitio; sed nihil arbitror esse difficile uerae caritati.

VII

INSVPER etiam librum, quem clarissimus ecclesiae dei magister Baeda de aedificio templi conposuit, ad consolationem tuae peregrinationi mittere curaui; tuam fraternitatem humiliter obsecrans, ut olim condictae inter nos amicitiae foedera usque ad finem firmum custodire digneris, in hoc uidelicet maxime: quod cum tuis omnibus, quos tibi diuina dispensatio uoluit esse subiectos, pro infirmitatibus meis apud supernum iudicem sedulus intercessor existas.

[1] Lullus (in Bonifatii ep 122 p 288) to Coena abp of York (AD 767—781).

[9] Lullus (ibid ep 123 p 289) to Guthberct or Cuthberct abbat of Wearmouth and Jarrow.

[18] Gudberctus or Cuthberct abbat of Wearmouth and Jarrow (ibid ep 124 p 290) to Lull.

VIII

DESIDERANTISSIMO et suauissimo in Christi dilectione amico Lullo episcopo et omnium antistitum carissimo Gutberct, discipulus Beda presbiteri, salutem.

Gratanter quidem munuscula tuae caritatis suscepi; et eo gratantius, quo te haec intimo deuotionis affectu mittere cognoui. id est, holosericam ad reliquias beatae memoriae Baeda magistri nostri ob recordationem et illius ueneratione nem destinasti. et rectum quidem mihi uidetur, ut tota gens Anglorum in omnibus prouinciis, ubicumque reperti sunt, gratias deo referant, quia tam mirabilem uirum, praeditum in diuersis donis tamque ad exercenda dona studiosum similiterque in bonis moribus uiuentem, deus illis in sua natione donauit. quia per experimentum, ad pedes eius nutritus, hoc quod narro didici. similiterque mihimet ipsi coopertorium uariatum, ad tegendum scilicet propter frigus meum corpus, misisti. quod uidelicet omnipotenti deo et beato Paulo apostolo ad induendum altare, quod in eius ecclesia deo consecratum est, cum magno gaudio dedi; quia et ego sub eius protectione in hoc monasterio quadraginta et sex annos uixi.

Nunc uero, quia rogasti aliquid de opusculis beati patris, cum meis pueris iuxta uires, quod potui, tuae dilectioni praeparaui: libellos de uiro dei Cudbercto, metro et prosa compositos, tuae uoluntati direxi. et, si plus potuissem, libenter uoluissem. quia praesentia praeteriti hiemis multum horribiliter insulam nostrae gentis in frigore et gelu et uentorum et imbrium procellis diu lateque depressit, ideoque scriptoris manus, ne in plurimorum librorum numerum perueniret, retardaretur.....

[1] Gutberctus (in Bonifatii ep 134 pp 300—2 Jaffé) to Lull.
[26] '*an* perseuerantia?'

De opusculis uero beatae recordationis Baeda, quae adhuc descripta non habes, promitto me, si uixerimus, tuae uoluntati adiuuaturum.

abbas Gutberctus tete bis terque salutat;
te deus omnipotens saluum conseruet in aeuum.

IX

DISCANT pueri scripturas sacras, ut aetate perfecta ueniente alios docere possint. qui non discit in pueritia, non docet in senectute. recogitate nobilissimum nostri temporis magistrum Baedam presbyterum: quale habuit in iuuentute discendi studium, qualem nunc habet inter homines laudem, multo maiorem apud deum remunerationis gloriam. illius igitur exemplo dormientes excitate animos.

X

SED et angelorum uisitationes loca sancta frequentare non dubium est. fertur enim magistrum nostrum et uestrum patronum beatum dixisse Baedam: *scio, angelos uisitare canonicas horas et congregationes fraternas; quid, si ibi me non inueniunt inter fratres? nonne dicere habent:* 'ubi est Baeda? quare non uenit ad orationes statutas cum fratribus?'

XI

TEMPORIBVS primis praefati praesulis huius presbyter eximius meritis, cognomine Beda,

[6] Alcuinus writing to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow on the invasion of the Northmen after 8 June 793 (epist 27 p 200 Jaffé).
[15] Idem epist 274 p 844 (to the monks of St Peter's Wearmouth before 804 AD). Cf Haddan-Stubbs III 471.
[23] Alcuinus de sanctis Eborac eccl 1287—1317.
[24] 'huius' Ecgbert.

astra petens clausit praesentis lumina uitae.
qui mox a puero libris intentus adhaesit
et toto studiis seruiuit pectore sacris.
utpote septennem quem fecit cura parentum
arcta monasterii Giruensis claustra subire,
cui iam praeclarus Ceolfridus praefuit abbas;
qui peregrina petens Christi deductus amore,
mortuus est exsul Linguanae in finibus urbis
atque ibi condigno felix tumulatus honore est.
cuius corpus erat post tempora multa repertum
integrum penitus patriamque exinde reductum.
ergo monasterio Beda nutritus in illo
ornauit teneros praeclaris moribus annos.
discere namque sagax iuuenis seu scribere semper
feruidus instabat non segni mente laborans;
et sic proficiens est factus iure magister.
plurima quapropter praeclarus opuscula doctor
edidit explanans obscura uolumina sanctae
scripturae, nec non metrorum condidit artem;
de quoque temporibus mira ratione uolumen,
quod tenet astrorum cursus loca tempora leges,
scripsit, et historicos claro sermone libellos;
plurima uersifico cecinit quoque carmina plectro.
actu mente fide ueterum uestigia patrum,
semper dum uixit, directo est calle secutus.
huius uita quidem qualis fuit ante magistri,
claro post obitum signo est patefacta salutis.
aeger enim quidam, patris dum cingitur almi
relliquiis, penitus peste est sanatus ab illa.

[8] Langres.

XII

SACERDOS uenerabilis, monachus per omnia laudabilis, computator mirabilis, Beda sanctissimus, secundum Anglicas chronicas anno praesenti, secundum uero suum discipulum Cuthbertum, qui eius obitum descripsit suaeque decessioni cum aliis quam plurimis interfuit, anno sequenti ante ascensionem dominicam iu feria id est uiii kal Iunii, circa horam x in magna mentis deuotione et tranquillitate ultimum e corpore spiritum efflauit sicque gaudens ad regna caelestia migrauit. hic suae gentis quam plurima gesta hucusque luculento descripsit sermone, unumque temporalis uitae modumque terminauit historiae.

XIII

VADATVR sermonis mei ueritatem Beda, qui eo tempore, quo maxime scaturiebat litteratis Britannia, huic [Chelwulfo] potissimum Anglorum historiam elimandam obtulit, eligens nimirum in illo auctoritatem bene dicta roborandi propter imperium et scientiam, perperam dicta emendandi propter ingenium.

§ 54 Idem historicus post multos in sancta ecclesia libros elaboratos caelestem patriam, quam diu suspirauerat, ingressus est,.....uir quem mirari facilius quam digne praedicare possis, quod in extremo natus orbis angulo, doctrinae corusco terras omnes perstrinxerit, nam et Britannia, quae a quibusdam alter orbis appellatur, quod oceano interfusa non multis cosmographis comperta est, habet in remotissima sui plaga locum natiuitatis et educationis eius, Scotiae propinquum....

[1] Florentius Vigorn chron an 734.
[7] 25 May.
[13] Willelmus Malmesburiensis gesta regum Anglorum 1 § 53 f.

§ 57 Deficit hic ingenium, succumbit eloquium, nescientis quid plus laudem, librorum numerositatem an sermonum sobrietatem: infuderat eum procul dubio non indigno haustu diuina sapientia, ut angusto uitae spatiolo tanta elaboraret uolumina. quid? quod ferunt eum Romam iuisse, ut libros suos uel ecclesiasticae doctrinae conuenire praesens assereret, uel, si resultarent, apostolico nutu corriperet. uerumtamen quod Romae fuerit solide non affirmo, sed eum illuc inuitatum haud dubie pronuntio; quod haec epistula clarum faciet, simul et quanti penderit eum Romana sedes ut eum tantopere desideraret.

§ 58 'Sergius episcopus, seruus seruorum dei, Cheolfrido religioso abbati salutem....benedictionis interea gratiam, quam nobis per praesentem portitorem tua misit deuota religio, libenti et hilari animo, sicuti ab ea directa est, nos susce-pisse cognosce. oportunis ergo ac dignis amplectendae sollicitudinis tuae petitionibus artissima deuotione fauentes, hortamur deo dilectam religiositatis tuae bonitatem, ut, quia exortis quibusdam ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis, non sine examinatione longius innotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad conferendum arte litteraturae imbuti, sicut decet deuotum auxiliatorem sanctae matris uniuersalis ecclesiae, obedientem deuotionem huic nostrae hortationi non desistas accommodare, sed absque aliqua immoratione religiosum dei famulum Bedam uenerabilis monasterii tui presbyterum ad limina apostolorum principum dominorum meorum Petri et Pauli, amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad nostrae mediocritatis conspectum non moreris dirigere, quem fauente domino sanctis tuis precibus non diffidas prospere ad te redire, peracta praemissorum capitulorum cum auxilio dei desiderata sollemnitate. erit enim, ut confidimus, etiam

[25] ms Cotton Tiber A xv famulum dei N uenerabilis monasterii tui. cf Haddan-Stubbs III 248 249.

cunctis tibi creditis profuturum quicquid ecclesiae generali claruerit per eius praestantiam impertitum.'

§ 59 Ita iam celebris erat fama, ut in quaestionibus enodandis indigeret eo sublimitas Romana, nec uero unquam Gallicanus tumor inuenit in Anglo, quod argueret merito. adeo Latinitas omnis eius fidei et magisterio palmam dedit. nam et fidei sanae et incuriosae sed dulcis fuit eloquentiae, in omnibus explanationibus diuinarum scripturarum magis illa rimatus quibus lector dei dilectionem et proximi cohiberet, quam illa quibus uel sales libaret uel linguae rubiginem limaret.....emundabat ergo ecclesiasticus orator prius conscientiam, ut sic accederet ad recludendam mysticorum scriptorum intellegentiam. qui enim fieri potest ut seruiret uitiis qui medullas intimas hauriret, qui totas cogitationes consumeret, in scripturarum expositionibus? nam, ut ipse fatetur in libro tertio super Samuelem, expositiones suae, si non aliud afferrent lectoribus emolumentum, hoc sibi non mediocriter ualerent, quod, dum haec omni studio agebat, lubricum saeculi et inanes cogitationes post tergum ponebat: defaecatus itaque uitiis subibat in interiora uelaminis; quae intus exceperat animo, foras efferens sermone castigato.

§ 62 Sepulta est cum eo gestorum omnis pene notitia usque ad nostra tempora. adeo nullus Anglorum studiorum eius aemulus, nullus gloriarum eius sequax fuit, qui omissae monetae lineam persequeretur: pauci quos aequus amauit Iesus, quamuis litteris non ignobiliter informati, tota uita ingratum consumpserunt silentium; alii uix primis labris illas gustantes, ignauum confouerunt otium. ita cum semper pigro succederet pigrior, multo tempore in tota insula studiorum detepuit feruor. magnum ignauiae testimonium dabunt uersus epitaphii, pudendi prorsus et tanti uiri mausoleo indigni:

'PRESBYTER hic Beda requiescit, carne sepultus:
dona, Christe, animam in caelis gaudere per aeuum,
daque illum sophiae debriari fonte, cui iam
suspirauit ouans, intento semper amore.'

§ 63 Poteritne ulla excusatione hic pudor extenuari, ut nec in eo monasterio, ubi illo uiuente totius litteraturae exultabat gymnasium, potuerit inueniri homo qui memoriam eius formaret nisi exili et miserabili stilo?

XIV

ANNO VII regni eiusdem [Egfridi] natus est Beda magnus.... haec autem quae scripta sunt ex dictis beatissimi Bedae excerpsimus. iam ratum uidetur ut de eo quid loquamur, reminiscentes memoriam sanctitatis eius et gratias ei referentes pro suis laboribus.

XV

ANNO autem dominicae incarnationis dccxxxu... illa ecclesiae catholicae lucerna ad eam quae se illuminauerat lucem, illa uena aquae salientis in uitam aeternam ad fontem uiuum deum peruenit, sacrorum scilicet librorum compositor uenerabilis presbyter et monachus Beda, defunctus anno aetatis suae quinquagesimo nono... qui uidelicet Beda in extremo quidem mundi angulo uiuens latuit, sed post mortem per uniuersas mundi partes omnibus in libris suis uiuens innotuit: in quibus terrarum regionumque diuersarum situs naturas qualitates subtiliter, ac si

[9] Simeon Dunelmensis de gestis regum Anglorum MHB p 650[b].
[11] p 653[d].
[16] Idem hist Dunelm eccl I 14 (p 8 a Twysden. cf ib 8 p 4 b. idem epist ad Hugonem de archiepiscopis Ebor ib col 76 77. Thomas Stubbs actus pontif Eborac ib col 1695 1696).

cuncta ipse peragrasset, plerumque describit, cum ab infantia in monasterio nutritus totam ibidem usque ad euocationis suae diem uitam transegerit.

XVI

ANNO eodem uenerabilis Beda semper mente inhabitata caeli conscendit palatia; qui regia uirtute sua et aliorum uitia compescens, cum regibus ipsis inferior non sit, dignissime regum in ordine quasi rex ponatur...reliquit autem mundum anno LXII aetatis suae, senex annis et sapientia et plenus dierum non in uano consumptorum, quod apparet in operum suorum numero.

XVII

VIX dubitationi locus uidetur relictus, quin optimi et sanctissimi uiri ac merito suo, uti uocatur, uenerabilis Bedae simplicitate etiam hic sit abusus, qui hoc illi persuasit.... quorum nos uirorum [*Greg Tur and Beda*] pietatem et zelum promouendae religionis suspicimus et ueneramur: at facilitatem in credendis multis, quae priora saecula non crediderant, admodum suspectam habere profitemur.

XVIII

THE profoundest scholar in his age, for Latine, Greek, philosophy, history, divinity, mathematicks, musick, and what not? homilies of his making were read in his life-time in the christian churches; a dignity afforded to him alone.

[4] Henricus Huntendunensis hist Angl IV an 735 (MHB p 726[ab]).
[12] Isaac Casaubon exercitationes (Frankf 1615) p 124 b.
[16] p 472 b.
[21] Thomas Fuller church-history cent viii §§ 15—18.

we are much beholding to his ecclesiastical history, written by him and dedicated to *Ceolwoolfus* king of *Northumberland.* a worthy work indeed, though, in some respect, we could heartily wish that his faith had been lesse, and his charity more. *faith lesse* in believing and reporting so many prodigious miracles of the *Saxons:* except any will say, that this in him was not so much *uitium hominis*, as *saeculi. charity more*, I mean to the *Britans*, being no friend to them, and over-partial to his own country-men; slightly and slenderly touching *British* matters, onely thereof to make a *pedestall*, the more fairly to reare and advance his *Saxon* history thereupon.

Some report that *Bede* never went out of his cell, but lived and died therein. if so, the scholars of *Cambridge* will be very sory, because thereby deprived of their honour, by *Bede*'s living once in their university; whose house they still shew, betwixt S^t^ *John's* colledge and *Round-church*, or S^t^ *Sepulchres.* surely *Bede* was not fixed to his cell, *as the cockle to his shel*, seeing no observance of his *Benedictine* order imposed such a penance upon him. indeed his own words, in the end of his book, give some countenance to their conjecture of his voluntary confinement, speaking of himself, *cunctum tempus uitae in eiusdem monasterii habitatione peragens.* but his expression imports onely his generall residence therein, that he was no gadder abroad, or discontinuer from his convent, for a long time; though he might for some short space make his abode elsewhere. thus, when of the prophetesse it is said, *that she departed not from the temple:* we understand it not so, as if she never went out thereof; but that for the main, she spent the most of her time therein.

He is generally surnamed *venerable*, but why, authours differ therein. some say, a dunce-monk, being to make

his epitaph, was *non-pluss'd* to make that *dactyle*, which is onely of the *quorum* in the hexameter, and therefore at night left the verse gaping,

hic sunt in fossa Bedae——*ossa.*

till he had consulted with his pillow, to fill up the *hiatus*. but returning in the morning, an angel (we have often heard of their singing, see now of their poetry) had filled up the *chasma* with *uenerabilis*. others, disclaiming this conceit, assign this reason: because *Bede*'s homilies were (as afore-said) read in all churches in his life-time (*flores sanctorum in the life of* Bede, page 528); *plain Bede* was conceived too little, and S^t^ *Bede* too much; because, according to popish (but not S^t^ *Paul*'s) principles, *saint* is too much flattery to be given to any whilest alive; *Solon* allowing none *happy*, and this mine authour none, in this degree, *holy*, before their death. wherefore *venerable* was found out as an expedient to accommodate the difference, luckily hitting the mark, as a title neither too high nor too low; just even to so good a man, and great a scholar, whilest alive. this is observable in all those who have written the life of *Bede*; that, whereas such *Saxon*-saints, as had not the tenth of his sanctity, nor hundredth part of his learning, are said to have wrought miracles *ad lectoris nauseam*; not one single miracle is reported to have been done by *Bede*. whereof (under favour) I conceive this the reason: monks, who wrote the lives of many of their saints, knew little more of them then their bare names, and times wherein they lived; which made them *historiae uacua miraculis supplere*, to plump up the hollownesse of their history with improbable miracles, swelling the bowells of their books with empty wind, in default of sufficient solid food to fill them. whereas *Bede*'s life affording plenty and variety of reall and effectuall matter, the writer thereof (why should a rich man be a thief,

or Iyar?) had no temptation (I am sure no need) to farse his book with fond miracles, who might rather leave, then lack of materiall passages therein.

One of the last things he did, was the translating of the gospel of S^t^ *Iohn* into *English.* when death seised on him, one of his devout scholars, whom he used for his secretary, or *amanuensis*, complained, *My beloved master, there remains yet one sentence unwritten.* Write it then quickly, replied *Bede*: and summoning all his spirits together (like the last blaze of a candle going out) he indited it, and expired. thus God's children are immortall, whiles their Father hath any thing for them to do on earth; and death, *that beast, cannot overcome and kill them, till first they have finished their testimony*: which done, like silk-worms, they willingly die, when their web is ended, and are comfortably entombed in their own endeavours. nor have I ought else to observe of *Bede*, save onely this; a forreign embassadour, some two hundred yeares since, coming to *Durham*, addressed himself first to the high and sumptuous shrine of S^t^ *Cuthbert*, *If thou beest a saint, pray for me*: then coming to the plain, low, and little tombe of *Bede*, *Because* (said he) *thou art a saint, good* Bede, *pray for me.*

XIX

HE was the most general scholar of that age. let a *sophister* begin with his *axioms*, a *batchelor* of *art* proceed to his *metaphysicks*, a *master* to his *mathematicks*, and a *divine* conclude with his *controversies* and *comments* on scripture, and they shall find him better in all, than any Christian *writer* in that age, in any of those *arts* and *sciences.* he expounded almost *all* the *bible*,

[23] Thomas Fuller the worthies of England, Durham (1662 p 292).

translated the *Psalms* and *New Testament* into *English*, and lived a comment on those words of the apostle, *shining as a light in the world, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation.* he was no gadder abroad, credible authors avouching that he never went out of his cell; though both *Cambridge* and *Rome* pretend to his habitation. yet his corps after his death...took a journey, or rather were removed to *Durham* and there enshrined.

XX

ISTORVM [Gregorii, Isidori, Maximi cet] commentaria plures eruditi uiri saepius ediderunt, et orbis litteratus edita comprobauit. quidni igitur parilem fauorem Bedae nostrati sperare liceat? certe huic neque doctrina pro saeculi sui captu nec eximia doctrinae fama defuit. uiuentem ecclesia Romana etiam e longinquo uenerata est; et defuncti memoriam sequentia saecula egregiis laudibus hucusque sunt prosecuta; operaque illius theologica homines exteri pluribus tomis expressa semel atque iterum euulgarunt.

Certe nobis Anglis fraudi non erit scripta conterranei nostri celeberrimi in lucem emittere: quin potius pudori erit ea tineis blattisque relinquere, quae exteri sedulo conquirunt et e tenebris eripiunt. neque enim de gentis nostrae gloria minus, quam alii, sumus solliciti; nec de Bedae conciuis meritis atque eruditione minus magnifice sentimus. scriptor nuperus Casimirus Oudin nobis in opprobrium uertit, quod omnia Bedae opera e diuersis bibliothecarum nostratium, quibus abdita latent, forulis eruta nondum euulgauerimus; et uir cl Iohannes Mabillonius se

[9] Henry Wharton Bedae...opera quaedam... (London 1693 4to f A2 v° A3 r° A4 r°).

commentarium Bedae in epistulas d Pauli genuinum (qui penes ipsum manet) luce donaturum esse dudum spopondit. ne integra igitur Bedae edendi gloria aliis relinquatur, ista saltem illius commentaria Anglis primum euulgare liceat.

In curanda istorum Bedae Egberti et Aldhelmi opusculorum editione me ecclesiae Anglicanae aeque ac causae litterariae litasse profiteor. grauissimam enim nobis iniuriam faciunt siue exteri pontificii seu indigenae puritani, qui sanctissimos ecclesiae Anglosaxonicae patres summa a nobis ueneratione excipi, maximo honore coli, uel negant uel nolunt. ad amoliendam istiusmodi calumniam illorum scripta eo libentius in lucem edimus, ut tam praeclaro testimonio orbi Christiano constet, nos non aliam ab illis fouere religionem; minime aliam, seu doctrinam seu disciplinam spectes, constituere ecclesiam; neque aliam in caelis ambire sedem. certe in diptychis suis sacris ecclesia Anglicana Bedae et Aldhelmi memoriam celebrat, quin et utrique dies festos consecrauit.

XXI

IL règne dans tous les écrits de Bède un air de candeur, de piété et de modestie, qui les feront toujours goûter de ceux qui aiment le vrai et le solide.....rhéteur et grammairien, Bède aurait pu sans doute être plus pur, plus élégant et plus châtié dans son style; mais cherchant à instruire plus qu'à plaire, il s'est uniquement borné à le rendre simple et clair; en quoi il a réussi.

[19] Remi Ceillier histoire générale des auteurs sacrés (Paris 1729, new ed 1862) XII 18.

XXII

BUT what if one, through grove or flowery mead,
indulging thus at will the creeping feet
of a voluptuous indolence, should meet
thy hovering shade, o venerable Bede!
the saint, the scholar, from a circle freed
of toil stupendous, in a hallowed seat
of learning, where thou heard'st the billows beat
on a wild coast, rough monitors to feed
perpetual industry. sublime recluse!
the recreant soul, that dares to shun the debt
imposed on human kind, must first forget
thy diligence, thy unrelaxing use
of a long life; and, in the hour of death,
the last dear service of thy passing breath!

XXIII

AT its completion it was received by the public with universal applause. succeeding generations preserved it piously as a memorial of the virtue of their ancestors; and Alfred the Great translated it into the Anglo-Saxon tongue for the instruction of those who could not read it in the original. to us it is an invaluable work; for without it we should know nothing of the missionaries who brought to our pagan ancestors the light of the gospel, or the manners of the clergy, or the worship and rites of the infant church. the style is easy and perspicuous; and, though far inferior to that of the great masters of antiquity, may justly claim

[1] William Wordsworth ecclesiastical sonnets I 23.

[15] He expired dictating the last words of a translation of St John's gospel.

[16] John Lingard history and antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church Lond 1858 II 176 177 (speaking of the church history).

higher praise than any other specimen of the age. to some readers the credulity of the writer with respect to miracles will appear a blemish; but no one can doubt his candour and veracity, nor rise from his pages without feeling himself pleased and edified with that spirit of unaffected piety which pervades and animates his narrative.

XXIV

THE reputation of Beda survived and grew after his death. the Saxons were proud that their nation had produced so eminent a writer; the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow were harassed with solicitations for copies of his works; and, at the distance of a hundred years, the prelates of the Franks, in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, numbered him among the fathers of the church, and styled him the venerable and admirable doctor. if the improvements of modern times have diminished the value of his writings, this circumstance ought no more to detract from his merit, than it does from that of the philosophers of Greece and Rome. Beda was a great man for the age in which he lived; he would have been so had he lived in any other age.

XXV

NO one imparts to the age of the 'wisest king' [Aldfrith of Northumberland] greater brilliancy than [Beda], whose knowledge was profound and almost universal..... if, on a consideration of his works, it must appear manifest that that age possessed more means of knowledge, both in manuscripts and learned ecclesiastics, than we are wont

[7] ibid 183.

[22] J M Lappenberg history of England under the Anglo-Saxon kings translated by B Thorpe (London 1845) I 209 210.

to ascribe to it; and even if we must recognise in Beda the high culture of the Roman church, rather than Anglo-Saxon nationality, yet the acknowledgement which his merits found in Rome during his life, and, shortly after his death, whereever learning could penetrate, proves that in him we justly venerate a wonder of the time. his numerous theological writings.....throughout many ages, until the total revolution in that branch of learning, found readers and transcribers in every cloister of Europe. his knowledge of Greek, of medicine, of astronomy, of prosody, he made subservient to the instruction of his contemporaries; his work 'de sex huius saeculi aetatibus', though less used than it deserves to be, is the basis of most of the universal chronicles of the middle age. but his greatest merit, which will preserve his name through all future generations, consists in his historic works, so far as they concern his own native land. if a second man like himself had arisen in his days, who with the same clear, circumspect glance, the same honest and pious purpose, had recorded the secular transactions of his forefathers, as Beda has transmitted to us those chiefly of the church, then would the history of England have been to posterity almost like revelation for Germanic antiquity.

XXVI

DAS gelehrte England soll nicht vergessen dem 'Lehrer Englands' ein würdiges Denkmal zu setzen durch eine vollständige und kritische Ausgabe sämmtlicher Werke Beda's, welcher Katholiken wie Protestanten der 'Ehrwürdige' bleiben soll und wird.

[24] J A Ginzel in Wetzer und Welte Kirchenlexicon Freib i Br 1854 1 724.

[29] This endeavour to find common ground with protestants was omitted, as out of date after the Vatican council, in the reprint (J A

XXVII

PERSONNE plus que nous ne rend hommage au génie du moine anglo-saxon, génie encyclopédique et vraiment surprenant pour l'époque et dans les circonstances où il vivait. à ne le considérer même que comme historien, c'est non-seulement le chroniqueur le mieux renseigné et le plus méthodique du moyen âge, c'est encore un critique fort habile et très-pénétrant.

XXVIII

DER erste Germane, der sich die allgemeine aus dem Alterthume stammende Gelehrsamkeit aneignete, ist ein Angelsachse gewesen, der ehrwürdige Beda; der erste germanische Dialekt, in welchem man Geschichte geschrieben und Gesetze verzeichnet hat, war dagegen ebenfalls der angelsächsische. trotz alle Verehrung gegen die Schwellen der Apostel, nahm man doch nicht mehr fremdgeborne Priester bei sich auf, als zur Gründung der neuen Kirche unentbehrlich waren: bei dem allmählichen Fortgang der Bekehrung bedurfte es dessen nicht, in kurzem finden wir überall in der Kirche angelsächsische Namen: die Erzbischöfe und vornehmsten Bischöfe stehen in so enger Beziehung zu den königlichen Geschlechtern, wie früher die heidnischen Oberpriester.

G kirchen-historische Schriften Wien 1872 II 13): 'eine kritische Ausgabe der sämmtlichen Werke Beda des ehrwürdigen ist noch immer ein eben so berechtigter als frommer Wunsch der Gelehrten, und es ist ungemein zu beklagen, dass es den gelehrten Maurinern nicht gegönnt war, auch dieses Verdienst sich zu erwerben'.

[1] Varin in mémoires presentés par divers savants à l'acad d inscr ser I V (1) 158 (1857).

[2] Leopold Ranke englische Geschichte (Berlin 1859) I 17.

XXIX

So verkörpert Beda...die energische Arbeitskraft, den positiven und historischen Sinn, die Liebe zur Einfachheit und Wahrheit, die in dem besseren Kern des englischen Volksthums vielleicht die bestimmenden Elemente bilden.

[1] Bernhard ten Brink Geschichte der englischen Literatur Berlin 1877 1 43—47 (the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, their libraries and school, Beda's wide reputation; his pupil Egbert a patron of learning; Aldhelm and Beda, alike enthusiastic for religion and learning, alike 'rooted in their native soil, yet powerfully attracted by ancient culture', but in other respects opposites; Aldhelm of a more feminine, Beda of a more masculine type; the former of more delicate sensibility, of a livelier fancy, but less energetic, less productive; the latter distinguished by clearness and simple grandeur of conception, of less poetic genius, but active in every region of science. 'In every subject, which he took in hand, he became an often cited authority for the whole remainder of the middle ages,—and that not in his own country alone'. His church history 'displays a love of truth, a diligence in collecting documentary materials, and is distinguished in conception and style by an objectivity, clearness and simplicity, which raise it far above the level of contemporary history').

[2] P 47.

NOTES

ON

EBERT'S NOTICE OF BEDA.

P 1 ACCOUNT OF BEDA this account is translated from the Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Literatur von ihren Anfängen bis zum Zeitalter Karls des Grossen von Adolf Ebert. Leipzig, Vogel 1874; an instalment of a general history of mediæval literature in the west.

LIVES OF BEDA. Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit von Dr Karl Werner. Wien 1875 8vo pp VIII 236; the fullest that has appeared. Mabillon acta ss Bened (1672) III (1) 539—61, IV (2) 599 is reprinted in Migne patrologia latina XC and forms the basis of Remy Ceillier's article (hist gén des auteurs sacrés ed Bauzon Paris 1862 XII 1—19). See also acta ss May 27 (Maii VI 710—5 Par. 1868), Baronius ann 731 14—30 with Pagi 693 8, 701 2, 731 4—8, 12. Biographia Brit ed Kippis II 115—133. General hist dict of Bernard and Birch III (1735) 123—8. Cave (a good article, to which Henry Wharton contributed). Fabricius bibl lat med et inf aet. Lanfranci opera Paris 1648 pp 340 341. J A Giles Bedae opp I xli—cxli. Montalembert moines d'occident V (1867) 56—101. Monumenta hist Brit (1848) pref 69—74. Jos Stevenson introd to Bed h e 1838 v—xxxv, church historians of England (1853) I (2) i—xlviii. W Stubbs in DCB. Varin in mém. prés. acad. inscr. (1857) I ser V (1) 114—20, 158—85 (in the paper entitled 'études relatives à l'état politique et religieux des îles Britanniques au moment de l'invasion saxonne' pp 1—270).

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Brunet, Grässe, Lowndes, Darling (who gives the contents of Bedae opp Col 1688 and ed Giles). Ulysse Chevalier répertoire des sources historiques du moyen-age I Paris 1877 252—3.

T D Hardy descriptive catalogue of materials relating to the history of Great Britain and Ireland I (1862) 57, 202, 217—9, 299—303, 366—8, 413—4, 431—58, 714—5, II (1865) 246, III (1871) 228. Oudin (reprinted in Migne). Potthast bibliotheca hist medii aeui Berlin I (1862) 159—61, 624, II (1868) 48—9. Stevenson. Tanner bibl Brit et Hib. Wright.

P 1 1 ALDHELM often called Adelm; see Bed h e v 18, W Stubbs in DCB, Ebert 585—595, Chevalier I 24, Wright I 209—225, Baronius 699 2, 3, Pagi 699 2, 705 15. Born about the middle of the 7th century, †25 May 709; educated under Maidulf, an Irish scholar, founder of Maidulfi Burgus (Malmesbury), and at Canterbury under Theodore and Hadrian. He lived as monk and afterwards as abbat of Malmesbury till the division of the diocese of Wessex (705), when he was made bp of Sherborn. 'He was the first Englishman who cultivated classical learning with any success, and the first of whom any literary remains are preserved' (Stubbs in DCB). Lull (in Jaffé's monum Mogunt 215) writes to Dealwinus magister: *obsecro ut mihi Aldhelmi episcopi aliqua opuscula, seu prosarum seu metrorum aut rithmicorum, dirigere digneris ad consolationem peregrinationis meae et ob memoriam ipsius beati antistitis.* In the Paschal controversy he was a champion of the Roman usage.

,, 7 ANCIENT LAWS OF METRE Aldhelm to Hedda bp of Wessex (in Jaffé's monum Mogunt 32 33) speaks of the study of metre as far more intricate than that of law: *centena scilicet metrorum genera pedestri regula discernere et ad musica cantilenae modulamina recto syllabarum tramite lustrare, cuius rei studiosis lectoribus tanto inextricabilior obscuritas pretenditur, quanto rarior doctorum numerositas reperitur.* Then follows an appalling list of technical terms *acefalos, lagaros, procilos; monoscemi, pentascemi, decascemi; catalectici, brachicatalectici, ypercatalectici.* Aediluald (king of Mercia 716—757) begs Aldhelm to continue his instructions and sends samples of his own poems (ib 35—38).

P 2 5 VENERABILIS conc Aquisgran II AD 836 lib III praef (Labbe and Cossart VII col 1760) *quid* uenerabilis *et modernis temporibus doctor admirabilis* Beda *presbyter de saepe memorato templo in expositione euangelii Ioannis sentiat uideamus.* Ionas bp of Orleans (†843) de institutione laicali I 16 in Dacherii spicilegium (Par 1665) I[2] 44 *hunc locum* Beda uenerabilis presbyter *ita exponit.* ibid 17, III 6, 7. Amalarius Symphosius of Metz (†837?) de ecclesiasticis officiis I 37 in Migne CV 1066 uenerabilis presbyter Beda *de eodem*

tempore dicit in homiliis suis. Usuard († 877) martyrolog Par 1718 128 NON[*is*] AVG...*sancti Oswaldi regis Anglorum, cuius actus commemorat* uenerabilis Beda presbiter. Hilduin († circa 838) uita Dionysii prolegom (Migne CVI 17[d]) uenerabilem...et sanctum Bedam presbyterum...*in tractatu apostolorum actuum.* ibid 18[b], 24[a]. Hincmar of Rheims († 882) de praedestinatione diss poster c 1 (CXXV 74[a] Migne) *si quis tamen eosdem libros non habet, uideat in collectione* uenerabilis Bedae presbyteri *de opusculis sancti Augustini super apostolum, et ibi discere poterit quod antea ignorauit.* Cf ibid c 3 (87[d] 88[a]). For legendary accounts see Gehle 36—8. Readers of Gregory's dialogues will not need any far-fetched explanation II 1 pr *uir uitae* uenerabilis, *gratia Benedictus et nomine.* 3 pr *ad eundem* uenerabilem *Benedictum uenit.* ibid 217[d] uenerabilis *igitur Benedictus in illa solitudine habitauit secum.* ibid 7 pr *dum idem* uenerabilis *Benedictus in cella consisteret* etc. etc. See glossary and Mabillon § 24. Other epithets in Migne CIII 1028 note n.

P 2 6 BENEDICT BISCOP below p 7. W Stubbs in DCB. Wright I 185—92. Chevalier I 263. †12 Jan 690.

,, 7 IN HIS SEVENTH YEAR regula s Benedicti c 61 'de filiis nobilium et pauperum qui offeruntur'. The parents (or guardians) of the child led him up to the altar; they solemnly swore before witnesses that he should be deprived of whatever worldly goods might otherwise become his; or if they were unwilling to do this, an offering might be made on his behalf to the monastery; the child's hands were then folded in the covering of the altar, and the rites by which he was irrevocably bound to the service of that altar were completed (Stevenson). See an example in Beda h e III 24. Boniface, writing to Fulred abbat of St Denis in 753 or 754, begs him to entreat king Pepin to provide for his disciples (ed Jaffé 231 232), presbyters, monks and *infantes ad legendas litteras ordinati.*

,, 9 CEOLFRID † 25 Sept 716. J Raine and C Hole in DCB, Wright I 234—7, Chevalier I 418. Bed prooem in Samuel lib IV (XCI 663[d] Migne). Bed de sex aetat an 720 (II 203 26 Stevenson).

,, 11 JARROW the spelling and pronunciation of the neighbourhood is decidedly Jarrow (Stevenson). The original inscription, formerly in the north wall of the chancel, may now be seen in the arch of the tower, between the chancel and nave (Hübner inscr Brit Christ Berol 1876 4to 71):

℣ **dedicatio basilicae s(an)c(t)i Pauli VIIII k(a)l(endas) Mai(as)**

anno xv Ecfridi reg(is) .... Ceolfridi abb(atis) eiusdemq(ue) q(uondam ?) eccles(iae) d(e)o auctore conditoris anno IIII.

As late as 1740 sick children were taken to 'Bede's well' about a mile to the west of Jarrow: 'a crooked pin was put in, and the well dry between each dipping. My informant has seen twenty children brought together on a Sunday to be dipt in this well; at which also on Midsummer-eve there was a great resort of neighbouring people with bonfires, music etc.' (Brand-Ellis popular ant 1813 II 270. Surtees Durham II 69, 80). Crooked pins are still to be seen in the well. The distance between Wearmouth and Jarrow is about six miles. Cf Dugdale new ed I 501—4. esp Alcuin ed Jaffé pp 120. 196. 200. 839. 841. 843. 845.

P 2 16 OTHER MONKS Trumberct, the disciple of St Chad h e IV 3, Sigfrid, the fellow pupil of St Cuthbert under Boisil and Eata h a 8, 16. 'Acca, bp of Hexham and pupil of Wilfrid, furnished him with the special lore of the Roman school, martyrological and other; his monastic learning, strictly Benedictine, came through Benedict Biscop from Lerins and the many continental monasteries his master had visited; and from Canterbury, with which he was in friendly correspondence, he probably obtained instruction in Greek, in the study of the scriptures, and other more refined learning. His own monastery was a place of rest and welcome for all learned strangers such as was abbat Adamnan' (h e v 21 Stubbs). Also the arch-chanter John (h e IV 18, h a 6). Tho Stubbs (cent 14) in Twysden decem scriptores (1652) 1692 adds John of Beverley.

,, 20 SIX YEARS BEFORE THE CANONICAL AGE Bingham II 20 20, conc Hippon 393 ser II c 1 in Bruns II 136, conc Carth III 397 c 4 ibid I 123, conc Agath 506 c 16 ibid II 149, conc Arelat IV 524 c 1 ibid 174 *hoc inter se obseruandum esse definiunt, ut* nullus episcoporum diaconum antequam uiginti quinque annos impleat ordinare praesumat. conc Tolet II 527 (or 531) c 1 ibid I 208, conc Aurel III 538 c 6 ibid II 193, conc trull 692 c 14 ibid I 42. Bonif ep 80 p 224 pope Zachary allows the ordination of Levites (deacons) and priests at 25 years of age; cf Willibald uita Bonif 3 p 438 (priest at 30), 5 p 447 (bishop at 50).

,, 27 TO ECGBERT in the year 734. Bed ep ad Ecgb 1 *memini te hesterno dixisse anno,* cum tecum aliquot diebus legendi gratia in monasterio tuo demorarer, quod hoc etiam anno uelles, cum in eundem deuenires locum, me quoque ob

commune legendi studium ad tuum accire colloquium. *quod si ita deo uolente posset impleri, non opus esset tibi haec per litteras scripta dirigere, cum possem liberius ore ad os loquens, quaeque uellem siue necessaria ducerem, secreta tibi allocutione suggerere. uerum quia, hoc ne fieret, superueniens ut nosti corporis mei ualetudo prohibuit: agere tamen quae potui erga dilectionem tuam fraternae deuotionis intuitu curaui, mittendo uidelicet per litteras quod corporaliter ueniendo per collocutionem nequiueram. precorque te per dominum, ne harum apices litterarum arrogantiae supercilium esse suspiceris, sed obsequium potius humilitatis ac pietatis ueraciter esse cognoscas.* ep 4 ad Wicredam (XCIV 675 Migne) pr *libenter accepi litteras tuae benignitatis, amantissime in Christo frater, et capitula quae rogasti promptus describere ac tibi dirigere acceleraui,* memor familiaritatis ac dulcedinis, qua, cum illo aduenirem, me suscepisti. *sed et quaestionem illam merito famosam de historia ecclesiastica,* super qua me interrogasti praesentem et cui tunc breuiter ut potui respondi, *nunc latius etiam litteris explanare studui.*

P 2 27 HE DIED A D 735 26 May Ascension day. But for a singular variation of this date see the letter of Cuthbert Testimonia p 177 15 and the note thereon.

,, 28 REPORT OF HIS LAST HOURS by Cuthbert, printed pp 176—9.

,, ,, HIS PUPILS e g Huaetberct (Haddan-Stubbs III 299), afterwards abbat of Wearmouth, to whom he dedicates the 'de temporum ratione' (Migne XC 296[a]), and (under his other name Eusebius, prooem expos in Sam lib IV Migne XCI 663[d]) the 'explanatio apocalypsis' (ibid XCIII 129—134, cf the dedication to Acca of the 'expositio super acta apostolorum' ibid XCII 937[b]); Wigberct the deacon, for whom he wrote 'de arte metrica' (ibid XCI 149); Nothelmus, afterwards abp of Canterbury, who sent him 30 questions on the books of kings ('in libros regum quaestionum XXX liber unus' ibid 715—6).

,, 31 BURIED IN THE MONASTERY OF JARROW between 1021 and 1041 his bones were stolen by a presbyter Aelfred and conveyed to Durham, where they shared the fate of S Cuthbert's relics (Mabillon § 19, Stevenson xx xxi, acta ss Mart III 133, 139, Maii VI 723, Reginald Dunelm 1835 c 57, J Raine in DCB 'Cuthbert'). On Jarrow see Hutchinson's Durham (Newcastle 1787 4to) II 470—80, on Monkwearmouth 500—6, Haddan-Stubbs III 470—1, Alcuin epp 13, 218, 219 ed Froben, Surtees Durham II 1—7, 66—70. James Raine the inventories and account rolls of the Benedictine houses or

cells of Jarrow and Monk-Wearmouth, Surtees soc 29, 1854 'a life of Bede was the only book, with the exception of their service books, which finds a place in their inventories'. Inventory 1310 p 3 (cf 1313 pp 10, 12, 1321 p 15, 1333 p 21) 'unus liber sancti Bedae'. 1326 p 15 (cf 1328 p 17, 1330 p 18, 1331 p 19) 'j liber de uita sancti Bedae'. 1338 p 24 'j liber de sancto Beda'. 1491 p 125 'j martyrologium cum tracta . . . Benedicto Biscope et sancto Beda', from which it appears that the life of Beda was bound up with that of Benedict.

P 3 3 EXPOSITIONS OF THE BIBLE Acca requesting from Beda (in a letter which he enjoins him to publish before the book) a simple commentary on St Luke chiefly after Ambrose, bears witness to his biblical studies (Migne XCII 304 $^{a\,b}$) *credo etiam* tuo uigilantissimo studio, qui in lege dei meditanda dies noctesque ducis peruigiles, *nonnullis in locis quae ab eis intermissa sunt, quid sentiri debeat, auctor lucis aperiet. iustum namque satis est et supernae pietatis atque aequitatis moderamini conueniens, ut* qui neglectis ad integrum mundi negotiis aeternum uerumque sapientiae lumen indefessa mente persequeris, *et hic fructum intellegentiae purioris assequaris* etc. Beda replies (ibid 303^{d} seq) *ego mox lectis tuae dulcissimae sanctitatis paginulis iniuncti me operis labori supposui in quo* (ut innumera monasticae seruitutis retinacula praeteream) ipse mihi dictator simul notarius et librarius existerem. What Ambr Aug Greg ('nostrae gentis apostolus') Hier or others had supplied, he indicated by their initials in the margin, which he adjures ('per dominum legentes obtestor') transcribers to retain [in the letter to Acca before 'in Marci euang expositio' ibid 133—4 is the same adjuration; yet no copy is known with these marks] *nonnulla... proprii sudoris indicia ubi opportunum uidebatur adnexui. qui in legis diuinae meditatione etsi non* (*ut ipse scripsisti*) *dies noctesque peruigiles ducere sufficio,* non parum tamen studii me in scripturis impendisse non dubito *et ea solum quae mihi auctor lucis aperire dignatus est, non in hoc tantum opusculo, sed in omni prorsus lectione potuisse uidere, id est recte sentiendo dignoscere.* In the prooemium to book IV of the same commentary (ibid 475^{c}) beginning with a lesson (C 11 14) in which the spirit of pride is cast out by the finger of God *tuam, Christe, clementiam suppliciter imploro, ut spiritus tuus bonus deducat me in uiam rectam, et eum qui ab aquilone est, longe faciat a me, quatenus eiectis a me malignis scruter mandata dei mei reuelatisque mentis oculis ad consideranda tuae sacrosanctae legis mirabilia*

deuotus lector ingrediar. In the liber retractationum in actus apostolorum he adds to and corrects (sometimes with reference to the Greek) the commentary composed some years before *rogatu uenerabilis episcopi Acca* (ibid 995e). In the 'explanatio apocalypsis' he follows mainly Tychonius, except where that author was misled by Donatist leanings (ibid XCIII 133a seq) *plura uero, quae illi utpote uiro ingenioso .... aperta nec quaesitu digna uidebantur,* quantum uel magistrorum traditione uel memoria lectionis uel etiam captu nostri sensus attingere potuimus, superadicere curauimus.... *nostrae siquidem, id est Anglorum, gentis inertiae consulendum ratus, quae et non dudum, id est temporibus beati Gregorii papae, semen accepit fidei et idem quantum ad lectionem tepide satis excoluit, non solum dilucidare sensus uerum sententias quoque stringere disposui.* The reputation of these commentaries was great and enduring. Thus Seruatus Lupus de tribus quaestionibus (ed Baluze Par 1664) 289 Beda diuinis litteris impense doctus. id ep 62 p 104 begs the abbat Alsig an Englishman to lend him Quintilian, certain commentaries of Jerome and Bedae *quoque uestri similiter quaestiones in utrumque testamentum.* The monk of St Gall (cent IX in Jaffé monum Carol Berl 1867 632) *doctissimi Bedae presbiteri, peritissimi quidem post sanctum Gregorium in scripturis tractatoris.* Walafrid Strabo often cites him in the glossa ordinaria, Smaragdus (cent IX in Migne CII) consulted him for his collections on the epistles and gospels for the year, and some 25 lessons from him are still read in the Roman breviary (enumerated by J A Ginzel kirchenhistorische Schriften Wien 1872 II 13). Christianus Druthmar (cent IX? in Migne CVI 1263 a b) expos in Matt prol *in Marco non est necessarium manum mittere post beatum* Bedam . *in Luca quoque audio post sanctum Ambrosium eundem* Bedam *manum misisse, sed non potui inuenire adhuc nisi quasdam eius homelias* (cf his citations of a 'rhythmus' of Beda 1464d, 1465a). Paschasius Radbert cites Hier Ambr Aug Greg IoChrys 'eorumque ultimum Bedam presbyterum' as sources of his exposition on Matt; he also (likewise to no purpose) adopted Beda's mode of citation by the initials of his authors' names (Migne CXX 35e). Dom Pitra's promise (Ceillier 19 b) 'de donner dans le *spicilegium Solesmense* les véritables commentaires de Bède *sur le Psautier et sur saint Paul*, tirés des manuscrits en caractères anglo-saxons', has not been fulfilled.

P 3 8 HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA principal editions: Lat-Sax by Abr Wheloc, Cambridge Rog Daniel 1643 fol with an interesting

preface and notes mainly polemical, containing many extracts from Anglo-Saxon homilies (cf Fuller's dedication to Sir Tho Adams of his church hist cent 8).—P F Chifflet s J Paris 1681 4to.—*Lat-Sax by John Smith Cambridge 1722 fol. Thomas Gale, dean of York, had made collections which he made over to Smith, who founded his text on the famous MS of bp Moore. This edition, published by the author's son George, contains all the historical works of Beda, with learned notes (reprinted in Hussey's edition Oxford 1846) and an appendix of documents.—Lat by Petrie in the monum hist Brit 1848 fol.—See Abr Cronholm Bedae h e critice examinata Lund 1841. English translations (1) by the famous controversialist Tho Stapleton Antw 1565 4to (dedicated to qu Elizabeth and followed by 'a fortresse of the faith dedicated to the deceived protestants of England'), St Omers for Iohn Heigham 1622 (dedication to king James signed T S, though Stapleton died 1598). The style of this version is admirable and even Cave pauses to commend the beauty of the type. (2) by Ja Stevens London 1723. (3) by L Gidley Oxford 1870. The English bishops writing to pope Leo III (795—816) quote Beda (Migne CII 1033c): *scribente* Beda historiographo et laudabili scriptore nostro. Lanfranc writing to pope Alexander II gives an account of a council held at Winchester (ep III p 301c ed Par 1648) where the history of Beda *Angiorum doctor* was consulted on a question of precedence.

P 4 26 MISSIONS TO GERMANY eg of Wilfrid, the two Hewalds, Suidbert, Willebrord (Clement) first bp of Utrecht, Lebwin, Winfrid (Boniface), Werenfrid, Willibald and his brother Wunibald, Burchard, Lull, Witta, Adalbert, Sola, Deocharus, Willibald's sister Walpurgis abbess of Heidenheim, Kundruth and her daughter Berthgith relations of Lull and zealous teachers in the nunneries of Thuringia, Thecla abbess of Kissingen, Lioba or Leobgytha who had learnt the art of poetry from the abbess Eadburg. Later the Northumbrian Willehad, Alcuin's pupil, first bishop of Bremen. See Aug Werner: Bonifacius der Apostel der Deutschen und die Romanisierung von Mitteleuropa Leipzig 1875. Willibald uita Bonif c 6 p 454 Jaffé.

P 5 1 COLD IS PAIRED WITH HEAT measure for measure III 1 118—123

ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
to lie in cold obstruction and to rot;
this sensible warm motion to become
a kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit

to bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
in thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice.

See bp Fisher's English works E E T S 1876 423—4, 426. Caedmon has the same thought Sharon Turner A S III[7] 280. On the return of the dead to life and their reports of the other world see Aug ciu dei XXII 28, epist 158, 159, 162, de cura pro mortuis 12=15 (VI 879 Gaume), Greg dial I 10 fin, 12, IV 26 (412[a]), 31, Bonif ep 20=10 Jaffé (cf ep 112 Jaffé), where he relates to the abbess Eadburg a story which he had from the abbess Hildelild (Migne LXXXIX 713 with the note), the monks Maximus and Bonellus and the young mason Baldarius (dicta beati Valerii ad Donadeum, in Migne LXXXVII 431—6). Arber's reprint of the 'monk of Evesham'. For the current notions of purgatory see Greg dial IV 25, 39, 40 fin, 41. Notes and Qu. 58. x 83.

P 5 10 ANOTHER VISION cf Greg dial IV 38.

,, 21 YEARS AFTER THE INCARNATION Jo Wilh Jani historia aerae Dionysianae Viteb 1715 4to. Julian bp of Toledo contra Iudaeos III fin in bibl max patr XII 630[d] *iam uero residuus annorum numerus a tempore natiuitatis Christi usque in praesens in promptu est unicuique et scire si uolet et supputare si placet, assumptis uidelicet annis secundum eram* ab ipsa domini incarnatione. *era enim inuenta est ante triginta et octo annos quam Christus nasceretur. nunc autem acclamatur era esse dccxxiu. detractis igitur triginta et octo annis, ex quo era inuenta est usque ad natiuitatem Christi, residui sunt dclxxxui anni.* The preface to the conc German 742 was suspected by Mansi (XII 355) on account of its date; but Binterim and Hefele (Concilien-gesch III[2] 498) reply that Boniface may well have brought this mode of computation (afterwards occasionally used by Charlemagne) from England. See Jaffé's Bonif p 127 (=Haddan-Stubbs III 384) *in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi ego Carlmannus dux et princeps Francorum* anno ab incarnatione Christi septingentesimo quadragesimo secundo. Pagi 604 11—12, 664 13—14 (he accepts the spurious charter, n 984 of Kemble, dated 664; see Haddan-Stubbs III 100), 686 10, 695 4, 701 1. The letter of Honorius (Bed h e II 18) is dated 11 June 634, but the words *id est anno dominicae incarnationis sexcentesimo tricesimo quarto* are probably Beda's gloss. The earliest genuine document bearing date AD in Haddan-Stubbs is of the year 680 (III 164, cf. 300). In or after 736 (ibid 336) Boniface (ep. 30 Jaffé, 40 Würdtwein) asks Nothelm in quoto anno ab incarnatione Christi *praedicatores primi missi a sancto Gregorio in gentem Anglorum uenissent.*

Willibald (uita Bonif c 8 p 469 Jaffé) gives 755 A D as the year of Boniface's death. From the beginning of the ninth century at latest the reckoning A D is general in England. Several of Beda's errors are noticed by G Oppert über die Entstehung der Aera Dionysiana in Jahrbb f Philologie XCI (1865) 809—27.

P 5 27 NAMES HIS AUTHORITIES Albinus the abbat (Bed h e praef and ep ad Albinum), Nothelmus presbyter of London (praef), Daniel bp of Wessex (praef), the monks of Lastingham (ibid), the abbat Esi for East Anglia (ibid), Cyniberct 4th bp of Lindsey (†732 ibid), Acca bp of Hexham (h e III 13, IV 14), Deda abbat of Peartaneu in Lindsey (II 16), the abbess Aedilhild (III 11), Cynimund 'fidelissimus nostrae ecclesiae presbyter' (III 15 fin, uit Cuthb 36 fin), the monk Trumberct (IV 3), bp Wilfrid and the physician Cynifrid (IV 19), Gudfrid abbat of Lindisfarne (V 1), Bercthun abbat of Beverley (V 2, 3, 4, 5 fin *hoc autem miraculum memoratus abbas non se praesente factum, sed ab his qui praesentes fuere sibi perhibet esse relatum*), Aedgils presbyter of Coldingham (IV 25 fin), Alduulf king of East Anglia (II 15), the presbyter Haemgils (V 12), the abbat Herebald (IV 6), 'a monk' (III 12, 19 *superest adhuc frater quidam senior monasterii nostri, qui narrare solet dixisse sibi quendam multum ueracem ac religiosum hominem, quod ipsum Furseum uiderit in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum illasque uisiones ex ipsius ore audierit;* uit Cuthb 35 fin, 46 fin), bp Pecthelm of Whithern (V 13 fin, 18), Herefrid abbat of Lindisfarne (uit Cuthb 23, 37), Aediluald abbat of Melrose (ibid 30), Baldhelm presbyter of Lindisfarne (ibid 25), the hermit Feldgeld (ibid 46), a presbyter (h e III 27 *Ecgberct, sicut mihi referebat quidam ueracissimus et uenerandae canitiei presbyter, qui se haec ab ipso audisse perhibebat*), another (ibid 30 *iuxta quod mihi presbyter, qui comes itineris illi et cooperator uerbi extiterat, referebat*). Sometimes he suppresses a name from delicacy (V 14). Of written documents he cites the legend of Fursey (III 19 bis), the Barking miracles (IV 7—10) which contained also the life of Sebbi king of the East Saxons (IV 11). The account of Germanus (I 17—21) is from Constantius Lugdunensis (acta ss July VII 213). The letters to and from the bishops of Rome (I 23, 24, 27—32, II 8, 10, 11, 17—19) were transcribed at Rome by Nothelm (praef), the letter of Laurentius and his fellow-bishops on Easter (II 4), that of Ceolfrid to king Naiton (V 21), and the acts of the councils of Hertford (IV 5) and Hatfield (IV 17) may have been derived from the archives of his monastery. See Stevenson's translation pref xxiii—vi.

An abridged extract from Adamnan (v 15—17). Caedualla's epitaph (v 7), Theodore's (v 8), Wilfrid's (v 19).

P 7 17 GREAT STORE OF BOOKS see Alcuin's account of Aelbehrt de sanctis Ebor 1453—6 *non semel externas peregrino tramite terras | iam peragrauit ouans, sophiae deductus amore:* | si quid forte noui li- brorum seu studiorum, | quod secum ferret, terris reperiret in illis.

,, 25 IMPORTED GLAZIERS Beda's pupil Cuthbert writes to Lull (Bonif ep 134 Jaffé) *si aliquis homo in tua sit parrochia qui* uitrea uasa bene possit facere, *cum tempus adrideat mihi mittere digneris. aut si fortasse ultra fines est in potestate cuiusdam alterius sine tua parrochia, rogo ut fraternitas tua illi suadeat ut ad nos usque perueniat, quia eiusdem artis ignari et inopes sumus.* et si hoc fortasse contingit ut aliquis de uitri factoribus cum tua diligentia deo uolente ad nos usque uenire permittatur, cum benigna mansuetudine uita comite illum suscipio. Eddius uita Wilfridi 14 fin Wilfrid introduced masons (*caementarios*) into his diocese; 16 York cathedral was dilapidated, the roof leaked, the windows were open; he roofed it with lead and glazed the windows, *per fenestras introitum auium et imbrium uitro prohibuit, per quod tamen intro lumen radiabat:* his works at Hexham 22 23.

P 8 1 THE PAPAL ARCH-CHANTER John (IV 18).

,, 10 DE VITA CVTHBERTI Alcuin de sanctis Ebor 645—749.

,, 18 HIS MANUSCRIPT Willibald in like manner wrote the life of Boniface on waxen tablets, and submitted it to Lull and another bishop, copying it on vellum after they had approved it (pp 422. 481 Jaffé).

P 12 n 2 the banishment of Archelaus to Vienne A D 6 is historical (Ios ant XVII 13 2. DCass LIV 9 § 6). Pilate's suicide is no doubt a fable, but is related by Eus h e II 7. chron. AD 40. Oros VII 5. cf Druthmar in Migne CVI 1497^{c}. See Leyrer in Herzog Real-Encycl XI 663 664 for later legends.

,, n 19 Greg dial III 37 (Ven 1744 II 365^{e}). ib 38 the martyr Eutychius appeared to Redemptus saying *'Redempte, uigilas?' cui respondit: 'uigilo'. qui ait:* 'finis uenit uniuersae carnis, finis uenit uniuersae carnis, finis uenit uniuersae carnis'..... *et quid in aliis mundi partibus agatur, ignoro. nam in hac terra, in qua nos uiuimus,* finem suam mundus iam non nuntiat, sed ostendit. IV 41 'Why are the secrets of departed spirits, hitherto concealed, now made known? Because this age is drawing to a

close and the world to come *ipsa iam quasi propinquitate tangitur'*. A common topic in Gregory's letters; 9 reff in index ed cit under *mundus*. In Bonif epist 139 p 307 Jaffé *quidam* writes to his 'most loving sister': adpropinquante *iam* mundi fine *et statua ex quaternis metallorum generibus quondam fabrefacta ruitura, hydram quoque semper nouis hiantem sibilis et Scyllam cum hereditariis catulis non cessantem latrare.* Willibald uita Bonif 8 p 460. Beda 1 32 p 73 208.

P 13 28 METRICAL AND RHYTHMICAL HYMNS see the extract from Lull above p 181 l 14. *Quidam* sends to an abbess and nun (Bonif ep 95 p 243) *uersiculos* metrica *ratione compositos.* 'N' sends to Boniface (ep 99 pp 248 249) hexameters *correctionis causa.* In his treatise 'de arte metrica' c 24 'de rhythmo' Bede explains that metre is determined by quantity, rhythm by the number of syllables: *uidetur autem* rhythmus *metris esse consimilis, quae est uerborum modulata compositio* non metrica ratione, sed numero syllabarum ad iudicium aurium examinata, *ut sunt carmina uulgarium poetarum. et quidem rhythmus sine metro esse potest, metrum uero sine rhythmo esse non potest: quod liquidius ita definitur. metrum est ratio cum modulatione; rhythmus modulatio sine ratione: plerumque tamen casu quodam inuenies etiam rationem in rhythmo non artificis moderatione seruatam, sed sono et ipsa modulatione ducente, quem uulgares poetae necesse est rustice, docti faciant docte; quomodo et ad instar iambici metri pulcherrime factus est hymnus ille praeclarus:*

rex aeterne domine,
rerum creator omnium,
qui eras ante saecula
semper cum patre filius:

et alii Ambrosiani non pauci.

Specimens of rhythmical riming verse are in Berthgyth's letters (Bonif 148 149 pp 312—314) to her brother *uiue uiuens feliciter, | ut sis sanctus simpliciter, | tibi salus per saecula, | tribuatur per culmina.*

P 16 11 A SHORT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF HELP printed p 166.

,, 13 FRIEND AND PUPIL ECGBERT uita Alcuini 2 p 9 Jaffé where is an account of Ecgbert's school. He sent books to Boniface Bonif ep 100 p 250 Jaffé. See the famous catalogue of York library in Alcuin de sanctis Ebor 1525—61.

,, 14 WRITTEN NOT LONG BEFORE BEDA'S DEATH 30 years after the death of Aldfrid king of Northumbria (ep ad Ecgb in Smith 309 51) i e after 705 AD (he v 24, 19 fin).

BOOK III

NOTES

I

AFTER the death of Aeduini, his cousin Osric succeeded in the kingdom of the Deiri, and Eanfrid, son of Aedilfrid, to the throne of Bernicia. Both these monarchs renounced the christian faith, and fell back into idolatry. Ceadualla king of the Brettones was used as the instrument of Heaven's vengeance on them both. He slew Osric first, in a sally from a town which Osric was besieging, and before the end of the year Eanfrid was also slain by him when he had come to sue for peace. For a year the province of Northumbria was ravaged by the tyrant Ceadualla. To obliterate the memory of these apostate kings, and the sufferings of the province during this unhappy year, the names of Osric and Eanfrid are omitted from the records of the province, and that year added to the term of the reign of Oswald, who, succeeding his brother Eanfrid, slew Ceadualla at Denisesburna.

P 19 1 INTERFECTO IN PVGNA AEDVINO in the battle of Hæthfelth (Hatfield in the W Riding) 12 Oct 633, where he was slain, aet 48, fighting against Ceadualla king of the Britons and Penda the pagan king of the Mercians, after a reign of 17 years over Britons and Saxons (II 20). For the extent of his dominions see II 5 *Aeduin rex Nordanhymbrorum gentis, id est eius quae ad borealem Humbrae fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui Brittaniam incolunt Anglorum pariter et Brittonum populis praefuit, praeter Cantuariis tantum: necnon et Meuanias Brittonum insulas, quae inter Hiberniam et Brittaniam sitae sunt, Anglorum subiecit imperio.* It is added that Oswald maintained the same boundaries. cf II 9. Varin 197.

,, 2 REGNVM DEIRORVM called in the Saxon version 'Dera rice', which will account for the orthography Deri, as well as Deiri, found p 30 3. DEIRORVM III 6 end.

P 19 3 AELFRICI brother of Aeduin's father Aella, who was king of Deira, as we see (II 1 end) from the legend of pope Gregory and the Saxon slaves.

,, 4 AD PRAEDICATIONEM PAVLINI II 14.

,, ,, FIDEI SACRAMENTIS INBVTVS baptised: glossary 'sacramentum'.

,, 5 IN HAS DVAS PROVINCIAS Deira commenced at the Humber and extended to the Tees, and Bernicia stretched from the Tees to the Tweed. The boundaries of the two kingdoms appear to have varied, for some authorities make Deira reach to the Tweed and Bernicia to the Frith of Forth, while others confine Deira to the south of the Tees, but make the northern kingdom extend to the Frith. Smith 103 n. Lappenberg I 117.

,, 6 GENS NORDANHYMBRORVM defined II 9 *gens Nordanhymbrorum, hoc est ea natio Anglorum, quae ad aquilonalem Humbrae fluminis plagam habitabat, cum rege suo Aeduino uerbum fidei praedicante Paulino ...suscepit.* This was 6 years before Edwin's death (II 20) i. e. A D 627. Eddius uses the term Ultra-Umbrenses 43. 44. 45 bis. 56. 62. 65 end *in omnibus regni citra* ultra*que* Umbrensium.

,, 8 9 TEMPORE TOTO QVO REGNAVIT AEDVINI line 1 note.

,, 9 AEDVINI in masc. proper names which in Saxon end with e the scribe in this MS ends the name in the nominative with i, but makes all the oblique cases of the same form as if the noun were a Latin nominative in us. see l 1.

,, 9 10 AEDILFRIDI, QVI ANTE ILLVM REGNAVERAT I 34 Aedilfrid was a terror to the Britons beyond all the kings of the Angles; he utterly routed the Scots at Degsastan A D 603 (the 11th year of his reign of 24 years). The defeat was so complete, that the Scots from that time ceased to invade England (II 5. III 6. V 23 end. Varin 194).

,, 11 SCOTTOS Beda distinguishes Scots (II 4) *qui Hiberniam insulam Brittaniae proximam incolunt*, and (V 23 p 219 11 S) *Scotti qui Brittaniam incolunt.*

,, ,, SIVE 'and'.

,, ,, EXVLABANT p 22 l 26. p 70 l 13. p 81 l 2. See Fordun chron gent Scot III 33 where concerning the conversion of the exiles, and the religious character of the Scots at that day it is said: *doctrina sanctorum patrum et predicationibus quorum assidue gloriosa tunc conuersatione Scotia refulsit, ad Christianam perducti sunt fidem.*

,, ,, AD DOCTRINAM SCOTTORVM p 24 l 26 seq. p 28 l 5 seq. cf II 4.

P 19 15 VTERQVE REX Osric and Eanfrid.

,, 17 PRISCIS IDOLATRIAE SORDIBVS relapse into heathenism also II 5. 15. III 30.

,, 19 CEADVALLA called Catho by Adamnan uita Columbae, and Cadwallo by Fordun chron gent Scot. This Ceadualla, king of the Brettones is not to be confounded with Ceadualla king of the Geuissi mentioned IV [15] and [16]. This king of the Brettones is named Cadwalan in Layamon Madden III 254 where a long account of all the events comprised in this chapter is given. The orthography of this name in the ms, though not that usually adopted, is the only form in the Sax Chronicle or in Flor Wigorn.

,, 20 PROXIMA AESTATE 634 A D.

,, 21 DVM=cum.

,, ,, OPPIDO MVNICIPIO Smith suggests that this must have been Eboracum (York), that being the only town in the province worthy of the name. Eboracum is called municipium by Aur Vict hist Caes XX 27. Smith claims the Saxon in support of his view but 'on municep ðære byrig' looks very much as though the translator had taken municipio for a proper name.

,, 23 ANNO INTEGRO to 635 A D.

P 20 l 8 ABLATA DE MEDIO REGVM PERFIDORVM MEMORIA p 35 l 20.

,, 10 OSVALDI the remainder of this c and c 2 are versified by Alcuin sanct Ebor 234—273.

,, 12 FIDE CHRISTI MVNITO p 19 l 11. p 22 l 27.

,, ,, INFANDVS BRETTONVM DVX l 1. II 20 Ceadualla, though a Christian in name and profession, was in temper and habits so barbarous, as to spare neither women nor children, torturing all, ravaging the country, and designing the extirpation of the Angles from Britain. He had no esteem for the Christian religion, which had grown up among them: indeed (says Beda) to this day the Britons hold the faith of the Angles in no account, and communicate with them no more than with heathen.

,, 14 DENISESBVRNA identified generally with Dalston near Hexham, but as Hefenfelth was north of the Roman wall (p 21 16) it seems likely that the Rivus Denise was also to the north. For a discussion of the question see Smith append xiii. Fordun III 35 says *est autem locus pugnae iuxta murum illum qui uocatur Thyrlwall ad aquilonem quo Romani quondam ob arcendos Scotorum impetus totam a mari ad mare praecinxerunt Britanniam.*

II

BEFORE engaging in the battle against Ceadualla, Osuald erected a cross and he and his men prayed before it, and their faith was rewarded with victory. The place where the cross was erected was called Hefenfelth (Heaven's field) and many miracles are known to have been performed there; also water in which chips taken from the cross have been steeped, has restored to health both men and cattle when they have either drunk or been sprinkled with it. The brethren of the monastery of Hagustald keep a yearly watch and service on this spot for the rest of King Osuald's soul, and a church has since been built there. As an instance of the miraculous powers of this cross and all things connected with it, Beda relates the cure of the broken arm of one of the brethren at Hagustald by means of some moss brought to him from the cross by one of his fellows.

This chapter is cited in Amalar Metens eccles off I 14 (Migne CV 1029[d], a chapter 'on the adoration of the holy cross') 'some would fain adore the very cross on which the Lord was crucified. I would that it were in all churches, it would be deservedly revered before others. Though every church cannot have it, yet the power of the holy cross is not wanting in those crosses which are made after the likeness of the Lord's cross, as we read in the book of the history of the Angles respecting Oswald,' etc. ib. 1030[b–d] 'as we accept the other sayings of *dominus Beda*, why should we not also accept these, wherein is narrated the Lord's power, displayed by the veneration of the holy cross? If any one shall choose to say, that what Beda reports of the wood of the holy cross did not really happen, and if such a doubter is believed, he will be able to overthrow many testimonies of holy Scriptures, which God forbid. And if any one shall choose to disparage (? *succensere*) this present deed, he appears to rebel against God who bestowed this power on the wood of the holy cross, that it not only for the present gave the victory to his servant, but also in later time worked miracles by the merits of the holy cross.... But if any one shall say: "Why do you not adore the ass, because the Lord sat on it, or other such things, which the Lord touched with his body?" I reply *secundum paruitatem meam*, that I do not read on the authority of holy fathers, that miracles and healings were displayed from them, as by the power of the holy cross; and neither do I know that I was redeemed by them as by the holy cross, nor that the devil's arts were scattered, hell gates broken, the

souls of the righteous led to paradise by them, as by it.' Cf. Lingard II 94 95 on the devotion paid to the cross by the Anglo-Saxons.

P 20 23 STATVI DEBERET=statueretur.

P 21 3 IN CVIVS LOCO c xli Vita Kentegerni treats of crosses which that saint erected in many places and of the miracles which were wrought at them. One of these was at Glasgow, and of this it is said *multi enim arrepticii et a spiritibus immundis uexati nocte dominica solent ad crucem illam alligari et in crastinum inueniuntur mentis compotes, liberati et mundati, siue aliquotiens mortui aut cita morte defuncturi.* Of another it is said *ad hanc crucem plures uariis languoribus grauati et maxime furiosi et a demonio uexati ad uesperum uinciuntur et mane multociens sani et incolumes inuenti ad sua libere reuertuntur.*

,, 4 VIRTVTES miracles=δυνάμεις. Miracles also at the place of Alban's martyrdom (I 7 end). Baronius 713 5—16 gives a formal protocol of the cure of a demoniac at Rome by means of the relics of Anastasius; ib 727 12 (end) cures of diseases the customary ministry of saints.

,, 7 ASTVLAS splinters p 43 l 27. p 50 l 15. p 105 l 11. cf p 22 l 9. Greg Tur glor mart I 42.

,, ,, AQVAS p 36 l 6. p 39 l 10 and 25. p 43 l 27. p 50 l 16. p 99 l 14. The virtue of relics was thus multiplied without limit; water, in which they were dipt, could be applied externally or internally (*potauerint siue asperserint*). Bread blessed by Cuthbert (Beda mirac Cuthb 25 cf uita Cuthb 31) was used in the same way: *intingunt lymphis, potandum suscipit aeger.* A boy (mirac Cuthb 40) cured of demoniac possession by water mixt with earth on which had been poured *lauacrum corporis eius*, water in which C had washed himself. Eddius uita Wilfridi 63 a wooden cross raised and miracles wrought on the spot where the water used in washing Wilfrid's corpse was poured out; a nun's withered hand cured by the water in which an abbat's dirty *sindon* had been washed. Cf Greg Tur glor mart I 6 col 728°. 13 731°. 71 end.

,, 8 POTAVERINT 'watered', supplied with drink.

,, 10—12 HEFENFELTH, QUOD PRAESAGIO FVTVRORVM NOMEN ACCEPIT such reflexions on significant names (Aias Polyneikes Prometheus etc) are common in the classics Valckenaer Eur Ph 639. Blomfield Aesch Pr 87. Fuller cent VII § 63 'a place which time out of mind was called *Heafen-feld*...by a *prolepsis*, not answering the name thereof until this time. Thus it is generally reported, that the place nigh *Lipsick*, where the king of *Sweden* got one of his signal victories,

was, time out of mind, termed by the *Dutch Gots Acre*, or *Gods ground*. And thus, as *Onesimus* and *Eutychus* were so called from their infancy, but never truely answered their names, till after the conversion of the one, and reviving of the other: so places (whether casually, or prophetically) have names anciently imposed upon them, which are sometimes verified many ages after'.

P 21 15 MVRVM p 59 l 5. p 61 l 3—5. I 5 (from Orosius) where the *uallum* of Severus, made of earth, is distinguished from a *murus* of stone. ibid 11 the Romans dwelt south of this *uallum*, as is witnessed 'to this day' by their cities, lighthouses, bridges and roads. The passage here quoted (*supra*) is ibid 12 (from Gildas) after the retirement of the Romans (A D 409) from Britain, the Britons suffered greatly from the incursions of the Picts and Scots (the *barbari* here meant). On their piteous appeal a legion was sent, which drove back the invaders and, on leaving the island, urged the Britons to build a stone wall from sea to sea. Having no engineer equal to the task, the Britons only raised a *uallum* of turf. Again they appealed for help, again a legion is sent, which built a solid stone wall on the line of the *uallum* of Severus, 8 ft broad and 12 high, *hactenus famosum atque conspicuum*. See also Bedae chronicon A D 426 MHB p 93[6]. Gildas hist 11—14 MHB pp 10 11. Nennius 19 MHB p 60. Smith's appendix v. C Wellbeloved Eburacum 1842. J C Bruce the Roman wall[3] 1867 4to. H Maclauchlan the Roman wall...from original surveys 1857 fol. memoir written during a survey of the Roman wall 1858. E Hübner inscriptiones Britanniae latinae Berol 1873 fol pp 99—164 on the *uallum Hadriani*. He lays it down as certain that at any rate after Severus no such fortification was raised in Britain. The wall of Hadrian runs from Wallsend on the Tyne to Bowness, almost due E and W, to a length of 73½ miles. It consists of three parts: the *uallum* (mound of earth and trench), a stone wall with towers at intervals and smaller forts of distances of about a mile; stations or larger forts mostly between the *murus* and *uallum*. Gildas (cf Beda) has wrongly assigned these three parts to three separate dates. Beda would have the wall constantly in view, as Jarrow lies at the mouth of the Tyne. Varin (106—120) analyses at great length Gildas and Beda, and gives far too much weight to their evidence.

,, 15—30 EST AVTEM LOCVS—STATVERET this passage is omitted from the Saxon version.

,, 19 HAGVSTALDENSIS Richard of Hexham in Twysden col

292 gives as boundaries assigned to Hexham diocese E the sea, S the Tees, W Weterhall, N the Alne Varin 223—231.

P 21 22 FACERE depends on *consuetudinem fecerant* (18 19). cf p 27 l 25—27.

P 22 2 3 QVI—ANNOS omitted in the Saxon version as was to be expected.

,, 9 LIGNO p 21 l 7 n.

,, 13 VETERI MVSCO in Cockayne's Leechdoms &c II 345 as a cure for elf-disease among other ingredients, "take moss of lichen from the hallowed sign of Christ" and a little further on in the same recipe is prescribed "lichen off a crucifix".

,, 19 REQVIRERE inf of purpose p 34 l 17 n. p 61 l 12. 'Beda mirac Cuthb 7 (II 11 11 Stev) pascere, *non* pasci, *ueniens.* uita Cuthb 44 § 74 (II 132 14) *perducas me*...adorare. Greg dial II 30. Greg Tur glor mart I 65 (col 796c) *ingressi sunt uel defunctorum* colligere *corpora uel columnarum fragmenta* rimari.

III

WHEN Oswald was settled in his kingdom he sent to the Scots, among whom he had so long lived, and begged them to send him a bishop who might instruct his people in the Christian faith. They sent him bishop Aedan, a man of exemplary piety, though he still kept Easter after the custom of the northern peoples and not according to Roman use. His see was established in the island of Lindisfarne, and he laboured earnestly for the spreading of the faith. The king often acted as interpreter when Aedan was preaching, for the bishop had not mastered the English language. Many clergy came afterwards from the country of the Scots into England, and churches and monasteries were built in good number. Aedan was a monk of the famous monastery of Hii, which island had been given by the Picts to the Scottish monks a long while before.

Versified in Alcuin sanct Ebor 274—290.

P 22 23 MOX VBI=simul ac.

,, ,, REGNVM SVSCEPIT the date of Oswald's accession was AD 634 Sax Chron.

,, 25 BARBARIS c 1 end. c 2.

,, 27 EXVLANS p 19 l 11. The dynasty of Deira, which Oswald dethroned, was in communion with Rome (II 9). Another exile, who enjoyed the hospitality of the Scots and Picts, Ecgbert p 81 l 2.

P 22 28 MILITIBVS p 19 l 10 *cum magna* nobilium iuuentute.

,, 29 ANTISTES for the subsequent labours of the missionary bishop see p 28 l 6. p 29 l 2. p 45 l 27. p 46 l 3 and 30 and 32. cf p 77 l 4.

P 23 l 1 NEQVE ALIQVANTO TARDIVS 'and soon after', in the same year 635, for (p 77 l 1—4) 664 was the 30th year of the Scottish episcopate in England.

,, 2 PONTIFICEM AEDANVM Aedan is called the son of Lugair and is connected in lineage with St Briged and other distinguished saints (Tighernach 632). The British name for the island assigned to Aedan is Medgoet.

,, 4 NON PLENE SECVNDVM SCIENTIAM p 50 l 18 to p 51 l 19 the praise of Aedan is qualified in like manner. Fuller § 71 'whether those words of St *Paul*, spoken of his country-men the *Iews*, in reference to their stumbling at Christ, the Saviour of mankind, be fitly appliable to *Aidan*, onely differing in an outward ceremony, let others decide'. Of the British opponents of the Roman Easter Beda speaks much less charitably II 20 (p 101 l 31—33 S) 'even to this day it is the custom of the Britons to hold the faith and religion of the Angles in no account, and no more to communicate with them in anything than with heathens'. The monks of Hii afterwards conformed, but (v 22 p 217 5—9 S) 'the Britons, who were unwilling to reveal to the Angles that knowledge of Christian faith which they possessed, when the nations of the Angles now believed and were in all points instructed in the rule of catholic faith, themselves *adhuc inueterati et claudicantes a semitis suis et capita sine corona praetendunt et sollemnia Christi sine ecclesiae Christi societate uenerantur*'. ibid 23 (p 219 l 12—14) *Brittones, quamuis et maxima ex parte domestico sibi odio gentem Anglorum et totius catholicae ecclesiae statum pascha minus recte moribusque improbis impugnent.* Beda himself (III 28 p 82 l 7—11) witnesses that British bishops once took part in a Saxon consecration. cf p 71 l 17. n on p 90 l 27.

,, 5 DIEM PASCHAE DOMINICVM on the paschal controversy see excursus II.

,, 6 SAEPIVS MENTIONEM FECIMVS II 2 of the Britons who met Augustine at 'Augustine's oak' (p 79 l 17—19 S) *non enim* paschae dominicum diem *suo tempore, sed* a quarta decima usque ad uicesimam lunam *obseruabant: quae computatio octoginta quattuor annorum circulo continetur.* Augustine (ibid p 80 l 18—24) to the Britons: 'though in many points you act contrary to our usage,

nay to that of the universal church; yet if in these three points you are willing to obey me, to wit, the keeping Easter at its proper time; the administration of baptism according to the use of the Roman church; and association with us in preaching to the Angles the word of the Lord'; we will tolerate all other matters of difference. cf II 4 p 82 l 25—30 S. II 19 p 100 l 8—13 and 15—18 and 29—33 and 36.

P 23 6 A QVARTA DECIMA LVNA VSQVE AD VICESIMAM they counted as Easter day the Sunday which fell, next after the vernal equinox (25 March), between the 14th and 20th (not, as it had come to be at Rome, the 15th and 21st) days inclusive of the moon. cf p 51 l 13. p 82 l 9.

,, ,, LVNA=die lunae.

,, 10 ANATOLII Beda chron A D 279 *Anatolius natione Alexandrinus Laodiceae Syriae episcopus philosophorum disciplinis eruditus, plurimo sermone celebratur, cuius ingenii magnitudo de libro* quem super pascha composuit *et de decem libris arithmeticae institutionis potest apertissime cognosci.* Van der Hagen dissertationes de cyclis paschalibus Amst 1736 4to (anon) 115 seq has proved that the canon paschalis Anatolii Alexandrini Laodicensis episcopi, which cites Isidore, is a forgery, probably made in Britain in the 7th century (printed by Bucherius de doctrina temporum 433; references to it by Beda and others 451). The authority of Anatolius is appealed to by Colman in the synod of Streanæshalch p 74 l 18.

,, 13 HIBERNIAE Beda has a partiality for the Irish III 27. IV 26. cf V 9. 12.

,, ,, ADMONITIONEM II 19 Honorius and John IV wrote to the Scots respecting Easter.

,, 14 15 PASCHA CANONICO RITV OBSERVARE DIDICERVNT p 77 l 9. V 16 A D 701 the chief part of the Scots in Ireland and some part also of the Britons in Britain at the instigation of Adamnan adopted 'the reasonable and ecclesiastical' time of keeping Easter. V 21 A D 710 Ceolfrid, Beda's abbat at Jarrow, wins Naiton king of the Picts to the Roman usage; his arguments are given at length. V 22 Ecgberct (who had long lived in Ireland V 9) wins the monks of Iona and their dependent cloisters.

,, 16 LOCVM SEDIS EPISCOPALIS endowments p 53 l 11. c 23 pr. Lingard I 219. Varin 221—238 minutely investigates the limits of the dioceses of Lindisfarne and Hexham.

For an account of Lindisfarne see also Raine's hist of north Durham.

Lindisfarne or Holy Island lies to N W of Farne. In the latter was the hermitage of St Aedan. On the saints buried in Lindisfarne whence it came to be called Holy Island see Sim Dunelm pp 68 69.

P 23 25 p 46 l 24. p 71 l 13. The sort of teaching here described is somewhat of the same kind as that described Nehem viii 8 where the law was first read in Hebrew and the sense given in the Chaldee with which the people had become familiar in Babylon.

,, 26 TAM LONGO EXILII SVI TEMPORE during the whole reign of Edwin (p 19 l 9) i e the 17 years before 633 (II 20).

,, 27 LINGVAM SCOTTORVM p 70 l 14.

,, 28 DE SCOTTORVM REGIONE VENIRE BRITTANIAM I 1 p 41 l 46 S after the Britons and Picts, the Scots settled in Britain among the Picts, making their way by fair means or by force of arms.

,, 32 CONSTRVEBANTVR ECCLESIAE of wood p 25 l 4 n.

P 24 2 DONABANTVR MVNERE REGIO POSSESSIONES p 23 l 16 n.

,, 5 REGVLARIS 'monastic', which explains *nam* l 6.

,, 6 MONACHI Girald Cambr topogr Hibern III 29 p 746 Camden 'as almost all the Irish prelates have been chosen from monasteries into the clergy, they carefully perform all functions of a monk, but generally neglect whatever belongs to a prelate or clerk'.

,, 8 HII Iona. V 9 (p 191 15 S) Columba was the first teacher of the Christian faith to the transmontane Picts, and the first founder of the monastery, which in the isle of Hii long remained venerable to the nations of the Scots and Picts. Ceollach bp of the Mercians (III 21 end) resigned his see and returned to Hii, *ubi plurimorum caput et arcem Scotti habuere coenobiorum.* For a full account of Hii see Skene's Vita Sancti Columbae, in the preface to which the saint is called *monasteriorum pater et fundator* and mention is made II 47, as in the text, of the *monasteria inter utrorumque populorum* [i e *Pictorum et Scotorum Britanniae*] *terminos fundata.*

IIII

IN the year A D 565 St Columba came from Ireland to preach to the Northern Picts in Britain. The Southern Picts had before this been converted to Christianity by St Nynias a British bishop. From Bridius king of the Picts Columba received the island of Hii for the foundation of a monastery. He had previously founded a noble monastery at Dearmach in Ireland. The island of Hii is ruled by an abbat, and to his jurisdiction all the province and the bishops themselves are

subject, for Columba was not a bishop but a presbyter and a monk. The successors of Columba were saintly men, but were in error on the matter of the keeping of Easter, in which error they continued till A D 715, at which date a holy priest from the nation of the Angles, Ecgberct by name, came to them and gave them knowledge of the true and canonical day for keeping the paschal feast.

P **24** 19 IVSTINVS MINOR emperor from A D 565 to 578.

,, 20 COLVMBA son of Fedilmith. In the second year after the battle of Culedebrina (fought A D 561) and in the forty-second year of his age St Columba sailed from Scotia (Ireland) into Britain. See Skene's life of Columba.

,, 23 MONTIVM IVGIS monte Grampio, cuius iugum altissimum hodie *Drum albin*, dorsum Albionis, appellatur (Smith).

,, 27 NYNIA EPISCOPO much information concerning this saint is to be found in the notes to bp Forbes' Life of St Ninian. That work is a composition of the twelfth century ab Aelredo Rieuallense abbate de Anglico in Latinum translata. In vulgar Scotch St Ninian was called S Ringan. Bellenden speaks of him as *Sanct Niniane the first bischop of Galloway quhair he biggit ane kirk in honour of Sanct Martene his eime* (i e uncle).

,, 28 ROMAE Patrick also, whom Beda mentions only in his martyrology, was educated in Rome. About A D 424 pope Celestine is said (Prosper chron I 5 Labbe) to have sent Palladius as a missionary to the Scots.

P **25** I 2 VBI IPSE REQVIESCIT burial in churches III 23 Cedd, IV 4 Ceadda (both after translation): kings and archbps at Canterbury I 33: bp Tobias V 23.

,, 3 AD CANDIDAM CASAM onomast. 'ad'. Whitherne in Galloway, of which Pecthelm († 735) was first English bp (V 23). A miracle at Nynia's tomb Paschas Radb in Martene ampliss coll IX 436 437. A letter of Alcuin's (n 271 Jaffé pp 838 839) to the brethren of the church of Candida Casa begging them to pray for him in the church of the holy bp Nynia, a poem on whose miracles had been sent to Alcuin by his York pupils; he sends a silk vestment for the saint's body, and begs the brethren to intercede for him with the saint. Haddan-Stubbs I 14 15.

,, 4 DE LAPIDE INSOLITO BRETTONIBVS MORE a church of St Martin (I 26), which had stood 200 years, was probably of stone. A temporary wooden church built at York (II 14) for Edwin's baptism (Easterday 12 Apr 627); afterwards a larger church of stone was begun

by Edwin and finished by Oswald. A stone church built at Lastingham III 23. Finan builds a cathedral at Lindisfarne: III 25 pr *quam tamen more Scottorum* non de lapide sed de robore secto *totam composuit atque harundine texit.* A D 710 Naiton king of the Picts asks Ceolfrid to send him architects (V 21) *qui iuxta morem Romanorum* ecclesiam de lapide *in gente ipsius facerent.* A D 676 Benedict Biscop brought from Gaul masons (Beda h a 5) *qui* lapideam *sibi* ecclesiam *iuxta Romanorum quem semper amabat morem facerent.* E A Freeman Norman conquest V 899 900 has 'no doubt whatever that large parts of the two churches now standing are the genuine work of Benedict Biscop'. He specifies the porch on which the tower of Wearmouth is raised, and the choir of Jarrow. h e I 12 (p 50 12 S) the Britons had no architect capable of building a great wall of stone. Wilfrid also was eminent as a builder Eddius 14 end. 16. 17. 22. Turner AS III^{7} 401. Stevenson cites Reginald de mirac Cuthberti 68; O'Connor rerum Hibern scriptt II 86. G A Poole churches, their structure, arrangement and decoration 20 21.

P 25 5 VENIT BRITTANIAM COLVMBA 150 years before 715 A D (p 26 l 6) i e 565 A D. Colgan trias thaumaturg 465 seq.

,, ,, COLVMBA The battle of Cooldrevny (Culedebrina) was fought in 561 A D and it is believed to have been in a great measure brought about by St Columba's instigation. Adamnan (III 4) states that a synod was assembled at Teltown in Meath to excommunicate him, and it seems likely that the censure expressed against him by the clergy was the chief cause for his departure from Ireland. Yet all that Adamnan records of his motive is *pro Christo peregrinari uolens enauigauit.*

,, 6 NONO ANNO Bridius died 584 A D and had then reigned 30 years so the ninth year of his reign is 563 A D. See note on King Brude Reeves' Life of St Columba, notes p 276.

,, 8 IN POSSESSIONEM MONASTERII on endowments see p 23 l 16 n. p 24 l 2. IV 13 end. h a 4 where Benedict Biscop receives from Ecgfrid king of the Transhumbrian district *terram septuaginta* familiarum. Eddius 8.

,, 12 CVM ESSET ANNORVM LXXVII 597 A D, 32 years after his coming in 565 A D. This gives 520 A D as the date of his birth. Stevenson 'according to the better authority of Adamnan uita Columb III 22 23 and Cumian uita Columb III 5 Columba died A D 596'. See Ussher antiq (1687) 362 363.

,, 15 DEARMACH Durrow in King's County. Adamnan gives

the Irish name as *Dairmag*. It was the earliest and most important of St Columba's foundations in Ireland. The most interesting relic of the Abbey is the beautiful Evangeliarium, known as the book of Durrow, now preserved in the library of Trin Coll Dublin.

P 25 17 PLVRIMA—MONASTERIA in the Introduction to Reeves' edition of Adamnan's *Vita Sancti Columbae* a list is given of 37 churches founded by the Saint in Ireland, 32 among the Scots, and 21 among the Picts.

,, 20 PRINCIPATVM p 24 l 10 n. v 15.

,, 21—23 ABBATEM PRESBYTERVM, CVIVS IVRI...IPSI ETIAM EPISCOPI DEBEANT ESSE SVBIECTI uita Cuthb c 16 § 25. Pagi 728 3 cites Hidulph and Erkenbodo as bps who remained abbats after consecration. A Werner Bonifacius (Leipzig 1875 159. 163) abbat-priests in the Bavarian church; the abbats of St Emmeran in Ratisbon, of St Peter in Salzburg and of St Stephen in Freisingen, exercised episcopal functions and thereby incurred the wrath of Boniface.

,, 26 FERVNTVR this expression shews that Beda was, when writing this, unacquainted with the life of Columba by Adamnan, of whose works he gave so full an account afterwards v 15 and 21 in the former of which passages he says *de cuius scriptis aliqua decerpere ac nostrae huic historiae inserere commodum fore legentibus reor.*

,, 30 DVBIOS CIRCVLOS the cycle of 84 years, attributed to, but far older than, Sulpicius Severus (A D 410), supplanted successively at Rome by the 532 years' cycle of Victorius Aquitan (A D 457) and the 19 years' Metonic cycle of Dionysius Exiguus (A D 525). See v 21 end.

,, 31 VLTRA ORBEM POSITIS after the retirement of the Romans in the 5th century the British for about a century had very little intercourse with Rome. They were perpetually taunted with the provincialism of their education v 15 Adamnan abbat of Hii, when at king Alfrid's court, being urged by the learned, *ne contra uniuersalem ecclesiae morem uel in* obseruantia paschali *uel in aliis quibusque decretis* cum suis paucissimis *et in extremo mundi angulo positis uiuere praesumeret, mutatus mente est.* cf II 19 pr. III 25 p 72 6—16 n. Irish and Scots (of Scotland) and Britons all agreed in these peculiar usages II 4. 19. III 4. 25—28. IV 26. V 10. 16. 22 23. Eddius uita Wilfridi 5—7. 10. 14. 24 bis. etc. Aldhelm in Bonif ep 1 Jafié pp 27 28.

,, ,, SYNODALIA of the councils of Arles A D 314 and Nicaea A D 325 Haddan-Stubbs I 7 8.

P 26 1 2 IN PROPHETICIS EVANGELICIS ET APOSTOLICIS LIT-

TERIS see Haddan-Stubbs I 170—198 'Latin version of the holy scriptures in use in the Scoto-Britannic churches'.

P 26 4 OBSERVANTIA PASCHALIS the technical term p 25 l 31. II 19 p 100 36 S. V 15 pr. 21 end.

,, 5 AD ANNVM DOMINICAE INCARNATIONIS DCCXV V 22 Ecgbert is said to have prevailed on the monks of Hii (Iona) to adopt the Roman Easter A D 716; so also in the chronological summary V 24 (p 170 l 26), and de sex aetatibus mundi (under A D 719).

,, 8 ECGBERCTO l 5 n.

,, 9 EXVLAVERAT V 9. The two missionaries Hewald were also exiles in Ireland V 10; so Willebrord p 42 l 18. Ecgbert himself first designed the German mission V 10. cf Lingard II 302.

,, 9 10 DOCTISSIMVS IN SCRIPTVRIS ET LONGAE VITAE PERFECTIONE EXIMIVS p 27 l 1—3 n.

,, 12 NON SEMPER IN LVNA XIIII CVM IVDAEIS, VT QVIDAM REBANTVR p 51 l 8—19. Aldhelm ep ad Geruntium (Bonif p 28 Jaffé) *secundum decennem nouennemque Anatolii computatum aut potius iuxta Sulpicii Seueri regulam, qui lxxxiv annorum cursum descripsit,* quarta decima luna cum Iudaeis paschale sacramentum celebrant. . . . . *erat namque genus quoddam haereticorum aput orientales, quod tessareskaedecatitae uocatur, id est* quartadecimani, *eo quod quarta decima luna cum Iudaeis Christum blasphemantibus et margaritas euangelii ritu porcorum calcantibus paschae sollemnitatem peragunt.* Wilfrid in Eddius 12 'there are in Britain many bps, none of whom is it for me to accuse, though I know truly, that *aut* quartadecimani *sunt ut Britones, ut Scotti'.* Beda himself speaks of the error of the quartadecimans as existing among the Scots (de sex aetatibus A D 640 end). Ussher antiq 487.

,, 16 PRIMA SABBATI p 51 l 16. Beda de temporum ratione c 8 the Jewish week was thus reckoned prima sabbati *uel una sabbati siue sabbatorum* etc. The heathen dedicated *primam . . . diem soli.*

,, 23 SVO LOCO V 22.

,, 24 The whole of chapter IV is omitted from the Saxon translation.

V.

FROM the monastic college in the island of Hii, Aedan was sent to instruct the Angles; the president of which monastery at that time

was abbat Segeni. Aedan was noted for his holiness of life, his unworldliness, his liberality to the poor, and the great zeal with which he went about converting unbelievers, and strengthening by word and deed the faith of those who were already Christians. He took care that those about him were learned in the Scriptures, and he made the same his own chief study. He gave little time to any entertainment even if invited by the king, but encouraged fasting and self-denial in the religious of that time. He did not spare the rich in his rebukes if they offended. He gave money to the poor and for the ransoming of slaves. It is said that when king Oswald applied for a bishop, there was at first sent a man of too stern a disposition, and it was after his return from the work disappointed, that Aedan was selected to go forth to the task of preaching to the Angles.

P 26 28 ACCEPTO GRADV EPISCOPATVS in 634 or 635, for (p 77 l 2—4) 664 was the 30th year of the Scots' episcopate in England.

P 27 2 3 NON ALITER QVAM VIVEBAT CVM SVIS IPSE DOCEBAT cf Chaucer prologue 496 497

> this noble ensample to his scheep he yaf,
> that first he wroughte, and afterward he taught.

527 528

> but cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
> he taughte, but first he folwede it himselve.

This union of learning and working, the key to the success of these early missionaries, was proverbial among them. Gregory to Augustine (II 29 end) *quatenus ex* lingua et uita *tuae sanctitatis* et recte credendi et bene uiuendi formam *percipiant.* III 17 p 50 l 28 (of Aedan) *industriam* faciendi simul et docendi *mandata caelestia.* III 19 (of Furseus) p 53 l 1 *et exemplo uirtutis et incitamento sermonis.* l 21 *quod maxime sanctos decet,* cuncta quae agenda didicerat sollicitus agere *curabat.* p 56 l 9. p 77 l 14. p 81 l 3 (of Ecgberct). p 81 l 25 (of Ceadda). IV 27 (of Cuthberct and his hearers) p 152 l 3 and 18. IV 28 p 155 l 20 *quod maxime doctores iuuare solet,* ea quae agenda docebat ipse prius agendo praemonstrabat. V 22 p 217 41 S (of Ecgberct) *quoniam* et doctor suauissimus et eorum quae agenda docebat erat exsecutor deuotissimus, libenter auditus ab uniuersis. h a 9 p 297 51 S (chief requisite in an abbat) uiuendi docendique probitatem. ib 13 p 300 16. epist ad Ecgberctum

1 p 305 21 I exhort your holiness *ut gradum sacrosanctum*...sacrosancta et operatione et doctrina confirmare memineris. neutra enim haec uirtus sine altera rite potest impleri: si aut is, qui bene uiuit, docendi officium neglegit, aut rite docens antistes rectam exercere operationem contemnit. ibid 5 pr p 146 17—20. homil 14 end (Migne XCIV 214^{c}) uerba diuinae orationis adiuuat manus piae operationis. uita Cuthbercti 10 § 16 end (II 69 9 St). ibid 16 § 25 (II 79 10 and 80 14).

P 27 5 DIVITIBVS...PAVPERIBVS p 78 l 2. p 81 l 5.

,, 7 RVSTICA LOCA so Cuthberct IV 27, when provost of Melrose. cf p 61 l 13. p 82 l 14.

,, " NON EQVORVM DORSO SED PEDVM INCESSV VECTVS p 45 l 28. p 82 l 15 and p 94 l 5 (of Chad). p 151 l 28 (of Cuthberct). cf Soames Anglo-Saxon church 283. Chaucer's parson (prologue 495):

> visited 'the ferrest in his parissche
> uppon his feet, and in his hond a staf.'

,, 17 MEDITARI Stevenson cities I 1 (cited on p 29 l 8) and Isidore reg c 6 *post uespertinum autem congregatis fratribus oportet uel aliquid* meditari *uel de aliquibus diuinae lectionis quaestionibus disputare.*

,, 18 PSALMIS DISCENDIS Lingard I 280 quotes h a 16 Ceolfrid, when 74 years of age, on his last journey Romewards, kept the canonical hours of prayer and chanted the psalter twice daily. Alcuin (ep 72 p 334 Jaffé A D 796) to Eanbald II abp of York: 'Let not your retinue halloo in the fox-hunt, *sed* tecum equitando psalmos dulci modulamine decantent'. Psalter learnt by heart conc Tolet VIII (A D 653) can 8. Baronius 731 2. Wilfrid (Beda h e V 19. Eddius 2) learnt at Lindisfarne the psalms and other books very rapidly. Ecgberct (p 80 l 16) chanted the whole psalter daily.

,, 26 27 QVARTA ET SEXTA SABBATI IEIVNIVM AD NONAM VSQVE HORAM PROTELARE p 64 l 2. IV 25 Adamnan fasted every day except Th and Sunday. See Clem. Al. str VII p 877 and Tertull de ieiun 14 (who calls these days *stationes*) for the practice of fasting on Wedn. and Fr. Beda uita Cuthb 5 § 8 (cf Stevenson there) Cuthberct alighting at a house at 9 a m asked for provender for his beast; his hostess offered him breakfast: 'I cannot yet eat' was his reply 'for it is a fast-day', *erat namque* sexta sabbati, qua plerique fidelium *ob reuerentiam dominicae passionis* usque ad nonam horam solent protelare ieiunium. Routh reliq sacr ind 'ieiunium'. Bingham XXI 3 'of the weekly

fasts of Wednesdays and Fridays, or the stationary days of the ancient church'. Epiphan de fide 22 'through the whole year the fast is kept in the same holy catholic church, I mean on *Wednesday* and *Friday* (τετράδι καὶ προσαββάτῳ) to the *ninth* hour, *except only during the whole pentecost of fifty days, wherein no fast is enjoined*'. Tertullian (de ieiunio 10), when a Montanist, blamed the catholics for teaching *non ultra* nonam *detinendum*. Prud perist VI 54 55 'ieiunamus' *ait* '*recuso potum.* | *nondum* nona *diem resignat hora*'. The *ninth* hour proved ultimately too rigorous a limit, and *noon* was moved backward till it meant midday. Bonif ep (p 93 end Jaffé) Greg III orders that parricides shall fast M W Fr. ibid (p 281 end) Lull orders a fast till eve on M W Fr of one week to obtain relief from a plague of rain; every monk and nun to chant 50 psalms daily. Baronius 751 12 pope Zachary gives licence to eat bacon *after Easter.*

P 27 28 DELINQVISSENT=deliquissent.

,, 30 POTENTIBVS SAECVLI l 5 n. p 78 l 3.

,, 33 VT DIXIMVS l 5.

P 28 1 REDEMTIONEM EORVM QVI INIVSTE FVERANT VENDITI IV 13 end n. The redemption of slaves was long continued as one principal duty of religious societies. The order of the *Bons-hommes of the Trinity*, known also as the *Order of the redemption of Captives* was established for this purpose in connexion with the Crusades in 1211.

,, 5 DE PROVINCIA SCOTTORVM the Saxon version gives "of Scotta Ealande" "from the island of the Scots" i. e. Hii.

,, 6 POSTVLASSET ANTISTITEM p 22 l 29 n.

,, 7 ALIVS his name was Corman according to Hector Boethius lib IX.

,, 15 QVAM (salutem) PETEBANTVR *peto* constructed like *rogo* with two acc. (a *quem-quid* verb). Hussey cites II 12 (p 92 20 S) *promisit se* quae petebatur *esse facturum.* But the expression is harsh, for *genti* needs a further definition, whereas *saluti* is complete in itself: as it stands, translate: "wishing indeed to save the nation, as was required of them, yet"; *quae petebat* would be more natural.

,, 16 MISSERANT=miserant. cf p 41 l 11 *suasserat.*

,, 18 DVRIOR IVSTO Fuller § 69 'being over-rigid and severe, his sermons made no impression on his English auditory. *Hard with hard* (saith the proverb) *makes no wall:* and no wonder, if the spirituall building went on no better, wherein the austerity and harshnesse of the pastour met with the ignorance and sturdinesse of the people'.

R 28 19 APOSTOLICAM alluding to St Paul's description of his own conduct toward the Corinthians 1 Cor iii 2.

,, 21 CAPIENDA...FACIENDA p 27 l 2 3 n.

VI

AFTER Aedan's arrival king Oswald advanced in spiritual knowledge, and his possessions were also largely increased. But in spite of his power he still continued to be humble and bountiful to the poor. Once on an Easter tide when the bishop was at the king's table there came a message, before they began to eat, that a multitude of poor people were without asking for alms. The king divided among them both the meat and the silver dish on which it was being served. At which sight the bishop prayed that the bounteous right hand should never wither. After the king's death his hands did remain uncorrupted, and are kept in a silver shrine at Bamborough. Oswald's labours brought about peace between the Deiri and Bernicii. He was a worthy successor of his uncle Aeduini.

Alcuin sanct Ebor 291—307.

P 29 l 5 PLVSQVAM VLLI MAIORVM SVORVM the limits of his kingdom were the same as those of his predecessor Edwin (II 5 p 83 39 S) but he was not descended from Edwin. He is king in Wessex p 31 l 1.

,, ,, Oswald was son of Aedilfrid by his wife Acha who was sister of Edwin p 30 l 6, and so was as Beda calls him nepos Aeduini.

,, 7 PROVINCIAS p 38 l 25.

,, 8 IN QVATTVOR LINGVAS to which is added (I 1 p 41 21 S) Latin, *quae meditatione scripturarum ceteris omnibus est facta communis.*

,, ,, PICTORVM p 68 l 4. p 115 l 9 A D 681 *prouinciam* Pictorum *quae tunc temporis Anglorum erat imperio subiecta.* IV 3 p 94 l 3. IV 26. A D 731 (V 23 p 219 9—12 S) the Picts and Scots of Britain were at peace with the Angles. Eddius 19. 21.

,, ,, SCOTTORVM I 34 (end) after 603 A D no Scot made an attack on the Angles. Osuiu (II 5 p 83 40 S) Oswald's brother made most of the Picts and Scots in N Britain tributary. p 149 l 18.

,, 9 ANGLORVM it is interesting to find this name, which has come to be the designation of the whole people, in prominence with Beda and at this time accepted as the designation of the language spoken by all those who were not Britons or Kelts. By the inclusion of Latin the

languages are made five in Sax Chron (Earle p 2) Ænglisc, Bryt Wylsc, Scottysc, Pihttisc and Bóc læden.

P 29 27 INCORRVPTAE PERDVRENT p 127 l 21 n. Fuller § 77 'grant this miracle of Oswald's hand literally true in the latitude thereof; I desire any ingenuous papist to consider the time wherein it was acted. It was Easter-day, yea, such an Easter-day as was celebrated by the quartadecimans, Aidan being present thereat, contrary to the time which the canons of Rome appointed. Now, did not a divine finger in Oswald his miraculous hand, point out this day then to be truly observed? Let the papists produce such another miracle, to grace and credit their Easter Roman-stile, and then they say something to the purpose'. The preservation of the body of Furseus is mentioned p 57 l 16 *inuentum est corpus ila* inlesum *ac si eadem hora de hac luce fuisset egressus.*

,, 28 VRBE REGIA c 12 end. c 16. Eddius 58 p 86 *in urbe, quae* Bebbanburg *dicitur, obsessi et undique circumcincti hostili manu in angustiaque rupis lapideae mansimus.* A S chron 547 'Ida...reigned 12 years and built Bamborough, which was at first enclosed by a hedge and afterwards by a wall'. See MHB ind 'Bebba ciuitas'. Nennius in MHB 76[a] says that the queen 'Dinguo Aroy, quae uocatur Bebbab', received from her husband Eadfered Flesaurs (Aedilfrid, king 593—616) this town, which was from her called Bebbanburch.

P 30 1 LOCVLO INCLVSAE p 158 l 9. Stevenson cites for 'the various peregrinations of the relics of St Oswald' AA SS Aug. II 86. Capgrave ff 255 256.

,, ,, ARGENTEO these shrines were often of very precious workmanship. Walafr Strabo uita St Blaithmaic tells us how the Danish invaders sought for the shrine of St Columba because of the precious metal of which it was composed. *Ad sanctum uenere patrem* pretiosa metalla, *reddere cogentes quis Sancti sancta Columbae ossa iacent... Hanc praedam cupiere Dani.*

,, 3 DERORVM Bonif p 174 Jaffé *Osredi regis* Derorum *et Berniciorum.*

,, 4 AB INVICEM = inter se.

,, 6 NEPOS EX SORORE ACHA = sororis filius, 'nephew' in the modern sense. cf p 32 l 22. p 44 l 7 n. Another nephew Hereric IV 23 pr. Stevenson 'Drogo life of Oswald (AA SS Aug II 98) calls her Leba'.

VII

AT this time the West Saxons, anciently called Geuissae, were converted by the preaching of bishop Birinus. He was sent by pope Honorius and intended to penetrate into the interior of Britain, but coming first to the Geuissae, and finding them pagans he tarried and laboured there. Oswald was present when Cynigilsus king of the Geuissae was baptized and was his sponsor. The two kings gave to Birinus the city of Dorcic for an episcopal seat. Birinus died there, but his body was afterwards removed to Venta. Cynigilsus was succeeded by his son Coinualch who refused to become a Christian. He was soon afterwards driven from his kingdom by Penda king of Mercia whose sister he had put away from being his wife and married another. Coinualch took refuge with Anna king of the East Angles and there he became a Christian. He was afterwards restored to his kingdom and he made Agilberctus a bishop among his people, but becoming wearied of a man whose language he did not understand (for Agilberctus was a Gaul who had been instructed in Ireland), he appointed another bishop, Vini, and Agilberctus, offended at the division of his diocese, retired to Gaul, and became bishop of Paris. After a while Vini was also driven away, and procured by purchase the bishopric of London from the king of the Mercians. So the Geuissae were long time without a bishop, and in that period Coinualch experienced great losses at the hands of his enemies; so he desired to recall Agilberctus, but that bishop excused himself and sent instead his nephew Leutherius, who was consecrated bishop of the West Saxons by Theodore archbishop of Canterbury.

P **30** 10 QVI—VOCANTVR omitted in the Saxon version.

,, 12 BIRINO EPISCOPO before the time of Higden some marvels had been attached to the account of the arrival of Birinus. See Polychronicon v 13.

,, 14 ILLO PRAESENTE in the presence of king Oswald cf p 23 l 20—32.

,, ,, IN INTIMIS VLTRA ANGLORVM PARTIBVS in the north, inland.

,, 16 17 ASTERIVM GENVENSEM EPISCOPVM Stevenson 'abp of Milan, resided at Genoa, where he died 640 (Ughelli Italia sacra IV 64)'.

,, 26 EVMQVE DE LAVACRO i. e. was his sponsor and *received*

him from the font as undertaking to guide and instruct him further in the ways of Christianity. *Filium de baptismo suscipere* was a common phrase = ἀναδέχεσθαι. cf Bingham ch ant bk IX c 8 § 7. The Saxon phrase was 'onfeng hine him to suna' = received him for his son.

P 30 28 DEO DIGNO CONSORTIO Stevenson 'Oswald did not hold the opinion that the spiritual affinity thus contracted with Cynigils, by having stood as his sponsor in baptism, placed any obstacle in the way of his marriage with the daughter of that prince'. cf Bonif ep 30 Jaffé. cod Iustin V 4 26. conc Trull c 53.

P 31 l 1 DONAVERVNT endowment p 25 l 8. IV 13 end. Eddius 8. Lingard I 143 on church-building.

,, ,, AMBO REGES p 29 l 5 n. So Aedilberct and Saberct jointly founded St Paul's II 3 (Smith). Ecgrice shared the kingly power with Sigberct in E Anglia p 52 l 2. In Essex Sigheri and Sebbi were subject to the Mercian king Vulfhere p 86 l 4. *subreguli* in Wessex p 113 l 18 (Hussey). cf p 44 l 19 n. p 63 l 6.

,, 2 DORCIC Sax Chron Dorceceastre, now Dorchester in Oxfordshire. After the Norman conquest the see of Dorchester was united to Lincoln.

,, 6 HAEDDE abp Theodore in verses appended to the Corpus ms of his penitential (Haddan-Stubbs III 203) asks for bp Haeddi's prayers. Letter to him from Aldhelm (Bonif ep 3 Jaffé). Pagi 676 16. 705 14. Will Malmesb pontif Angl II 3. Mabillon Bened saec III part 1 pp 64—66. 278.

,, ,, TRANSLATVS see glossary.

,, 7 VENTAM the form given by the Romans to the Keltic *gwent* = a plain. The city spoken of in the text was called Venta Belgarum (Winchester) to distinguish it from Venta Icenorum (Caistor near Norwich) and Venta Silurum (Caergwent).

,, 11 RENNVIT = renuit.

,, 15 ANNA he was father-in-law of Earconberct king of Kent; and was slain 654 A D.

,, 16 EXVLANS FIDEM COGNOVIT as Oswald and others p 19 l 11.

,, 18 IN SEQVENTIBVS p 33 l 19 seq.

,, 19 COINVALCH Sax Chron *Cenwalh*. He succeeded in 643 A D, was driven from his kingdom 645 A D, and restored 648 A D.

,, 20 AGILBERCTVS A D 1636 his body was found (Pagi 680 20) 'sepultum cum pontificiis indumentis contextis ex serico cum fimbriis aureis.' Gallia Chr VII 26 seq. AA SS Oct V 492.

P 31 21 LEGENDARVM GRATIA SCRIPTVRARVM IN HIBERNIA DEMORATVS p 79 l 11—20 n.

,, 27 SAXONVM LINGVAM cf p 23 l 25 *Anglorum linguam.*

,, 30 VINI III 28.

,, 31 DVAS PARROCHIAS the two dioceses of Dorchester and Winchester.

,, 32 SEDEM l 1 n.

P 32 l 2 REDIIT GALLIAM the Sax Chron places his return 660 A D, but as he was present at the synod of Whitby 664 A D, he probably did not return before that year.

,, 3 PARISIACAE CIVITATIS III 28.

,, 6 EMIT PRETIO unde post mortem in serie episcoporum Londinensium non meruit recenseri. Matth West a 666.

,, 13 PERFIDIA p 31 l 10.

,, 14 PVLERIT=pepulerit. FIDES p 31 l 16—19.

,, 22 NEPOTEM p 30 l 6 n.

,, 25 THEODORVM p 93 l 4.

,, 28 SYNODICA SANCTIONE Haddan-Stubbs III 118.

VIII

IN 640 A D Eadbald king of Kent was succeeded by his son Earconberct. This was the first English king who put down the worship of idols in his kingdom by authority. He had a daughter worthy of such a father. This was the virgin Earcongota who entered a Frankish monastery at the place called In Brige. In those days many persons went from England into the monasteries in Gaul. Thus did Saethryd daughter of the wife of king Anna, and Aedelberg the same king's own daughter. Many miracles are related concerning Earcongota. Beda only speaks of what happened at the time when she died. She visited all the infirm sisters in the monastery, and besought their prayers, for she knew her death was near at hand. She had beheld a vision of a troop of men clad in white, who told her they were come to fetch a gold coin which had been brought from Kent. On the night of her death angels were heard to sing around the monastery, and a great light shone down from heaven. She was buried in the church of St Stephen, and when three days after the stone which covered the grave was moved, there came forth a fragrance like spikenard.

Her aunt Aedilberg was a holy virgin and an abbess. She began to build a church in her monastery, but dying before it was finished, she

was buried in the uncompleted church. The church afterwards could not be completed, and when her body was to be moved, it was found to be without any mark of decay or corruption.

P 33 2 EADBALD Pagi 618 2—4. 640 10. Flor Vigorn app p 633[be] MHB. His wife Emma was dau of Theodebert king of Austrasia.

,, 3 EARCONBERCTO p 89 l 5 he died 14 July 664.

,, 6 IDOLA DESTRVI II 13 end.

,, ,, IEIVNIVM XL DIERVM p 63 l 29 seq. Theodore's penitential II 14 1 (Haddan-Stubbs III 202) three fasts in the year the 40 days before Easter, the 40 days before Christmas, the 40 days after Pentecost. cf Lingard I 101.

,, 9 PVNITIONES baptism by force Baronius 632 3.

,, 10 EARCONGOTAE for her biography see Surius VII 57.

,, 13 FARA also called Burgundofara. Baronius 614 13. Pagi 614 35—37. 640 11. Mabillon ann Bened I 304. 321. 343. 434.

,, ,, IN BRIGE cf p 171 18 *Ingyruum.* V 1 *Inrhypum.* V 2 (cf 6 end) a monastery called *Inderauuda, id est In Silua Derorum.* Stevenson 'Faremoustier-en-Brie, formerly a celebrated Benedictine nunnery Gallia Chr VIII 1700. (ibid VII 558 CALE, Chelles, about four miles from Paris, a nunnery founded by Bathildis queen of Clovis II. ANDILEGVM ib XI 31. Mabillon ann Bened I 123. Andeley, an extinct nunnery near Rouen, founded by Clotilda wife of Clovis the Great)'.

,, 17 FILIAS Lingard I 193.

,, 20 SVPRA p 31 l 15.

,, 21 NATVRALIS born to him, not adopted; so sometimes in Elizabethan English. See a good example of this use of natural in Timon of Athens IV 3 383 where Timon apostrophizing the gold says

O thou sweet king-killer, and dear divorce
'Twixt *natural* son and sire!

'Plessaeus hist eccl Meldensis I 698. AA SS July II 481' (Stevenson).

,, 24 SEXBVRG Pagi 664 12. AA SS July II 346.

,, 25 EARCONGOTAM AA SS III 387. Mabillon ann Bened I 435.

,, 28 TRANSITV there is a great similarity between what is here related of the death of Earcongota, and the popular stories concerning the assumption of the Virgin Mary see Cursor Mundi IV p 1152 seqq.

P 34 4 OBITVM SVVM, QVEM REVELATIONE DIDICERAT IV 29 n.

,, 6 ALBATORVM glossary. p 28 l 27 *angelorum.* p 112 l 18 *claro indutos habitu.* I 19 end. V 12.

P 34 9 ILLO thither.

,, 10 NOMISMA Lingard II 401 this shews 'that gold coins were known in France, but cannot prove that they were current in Kent'.

,, 13 FRATRIBVS p 39 l 3. p 106 l 4 n. According to the constitution of the early monastic establishments a certain number of monks were deputed to perform the ecclesiastical services of each monastery Mabillon ann Bened XI 10.

,, 14 CONCENTVS ANGELORVM p 95 l 26 to p 97 l 9. Eddius c 63 at Wilfrid's funeral *super domum quasi residentium auium cum sonitu iterum* (cf c 62 at the hour of his passing) *audierunt et statim iterum auolantium in caelum cum suaui modulamine pennarum. sapientes autem, qui illic aderant, dixerunt certe se scire* angelorum choros cum Michaele uenisse ac animam sancti pontificis in paradisum deducere. Greg dial III 31 col 345[d] of Herminigild: *coepit in nocturno silentio* psalmodiae cantus ad corpus eiusdem regis et martyris audiri, *atque ideo ueraciter regis, quia et martyris.* Baronius 649 81 the light, the apparition, the psalmody, on the revelation of Gregory's Moralia. cf the illuminated drawing of Edw confessor's death (Lives of Edw conf. ed by H R Luard, in chronicles and memorials), where angels receive the spirit as it issues from the mouth. Cuthbert (Beda uita Cuthb c 34 p 112 24 St) saw *animam cuiusdam sancti manibus angelicis ad regni caelestis gaudia ferri.* Such visions of angels and lights seen from heaven are frequent circumstances in the narratives of the deaths of saints. See the Sermon on the Nativity of Holy Martyrs Aelfric's Homil II 546—548. It is promised to the Virgin Mary (Cursor Mundi IV 1156) that angels with songs shall come to fetch her to heaven.

Thou shalt be here but dayes thre,
This thridde day shul we com down
Aungels fele, make the boun,
And fecche the with mury song,
For aftir the us thinketh long.

,, 17 EGRESSI DIGNOSCERE p 22 l 19 n. p 97 l 2 *uocare uenerunt.* V 1 (p 182 26 S) *exierat uidere.*

,, LVCEM p 39 l 1 and 23. p 107 l 20. p 108 l 16. p 112 l 23. p 140 l 15. I 33 (end) the tomb of a saint revealed by a light. IV 7 Beda uita Cuthb 4 § 7 Aedan's death revealed to Cuthbert by a light and by singing angels. Baronius 685 20. MHB 667[b] *in loco uero quo Elfwaldus rex iustus interfectus est,* caelitus lux emissa *dicitur uideri a plurimis.*

P 34 24 ECCLESIA BEATI STEPHANI Mabillon ann Bened I 305.

,, 27 FLAGRANTIA this dissimilation (cf. mu*l*berry, mar*bl*e, purp*l*e, pi*l*grim) is consistently retained in ms. On the 'odour of sanctity' cf p 110 l 17 n. *quanta saepe* flagrantia *mirandi apparuerit odoris.* Greg dial IV 37 four days after the burial of Theophanes, his wife determined to change the marble laid on his tomb: *quod uidelicet marmor corpori eius superpositum dum fuisset ablatum,* tanta ex corpore ipsius fragrantia odoris emanauit, ac si ex putrescente carne illius pro uermibus aromata ferbuissent. Gregory examined the workmen in the presence of clergy, nobles and people: qui et eadem odoris fragrantia miro modo se repletos fuisse testati sunt. ib. 4. Merulus a monk, devoted to tears and prayers and psalmody, saw in a vision a crown of white flowers descending from heaven on his head. Fourteen years after his death *tanta...de...*sepulchro illius fragrantia suauitatis emanauit, ac si illic florum omnium fuissent odoramenta congregata. Sometimes the fragrant odour is related to have been perceived at the time of death. Thus at the death of a certain Servulus it is related (Aelfric Hom II 98) "Then was the house filled with a wondrous *odour* so that all the corpsebearers were filled with the winsome *fragrance* and the odours ceased not in their nostrils till the holy body was buried". Similarly at the death of the nun Romula (ibid 548). A like fragrance is said to have pervaded the whole island of Crowland after the death of St Guthlac Goodwin pp 86—90.

,, 30 DE QVA DIXIMVS p 33 l 21.

P 35 3 IN QVA SVVM CORPVS SEPELLIRI CVPIEBAT burial in churches p 25 l 1 2 n. p 67 l 12. II 20 p 102 1 S iuxta honorem uel regiis pueris uel innocentibus Christi congruum in ecclesia sepulti sunt. V 23. Greg dial IV 50—54. esp 51 a nun, chaste but garrulous, was buried in a church: the same night the verger saw in a vision her body sawn asunder before the altar, and the one half burnt, the other unhurt. *qua ex re aperte datur intellegi quia hi, quibus peccata dimissa non fuerint,* ad euitandum iudicium sacris locis post mortem non ualeant adiuuari.

,, 11 TRANSFERRE glossary.

,, 12 ITA INTEMERATVM CORPVS VT A CORRVPTIONE CONCVPISCENTIAE CARNALIS ERAT INMVNE p 129 l 4 n. The body of Furseus is also said to have been found uncorrupted four years after his death p 57 20.

,, 14 DENVO LOTVM ATQVE ALIIS VESTIBVS INDVTVM p 130 l 13 n.

,, 16 NATALIS day of martyrdom. NONARVM 7th.

VIIII

OSUALD reigned nine years, for in his reign was included the one year of his apostate predecessors. He was killed by the king of the Mercians in a battle at Maserfelth. The place where he died has been made illustrious by miracles. The dust of the earth there, when mixed with water, has healed both men and beasts. The place has become so noted that by taking away the earth there has been made a hole as deep as a man is high. Beda gives two instances of cures. A traveller riding near the place found his horse suddenly taken very ill, and expected it to die. But in its struggles it happened that the animal rolled on to the spot where Osuald had been killed, and it was at once restored to its wonted strength. The man journeying on, and deeply impressed with the sanctity of the spot, came to an inn, where the niece of the master was paralysed. He told of the wondrous cure of his horse, and straightway they conveyed the sick girl thither and laid her down. She fell into a sleep and awoke quite restored, so as to be able to wash herself, dress her hair, and after that walk home with the friends who had brought her.

Alcuin sanct Ebor 312—335.

P 35 20 NOVEM ANNIS Alcuin 499—505. ILLO 634 A D.

,, 21 REGIS BRETTONVM Ceadualla p 19 l 19.

,, ,, APOSTASIA p 19 l 16 n.

,, 22 SVPRA p 20 l 7.

,, 25 ALIQVIS any.

,, 27 PAGANA GENTE c 14 pr.

,, 28 REGE Penda II 20.

,, 29 PEREMTVS at Hatfield in Yorkshire 12 Oct 633 (II 20). See also Gough's Camden III 273.

,, 30 MASERFELTH Smith mentions a place of this name in Lancashire near Winwick. Gibson fixes it at Oswestry (Oswaldestre) because this name has Oswald in it. Ingram suggests Mirfield in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The place cannot be identified.

,, ,, XXXVIII the Saxon version says he was killed in his thirty-seventh year.

,, ,, DIE QVINTO MENSIS AVGVSTI p 119 l 18—23. p 120 l 11.

P 36 4 HOMINVM ET PECORVM the cattle are generally included in these accounts of miraculous cures. Thus Adamnan uita St Columbae II 4 some bread is given by the saint *quo in aqua intincto homines ea conspersi et* pecora *celerem recuperabant salutem.*

P 36 5 PVLVEREM l 13. p 37 l 19. p 39 l 25 and 27. p 40 l 13—27. p 99 l 14 n. I 18 (end) and 19 Germanus quenches a fire with dust from the place of Alban's martyrdom. Ruinart ind to Greg Tur 'puluis e SS sepulcris erasus 947. 386 *et passim*. secum defert Gregorius 1133'. Like miracle at the death of St Elphegus Higd Polychr VI 16.

,, 6 ꝑAQVAM p 21 I 7 n. Greg Tur glor mart I 6 (end) 'quidam' brought me a very ancient silk *pallula*, in which he said that the cross had been wrapt at Jerusalem. I in my 'rusticity' thought the tale incredible. However I took it: *praesumsi, fateor, eam abluere et frigoriticis potum dare: sed mox opitulante uirtute diuina sanabantur.*

P 37 1 DVM=cum.

,, 2 PARALYSIS Greg Tur glor mart I 6 (end) 'I gave part of the *pallula* (note on p 36 l 6) to an abbat; who returning after two years swore that 12 demoniacs (*energumeni*), three blind and two *paralytic* patients had been healed by it'.

,, 7 OBDORMIVIT PARVMPER a somewhat similar story is related in Aelfric hom II 32 of a girl cured of a quaking in her limbs at the shrine of St Stephen. 'The quaking sister had gone from the steps where she stood to the holy martyr, and straightway as she touched the railing she lay *as if she had been seized with sleep* and afterwards rose up hale'.

X

AT the same time a traveller, a Briton, came near the place where Osuald had been killed and saw the grass was greener than in other places, and concluded that some holy man had been slain there. He gathered some of the dust and carried it with him in a cloth. On his way he came to a village where while he was entertained, he tied the cloth containing the dust to a post in the wall. The house of his entertainers happened to catch fire, yet though all else was consumed the post to which the cloth was hung was found untouched by the flames. Such miracles made the place of Osuald's death famous, and many came thither and were healed.

P 37 15 PRAEFATA PVGNA p 35 l 27—31.

,, 19 PVLVERE p 36 l 5 n.

,, 26 VNA as in Fr.

,, 28 CVLMEN DOMVS VIRGIS CONTEXTVM AC FOENO TECTVM p 48 l 16. p 69 l 1 n. uita Cuthb 5 § 9 Cuthbert pulled some hay from the roof of a deserted shepherd's cot and gave it to his horse; the horse then pulled down hay for itself, and with it a meal for his master, meat

and half a new loaf (*panis calidi*). 14 § 21. 17 § 30 (end) of Cuthbert's cells: culmina *uero de lignis informibus et faeno superposuit.* Eddius c 64 a monastery was set on fire; the house in which Wilfrid was, would not take fire: one of the robbers entering, faenum aridum *intus facilius accendere putans, uidit hominem iuuenem stantem in albis et in sua manu crucem tenentem auream.* Like miracle above II 7. Greg dial I 6. Greg Tur glor mart I 11 (end) he himself quenched the fire in a cottage thatched with dry leaves by holding out a cross studded with relics.

P 38 3 POSTA TVTA REMANSIT a curious parallel to this story is found in Adamn uita S Columbae II 7 where a lump of salt blessed by the saint prevents a part of a wall from being consumed in a fire. *contigit ut uiculus totus concremaretur. mirum dictu illius parietis particula...post totam ambustam domum* stans illaesa permansit *nec ignis ausus est attingere binales in quibus talis pendebat salis petra.*

XI

BEDA also relates the marvels which attended on the moving of St Osuald's bones. His niece Osthryda queen of the Mercians caused this to be done, and the remains were conveyed to the monastery of Beardaneu. But the midland monks did not like the northern saint, and left the waggon which brought his body out of doors all night. However a column of light shone all night through from heaven upon the place where the body lay, and won by this manifestation the monks afterwards paid due reverence to the saint. The water in which the relics were washed was poured down in a corner of the sacristy and the earth in that spot became endued with miraculous virtue. Abbess Aedilhild begged some of this earth and carried it with her in a casket, and it proved effectual to cure one who was possessed with an evil spirit. The restored demoniac testified that the spirits which tormented him fled as soon as the maid bearing the casket came into the hall.

P 38 13 INVENTA...TRANSLATA it would appear from this that the body of Osuald was buried elsewhere first, and after a lapse of time conveyed to Bardney. The Saxon Chronicle puts his death and burial there in the same year.

,, 15 OSTHRYDAE IV 21. EIVS Osuald.

,, 16 IN SEQVENTIBVS see onomasticon 'Osuiu.'

,, 18 MONASTERIVM NOBILE it formerly contained 300 monks and its abbat was called the Lord of Lindsay. It was destroyed by the

Danes 870 A D and restored by Walter de Gaunt 1115 AD Monast Angl I 623.

P 38 19 AEDILREDO he became a monk at Bardney p 170 l 19, afterwards abbat V 19 p 208 20 S. Pagi 704 6.

,, 25 SVPER EOS REGNVM ACCEPERAT p 29 l 7 n.

,, 30 cf Greg dial III 31 (col 345[e]) of Hermenigild: *quidam etiam ferunt, quod illic nocturno tempore* lampades *apparebant: unde et factum est, quatenus corpus illius, ut uidelicet martyris, iure a cunctis fidelibus uenerari debuisset.*

P 39 1 LVCIS p 34 l 17 n. Greg Tur glor mart I 9 end, who speaks as an eye-witness.

,, 3 FRATRES p 106 l 4 n.

,, 5 RELIQVIAE on relics see excursus III and Lingard II 87.

,, 6 LOTA p 35 l 14 n.

,, ,, THECAM h a 15 (p 302 S) among the good deeds of Huaetberct *hoc in primis omnibus delectabile et gratificum fecit; sustulit ossa Easteruini abbatis, quae in porticu ingressus ecclesiae beati apostoli Petri erant posita, necnon et ossa Sigfridi abbatis et magistri quondam sui, quae foris sacrarium ad meridiem fuerant condita, et utraque in una* theca *sed medio pariete diuisa recludens, intus in eadem ecclesia iuxta corpus beati patris Benedicti composuit.*

,, 10 AQVAM p 21 l 7 n. p 36 l 6 n.

,, 12 13 LAVACRVM AD ABIGENDOS DAEMONES l 31 n. uit Cuthb 41 title 'quomodo puer *daemoniacus* sit humo, cui *lauacrum corporis* infusum est, in *aquam* missa sanatus'.

,, 22 ILLO thither.

,, 23 LVCEM p 34 l 17 n.

,, 25 PVLVERE p 36 l 5 n.

,, 31 AB INMVNDO SPIRITV l 12 n. uit Cuthb 15. 16 § 25 end *nonnullos ab* immundorum spirituum uexatione *non solum praesens tangendo orando imperando exorcizando, sed et absens uel tantum orando uel certe eorum sanationem praedicendo, curauit.* St Eustace of Dieuze was reputed to excel 'in liberandis energumenis et amentibus' (Pagi 627 27 end). An account of demoniacal possession and its miraculous cure is to be found in the Life of St Guthlac (Goodwin) c 12. The man is said to have been so severely afflicted with this madness that he wounded his own body as well with iron as with his teeth, and not himself only but also whomsoever he could he tore in like manner and none could bind him or bring him into subjection. St Guthlac bathed the afflicted man in holy water and blew in his face and the evil spirit departed from

him. And this man was as though he had awoke from a deep slumber, and he never was afflicted by this malady any more as long as he lived.

P 40 6 AD LOCVM VIRORVM p 106 l 4 n.

,, 9 EXORCISMOS for a notice of the appointment of exorcists by the church see Cockayne's Saxon Leechdoms vol 1 pref p xxxix.

,, 10 QVAEQVE=quaecumque.

,, 13 PVLVIS p 39 l 25 n.

,, 14 IVSIT=iussit.

,, 18 CONTICVERE OMNES INTENTIQVE ORA TENEBANT Aen II 1.

,, 21 MODO now.

,, 24 MOX VT=simul ac.

,, 29 ALIQVID=quicquam.

XII

IN later times a boy in the same monastery was taken with a fever, and was directed by one of the brethren to go and stay quietly at St Osuald's tomb. He remained there till the hour of the attack was past, and was freed from his malady. The brother who related this to Beda said that the boy had grown up and was still living in the monastery. It is no wonder that the prayers of the saint are so efficacious after his death, for his devotion to God was so signal all his lifetime. It is said he died with a prayer for his soldiers on his lips and the words of his prayer passed into a proverb. The head hands and arms of King Osuald had been cut from his body and put on stakes, but afterwards Oswy recovered them and put the head in the church at Lindisfarne and the hands and arms in that at the royal city of Bebbanburgh.

P 41 4 ACCESSIONIS a technical term)(l 10 *recessionis*.

,, 11 SVASSERAT=suaserat.

,, 12—14 PRAESVMSIT...AVDERET these words are remarkable as conveying the idea that the disease was caused by some personal agency.

,, 15 QVI REFEREBAT MIHI FRATER INDE ADVENIENS on Beda's authorities see pp 5 6. 209.

,, 22 A TEMPORE MATVTINAE LAVDIS AD DIEM V 9 (p 191 4 S) Ecgberct had made all preparations for his missionary voyage to Germany, when *uenit die quadam* mane primo *ad eum unus de fratribus...referens ei uisionem quae sibi* eadem nocte *apparuisset* '*cum* expletis' *inquiens* 'hymnis matutinalibus in lectulo membra posuissem *ac lenis mihi somnus obrepsisset*'. ib l 23 *post dies paucos*

rursus uenit ad eum praefatus frater, dicens quia et ea nocte *sibi* post expletos matutinos *Boisil per uisum apparuerit.* p 106 l 12 n. uita Cuthb 45 (II 134 8 St) *at ubi consuetum in monasterio* nocturnae orationis *signum insonuit, excitatus sonitu resedit ipse. nec mora..... sanatum se esse intellegens surrexit et in gratiarum actione domino omne* nocturnae siue matutinae psalmodiae *tempus stando persoluit.* Greg dial III 14 col 304[de] nocte *uero eadem dum ex more cum fratribus* ad exhibendas laudes domino surrexisset, *praecepit dicens: 'ite et operariis nostris pulmentum coquite, ut* mane primo *paratum sit.'* Tert ad uxor II 5 *etiam* per noctem exsurgis oratum. Bingham XIII 9 §§ 4. 7. 10 esp §§ 11—15.

,, 25 SVPINAS Hor c III 23 1 caelo supinas *si tuleris* manus. lexx 'supinus.' Kaye's Tertullian 383. 429.

P 42 1 MISERERE ANIMABVS for constr see addenda to glossary.

,, 3 TRANSLATA Alcuin sanct Ebor 301—311. Lingard II 87. p 35 l 14. p 38 l 14. p 49 l 19. p 64 l 24. p 99 l 3. h a 15 (p 302 4—7 S). Stevenson 'during the Danish invasion they were carried from Bardney to Gloucester Sim Dunelm col 152. Brompton col 833. Capgrave fol 256. His head was placed in the same tomb with Cuthbert's body, and was found in 1827. See J Raine St Cuthbert, with an account of the state in which his remains were found upon the opening of the tomb in Durham cathedral in 1827 (Durham 1828 4to p 187).'

,, 4 QVO DIXIMVS p 38 l 19. CAPVT p 43 l 22.

,, 5 REX QVI OCCIDERAT Penda p 35 l 27, who also slew Edwin and Anna cf Fuller § 75.

,, 8 REGIA CIVITATE Bamborough p 29 l 28 n. See Sax chron an 642.

XIII

THE fame of Osuald's holiness and miracles spread to Germany and Ireland. The most reverend prelate Acca is Beda's authority for miracles wrought among the Fresones by the relics of this holy king. The same prelate also told how the reputation of the saint had spread throughout Ireland. Beda gives one story to illustrate this. In a certain time of plague a scholar of the Scots who had been careless of his eternal welfare was stricken and like to die. He began to be dismayed and spake to Acca of his fear of eternal torments for his sins. If heaven would but spare him he would correct his vicious life, but he

feels that he has no merit of his own to urge why he should be spared. Yet he has heard of the piety of king Osuald, and of the miracles wrought by his relics. He therefore intreats that if any of them can be had, they may be brought to him. Acca had some of the wood from the stakes on the which the holy king's head was impaled, and when a splinter from that wood was put into holy water, for the sick man to drink, he presently began to amend, and soon entirely recovered, and live long after to proclaim the glory of God.

Alcuin sanct Ebor 455—498.

P 42 15 VILBRORDVM V 10. He took the name of Clemens, as Wilfrid that of Boniface, Caedualla that of Peter, Biscop Baduking that of Benedict p 58 l 2. Eddius 26—28 says that the Frisian king Algis or Aldgels received Wilfrid hospitably, and that the people attributed to the stranger's God a fruitful harvest and successful fishing-season. He baptised all the chieftains and some thousands of the people: *et primum ibi secundum apostolum fundamentum fidei posuit, quod adhuc superaedificat filius eius in HRypis nutritus gratia dei* Wilbrordus *episcopus, multo labore desudans, cuius merces manet in aeternum.* In P P M Alberdingk Thijm Willibrordus (Amst 1861) he is said (p 94) to have left Ripon for Ireland aet 20 in 677 or 678, to have lived under Ecgberct in the Irish monastery Rathmelsigi (Melfont) ten years, and in his 33rd year to have been urged by his abbat to devote himself to the conversion of the Frisians. The visit of Wilfrid, Acca and Eddius is placed (p 202) in 704, on Wilfrid's second journey to Rome. Authorities in Van der Aa biogr Woordenboek 'Willebrordus,' including two lives (in prose and in verse) by Alcuin cf sanct Ebor 1033—70. Add Bonif ep 107 Jaffé. Willibald uita Bonif c 5 p 447. Pagi 690. 696.

„ 18 HIBERNIA p 26 l 2 n. p 79 l 10—24 n. There also the Hewalds 'Black' and 'White' were trained for the conversion of the 'Old Saxons' v 10.

„ 18 19 PEREGRINAM...VITAM *peregrinari* was the common term for undertaking missionary enterprises. Adamn uit S Columb pref sec.

„ 23 MORTALITATIS p 79 l 9 n. Eddius 18 (end) *in magna* mortalitate. Ussher antiqu 490 491. See also Reeves' life of S Columba II 47 and the notes on the passage. The disease was known as the "yellow plague" Gerald Cambr Itin Camb II 1. It is said to have made its first appearance in Britain 547 A D and in Ireland 550 A D. In AA SS V 202 we read of it that *flauos primitus faciebat homines et postea*

occidebat. It was in England in 680 AD see p 118 l 9 n and in 686 AD see Beda h a c 8.

P 42 30 CLAMAVIT = called.

P 43 18 VIRTVTVM p 21 l 4 n.

,, 22 CAPVT p 42 l 4—8. Edwin's head deposited in the porch of York cathedral II 20.

,, 27 BENEDIXI AQVAM I 30 pr Gregory bids Mellitus sprinkle idol temples with holy water, raise altars and place relics in them, and so convert them into churches. V 4 (cf Alcuin sanct Ebor 1135—53) John of Beverley heals a count's wife with holy water. mirac. Cuthb 23. uita Cuthb 25. 29. Eddius 36. Greg dial I 10 (p 200[b] with Bened note) cure of a broken leg. Greg Tur glor mart I 24 where Ruinart cites also uita Caesarii II 13 for the practice (still kept up in his day) of taking home water consecrated on Easter eve, 'ad tutamen aduersus diabolicos incursus et ad aerearum potestatum insidias abigendas.' Bingham VIII 3 § 7. Hospinian de templis IV 8. U G Siber de aquae benedictae potu brutis non denegando e probatiss hist eccl monumentis tract Lips 1712 4to. Siegel Handbuch 'Weihwasser.' W E Scudamore in DCA 'holy water.' Cockayne's Sax Leechd 'holy water' and the passages referred to in the index.

,, ASTVLAM p 21 l 7 n.

XIIII

OSUALD was succeeded by his brother Osuiu, who had a troublous reign of twenty-eight years, for Penda king of Mercia attacked him, and his son and a nephew rebelled against him. Paulinus bishop of Rochester died after an episcopate of more than nineteen years and Ithamar was ordained bishop in his stead. Osuiu had a partner in his royal dignity for the first nine years. This was Oswin, son of Osric of the family of king Edwin. Osuiu had Bernicia, and Oswin Deira. But in consequence of a quarrel they each collected an army with the intention of settling their dispute by battle. Oswin however finding the forces against him superior to his own dismissed his troops and took refuge with earl Hunuald. By him he was betrayed to Osuiu who put him to death. This crime was committed at Ingetlingum (Gilling) where the victorious king afterwards built a monastery to atone for his guilt.

Oswin was a prince, comely courteous and bountiful. Beda relates a story of his gift of a horse to bishop Aedan which the bishop soon afterwards bestowed upon a poor man who asked alms of him. The

king reproached him for this excess of liberality but in consequence of the bishop's reply, entreated forgiveness for what he had said. The bishop foretold that so humble a man could not be long permitted to live in so unworthy a nation. The early murder of the king fulfilled this presage, and Aedan himself did not live more than twelve days after the king whom he so much loved.

P **44** 3 OSVIV l 10—12 Paulinus died 10 Oct 644 in Osuiu's second year, ie Osuiu came to the throne after 10 Oct 642.

,, 5 INPVGNATVS Penda king of Mercia was probably in league with the Britons, between whom and Osuiu the ann Tighern mention a battle as having been fought 642 A D.

,, 6 PAGANA GENTE MERCIORVM p 35 l 27.

,, 7 ALCHFRIDO p 66 l 7. h a 2 (his design of visiting Rome with Benedict Biscop). He was Wilfrid's patron Eddius 7—10. ALCHFRIDO Ealhfrith (Saxon Version) seems to be a different person from Aldfrid (Ealdfrith. Sax Vers) son of Osuiu who succeeded Ecgfrid 685 A D. See Lappenberg I 187 n.

,, ,, FRATRIS Osuald. Oidilwald was king of Deira p 63 l 6. A D 665 he was on the side of the Mercians against Osuiu and the Bernicians though he held aloof from the battle p 66 l 10—15. The union therefore of Deira and Bernicia was not so complete as would appear from p 30 l 3—5 (Hussey).

,, 8 OIDILVALDO Aethelwold. Saxon Version.

,, 10 PAVLINVS consecrated at Canterbury by Iustus 21 July 625 II 9.

,, 14 ANDREAE II 3. Siegel Handbuch I 113 more churches dedicated to St Andrew than to other saints; many churches in Germany, France, Belgium boast an arm or finger or garment or strip from a garment of this apostle. He quotes A du Saussay: gloria s. Andreae Par 1656 fol.

,, 17 ITHAMAR ORIVNDVM QVIDEM SED AEQVANDVM though he was the first bp of English blood, *still* in life and learning he could bear comparison with the 9 (10 counting Aedan) bps who had preceded him.

,, 19 CONSORTEM p 31 l 1 n.

,, 20 OSVINI he was canonised. See AA SS Aug IV 47.

,, 21 SVPRA p 19 l 4.

,, 24 ILLE Osuiu.

,, 27 HVNC Osuini.

P **44** 30 DEMISSA = dimissa.

P **45** 4 CATARACTONE. *Cetricht* Saxon version. Perhaps the same place which in II 14 Beda calls *Cataracta* which is Catterick bridge on the river Swale in Richmondshire. See Whitaker's Richmondsh II 21. The position of *Vilfaraesdun* cannot now be identified. Smith notices that in a MS Chronicle at Durham the name is given as Wolfrethdon, but no such name can be found in the locality.

,, 12 DIE XIII KAL SEPT 20 Aug 651. Unde ad hunc diem in margine martyrologii Dunelm. *In Brittanniis Nataliciae S Osuini regis et martyris* (Smith).

,, 13 INGETLINGVM Gilling near Richmond in Yorkshire. The monastery was erected by Eanfleda wife of Osuiu and Trumheri (p 67 l 26) was made abbat.

,, 15—17 PRO VTRIVSQVE REGIS ANIMAE REDEMTIONE PRECES p 67 l 32. prayers for the dead: uita Cuthb praef § 2 Beda begs bp Eadfrid and the Lindisfarne monks to pray that while alive he may with pure mind desire, and afterwards in perfect bliss deserve, to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living: *sed et* me defuncto pro redemtione animae meae, *quasi familiaris et uernaculi uestri*, orare et missas facere et nomen meum inter uestra scribere *dignemini*. ib c 34 end. de sex aetatibus A D 716 (II 202 26 St) the picture of the emperor Philippus, as a heretic, not admitted into churches, nec nomen ad missarum sollemnia prolatum. Wilfrid (Eddius 17) *pro animae suae remedio* ordered a copy of the gospels to be written in gold letters on purple parchment, and bound in gold and jewels, for Ripon church, where his remains rest *et sine intermissione cotidie* in orationibus nominis eius recordantur. ib 42 p 73 end. 57 cf. 60. 62 end. Bonif ed Jaffé pp 93. 126. 167. 211. 238. 256. 257. 263. 266. 269. 270. 282. 315 a 'precatorium memorandi fratrum defunctorum,' addressed by the brethren of one monastery to the provost and fellows of another, entreating them to pray for the deceased brethren whose names are enclosed, and to forward the names to other monasteries; undertaking also to pray in return for any names received. This was the origin of death-bills or 'mortuary rolls' in which the virtues of the deceased are set forth, and a request for prayers, with a promise of a return of intercession, appended. These were sent from monastery to monastery, and the 'suffrages' of each appended. St John's College Cambridge possesses such a roll on the death of Ampelissa, prioress of Lillichurch at the end of the 13th century, to which 300 suffrages, more or less, are attached.

The earlier rolls often contain poetry. See L Delisle 'rouleaux des morts du IX^e^ au XV^e^ siècle Paris 1866,' and his 'des monuments paléographiques concernant l'usage de prier pour les morts' in biblioth de l'école des chartes ser 2 III 361 seq. J G Nichols 'on precatory or mortuary rolls, and particularly one of the abbey of E Dereham' mem archæol inst 1847 (Norwich) 99—114. See generally Martene de ant eccl rit (1738) I 145. Hauréau in mem de l'inst XXVIII (2) 1876 pp 250—2 gives from MSS among other legends this. A boy every morning on his way to school prayed in the churchyard for the dead. Being often late for school in consequence, he was caned as a truant. At his funeral, when the priest pronounced the customary *anima eius requiescat in pace*, all the souls, whose bodies lay there buried, cried with a loud voice *Amen*. Bingham XV 3 §§ 16—18. XX 7 § 8. XXIII 3 §§ 13—17. D Rock church of our fathers London 1849 II 339—393.

P 45 27 ANTISTITI p 22 l 29 n.

„ 28 AMBVLARE SOLITVS p 27 l 9 n. IV 3 pr. Eddius 18 *quadam die sancto Wilfrido equitante et pergente ad uaria officia episcopatus sui, baptizandi utique et cum manus impositione confirmandi populos.*

P 46 l 9 EQVAE it seems probable from the gender of this word that the tradition which represents the bishop as playing in his answer on the words 'mare' and 'Mary' gives the correct version of the story, the former portion of which play on words is given in the Saxon 'myran sunu.' See Higden Polychronic V 15.

„ 12 VENATV Sharon Turner AS III^7^ 55 56.

„ 24 LINGVA PATRIA p 23 l 24—27.

„ 30 PRAESAGIA cf 29 l 22—27.

„ 33 OCCISIONEM REGIS p 45 l 12.

„ „ PRIDIE KAL SEPT 31 Aug. 651 p 49 l 14.

P 47 l 1 DE SAECVLO ABLATVS Cuthbert saw on the same night angels descending to earth and taking back with them a soul of surpassing brightness; this induced Cuthbert to resolve on becoming a monk.

XV

BISHOP Aedan's merits were shown by the prophetic and miraculous gifts which God bestowed on him. A presbyter named Utta when going into Kent to bring Eanfleda daughter of king Edwin as a wife for king Osuiu and intending to return by sea, entreated the

bishop's intercession for a prosperous voyage. Aedan foretold to him that the voyage would be tempestuous, but gave him some hallowed oil which when cast upon the waves should make them calm. Which all came to pass. Beda had heard this story from the presbyter Cynimund, who had heard it from Utta himself.

In verse mirac Cuthb 5.

P 47 6 VTTA p 59 l 10—12.

,, 10 EANFLEDAM born Easterday 626, baptised, first of Northumbrians, at Whitsuntide following II 9 p 88 l 25—34 S. V 24 p 220 l 34. After Edwin's death 12 Oct 633 Paulinus took Eanfleda with him to Kent, where he was entertained by king Eadbald II 20 p 101 41. She observed the 'true and catholic' Easter p 69 l 21—27; and was an early patroness of Wilfrid V 19 p 205 l 13—18 S. Eddius 2. 3. Pope Vitalian (letter to Osuiu A D 667) because of her pious works sent her a cross with a golden key of the most sacred chains of SS Peter and Paul Baronius 665 5 (cf Pagi n 1). She was buried with her father and husband in St Peter's Whitby p 67 l 10 11; and gave at her death 5 acres to saint Aetheldryda hist Eliensis I 32.

,, ,, OCCISSO = occiso.

,, 11 ILLO 'thither,' to Kent.

,, 12 ACCESSIT for a similar request made to S Columba by two men who were sailing different ways on the same day see Adamn uit S Columb II 14 *uenientes ab eo simul unanimes postulant ut ipse a domino postulans impetraret prosperum crastina die uentum sibi dari diuersa emigraturis uia.*

,, 18 SERENITAS of the effects of saintly prayers in producing calm weather in storms at sea, see Adamn uit Columb II 11 and 12.

,, 23 ALIQVID = quicquam.

,, 27 DE OLEO de l'huile.

P 48 3 CYNIMVND Beda's authority for a miracle of Cuthbert's, which proved his power to raise and lay storms uita Cuthb 36 (end) *hoc sane quod retuli* miraculum non quolibet *auctore, sed uno eorum qui interfuerunt narrante cognoui, uitae uidelicet uenerabilis monacho et presbytero eiusdem monasterii* [Lindisfarne] Cynemundo, *qui plurimis late fidelium longaeuitatis et uitae gratia iam notus exsistit.*

XVI

ANOTHER miracle of the same holy father is well known. The army of king Penda was ravaging Northumbria and had come

to the royal city of Bebbanburgh, which when the king could not take by siege he ordered to be set on fire. As materials for his fire he used the beams and timber work of the villages in the neighbourhood. When the wind was favorable for his purpose, he set the pile he had made on fire. At this time bishop Aedan was in the island of Farne, and when he saw the flame he cried unto God, and the wind changing hurled back the flames on those who had kindled them. Terrified at this sign of the protection of heaven the enemy withdrew from the attack.

Cuthbert in like manner quenched a fire by his prayers uita Cuthb. 14. mirac 12. Alcuin carmen 280 (on Lindisfarne Migne CI 809ª), *praesulis egregii precibus se flamma retorsit | Aidani quondam Bebban ab urbe procul.* See for a like miracle Higd Polychr VI 16.

,, 11 VRBEM REGIAM p 29 l 28 n.

,, 16 TECTI FENEI p 37 l 28 n.

,, 19 ANTISTES p 22 l 29 n.

,, 20 FARNE p 151 l 1. 152 l 31. Varin 229 n 138.

,, 22 SECEDERE like retreats of Cuthbert and Eadberct IV 30.

,, 27 MVTATI VENTI Adamn. uit Columb II 46 has several stories of changes of wind procured by the prayers offered to St Columba.

XVII

THE death of bishop Aedan took place at the king's country house not far from Bebbanburgh. There was a church and a room adjoining provided for the bishop who used this and similar lodgings in his visits through the province. When he died he was leaning against a wooden prop which adjoined the wall of the church. He was buried in Lindisfarne in the cemetery of the brethren, but his remains were afterwards removed to the right side of the altar of the larger church built there. Finan, also from Hii, was his successor. When a few years after his death the village where he died was burnt down by Penda, the prop against which the bishop had leaned was not consumed. It was also similarly preserved when by accident the village and church were again destroyed by fire. After this the wood was placed within the church for the adoration of the worshippers, and miracles have been wrought both on the spot and by splinters conveyed from this wood.

Beda relates these miracles as a true historian though he cannot praise Aedan for his persistence in the erroneous time of observing

Easter. But yet the bishop was a holy and humble man, and deeply observant of all evangelical, apostolical and prophetical teachings. Nor did he observe Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon on any day of the week, as the Jews observe the passover, but on the Lord's day from the fourteenth unto the twentieth, for he believed that our resurrection will take place on the first day of the week, which we now call the Lord's day.

P 49 2 COMPLETIS ANNIS EPISCOPATVS SVI XVI cf l 14. p 77 l 4 the tenure of his episcopate is 17 years (current). He was brought to England by Oswald p 23 l 2 and died 31 Aug 651 (III 14 end); and between the death of Edwin 12 Oct 633 (II 20) and accession of Oswald the better part of two years elapsed (III 1). Hence the shorter period is the true one.

,, 4 VRBE p 48 l 11.

,, 6 AD PRAEDICANDVM CIRCVMQVAQVE compare the missionary tours of Cuthbert p 151 l 19—152 l 19. epist ad Ecgb 3 pr.

,, 14 SEPTIMO DECIMO l 2 n. PRIDIE KAL. SEPT 31 Aug 651 cf p 46 l 33.

,, 15 INDE from the *uilla regia* l 3.

,, 18 BASILICA l 28. c 25 pr.

,, 19 TRANSLATA p 42 l 3 n. p 77 l 26. Disputed translation of Benedict Pagi 664 17—19. See a translation of Augustine Baronius 725 1—9. Pagi 725 1 2.

,, 23 TEMPORE NON PAVCO ten years p 77 l 4 i e 651—661.

,, 27 VICVS l 3.

,, 28 ECCLESIA l 18.

P 50 l 15 ASTVLIS and l 16 AQVAM p 21 l 7 notes.

,, 18 seq. cf p 23 l 4, p 69 l 28—p 70 l 5 and what is said of Colman c 26.

,, 20 PASCHAE p 23 l 5 n.

,, 21 IN LIBRO DE TEMPORIBVS pp 10—11. p 173 l 20. Beda argues warmly against Victorius and his followers de temporum ratione 50 ('on lunar epacts'), 51 ('how some err in the beginning of the first month'), 59 ('of the fourteenth moon of passover', where he says of one class of his opponents, Migne XC 509[b] *duplici miseria laborant*, and of another ib[c] *sunt qui in alteram partem a uia ueritatis, sed non minore labantur errore*).

,, 22 QVASI VERAX HISTORICVS p 166 l 1—9.

,, 28 FACIENDI ET DOCENDI p 27 l 23 n. With this character cf Wilfrid's in Eddius 11.

P 51 7 SVAE GENTIS AVCTORITATE p 69 l 30 of Aedan pascha contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant facere non potuit. cf ib l 9.

„ 13 VT QVIDAM FALSO OPINANTVR p 26 l 13 n.

„ „ QVIDAM among these seems to have been pope John IV as he asserts in his letter to the Scots see lib II 19.

„ 14 QVALIBET FERIA p 73 l 7. CVM IVDAEIS ie as they calculate the day of the passover feast.

„ 15 A LVNA XIIII^{a} VSQVE AD XX^{am} p 23 l 6.

„ 16 VNA SABBATI p 26 l 16. Hier c Vigilant 14 (II 397^{c}) *per* unam sabbati, *id est die dominico.* Matt 28 1 Wetstein *μια σαββάτων* from Hebr אֶחָד. In classical Gr and Lat (as in Eng) found only in combination with ordinals Hdt v 89 *εἰς καὶ τριήκοστος.* Cic Cat mai § 13 uno *et octogesimo anno.* Gell XI 1 § 5. XIII 13 § 4.

XVIII

ABOUT this time Sigberct, brother of Earpuald, was king of the East Angles. He had been an exile in Gaul, where he was baptised, and he introduced into his kingdom such schools and teachers as he had seen in his exile. He was assisted in this by bishop Felix. After a time he resigned his kingdom to a kinsman Ecgric and entered a monastery of his own building. He was brought from his retirement to encourage the army when Penda king of Mercia was warring on East Anglia, but both he and Ecgric were slain in the battle, Sigberct having carried no weapon with him. After them Anna became king in East Anglia, and was in the end slain by the same Penda.

P 51 21 EARPVALDVM II 15 the father Reduald had been baptised in Kent, but relapsed into heathenism. Earpuald was induced by Edwin to embrace Christianity with his whole province; which however, after the murder of Earpuald by the pagan Ricberct, remained in error for three years, till Sigberct *uir per omnia Christianissimus atque doctissimus* (who had lived in Gaul during his brother's reign) became king, and by help of Felix, first bp of Dunwich, won back his province to the faith. Felix was bp 17 years, and was succeeded by Thomas, bp 5 years, and he by Berctgils or Boniface. All three were consecrated by Honorius, who died 30 Sept 653 (III 20). Thus the latest date for Sigberct's accession is 631. See martyrol Angl 27 Sept. martyrol Gall suppl 7 Aug. Pagi 644 6—8.

P 51 22 EIVS i e Earpualdi: *frater eius ex matre* W Malmsb de reg I 5.

,, 27 SCHOLAM Fuller church hist cent VII § 46 'This *Sigebert* is generally reputed the *founder* of the university of *Cambridge*.' He discusses the point through §§ 46—60, noticing some of the works written in the controversy between the two universities. Cambridge belonged to Mercia, not to East Anglia; otherwise it would not have been included in the Mercian diocese of Lincoln. So Henr Hunt (MHB 714ª) *regnum Estangle...continet Nordfolc et Sudfolc.* Yet Wm Malmesb I § 102 says: *reges Orientalium Anglorum dominabantur in pago Grantebrigensi.*

,, 28 FELICE AA SS Mar I 779. Felix was a Burgundian by nation, see Will. Malms de pontif lib II who says that he had become a friend of Sigberct during his exile. Of the foundations of schools he says; *scholas quoque litterarum oportunis locis instituens barbariem gentis sensim comitate Latina informabat.*

P 52 1 COGNATO the relationship between Ecgric and Sigberct is not more accurately defined.

,, 2 PARTEM EIVSDEM REGNI p 44 l 19 n. p 113 l 22 *subregulis.*

,, 3 INTRARET MONASTERIVM so Caedualla p 113 l 24 n. cf p 101 l 7 n. p 175 10. Stevenson 'the liber Eliensis (p 14 ed 1848) tells us that this was Betrichesworth (Bury). It ascribes the death of Sigeberct to 637. See monast Angl I 285.'

,, 18 DE REGIO GENERE Flor Vigorn app chron in MHB 636ᵇ *Anna filius Eni fratris Redwaldi. cuius filia sancta Sexburga Erconberto regi Cantuariorum in coniugio copulata est. altera filia sancta Aethelburga in Gallia in Brigensi monasterio abbatissa facta est. tertia sancta Aethelthritha prius Northumbrorum regina et post Eliensis extitit abbatissa. quarta sancta Withburga eiusdem monasterii sanctimonialis erat femina.* Add Milburga nun of Ely and Sæthrytha abbess of Brie. Anna's uncle Redwald (II 15 p 96 20 S) was *filius Tytili. cuius pater fuit Vuffa, a quo reges Orientalium Anglorum Vuffingas appellant.*

,, 19 IN SEQVENTIBVS IV 19.

,, 21 PRAEDECESSOR Sigberct I 5—15. OCCISVS A D 654 liber Eliensis § 11 p 23 regni 19, which, if current, makes his accession 636, as in Flor Vig (MHB 529ᶜ).

XVIIII

IN the reign of king Sigberct Furseus a holy man from Ireland came to the East Angles, and converted much people by his preaching. This man was seized with a great sickness during which he beheld an angelic vision, in consequence of which he made all speed to build a monastery on land given to him by the king. This was at Cnobheresburg. Anna afterwards enriched the monastery by his grants. In the monastery where he lived Furseus was transported from the body and beheld the countenances of the heavenly host. And on his recovery from his trance he told of the songs of the angels. On the third day after he was again taken away in spirit and saw not only the joys of heaven but the torments of the evil spirits. This account is all recorded in the book of the life of Furseus.

Beda however inserts one part of the story, and this he does because it seems useful. When Furseus was rapt from his body he was bidden to look back on the world, and he saw a dark valley and four fires in the air. What these fires were the angels explained to him; and soon they became joined together into an immense flame. Furseus was terrified as the fire came near to him, but was told by the angel that the fire which he had not kindled would not burn him. The angels could pass through the flame, and in the midst were demons preparing fiery war against the just. He saw evil spirits and just, and the souls of holy men of his own nation who spake unto him things of wholesome import. When Furseus was near the flame the evil spirits cast against him one whom they were tormenting in the fire, and thereby his shoulder and jaw were burnt. This happened because Furseus had received the garment of this sinner when he died. When Furseus was restored to the body he bore a visible mark of the burning, and when he related his visions, as he was wont for those who asked him to do so by reason of their own troubled consciences, even in the coldest weather, he was as hot as in the heat of summer. Furseus afterwards became an anchorite and in the end retired to Gaul, where he built a monastery at Latineacum and there he died. His body was kept by Ercunuald the patrician buried in the porch of the church which he was building at Perrona, till after the dedication. Then it was placed in a tomb near the altar. His body was again moved four years after and found to be incorrupt. The full history of Furseus may be found in the book of his life.

P 52 24 DE HIBERNIA VIR in the homily of Aelfric on the greater

litany (Thorpe II 332) into which the whole story of Furseus is incorporated he is called 'sum Scyttisc preost' Scottish of course meaning Irish. See p 19 l 11 n.

P **52** 24 FVRSEVS founder of Lagni, brother of saints Foillan and Ultan. Iacobus a Voragine legenda aurea 144=139 pp 639—644 Grässe. Stevenson comparing the life (older than Beda) in AA SS 16 Jan (II 36 cf Mabillon saec II Bened) dates his arrival in England 633 (637 Ussher) his departure for France 648 (640 U), his death at Mazières in Poitou 650. Pagi 650 5. 644 3—5.

P **53** 2 VIRTVTIS ET SERMONIS l 22. p 27 l 2 n.

,, 6 VISIONE p 5 l 5. IV 25. V 12—14. 19 p 208 S vision of St Michael seen by Wilfrid. uita Cuthb 3 an angel mounted. See B Hauréau, les récits d'apparitions dans les sermons du moyen âge in mém de l'inst 1876 XXVIII (2) 239—264. Aelfric gives the particulars of this first rapture thus. 'Two angels took his soul and flying with white wings bare him between them. A third angel flew before him armed with a white shield and a shining sword. The three angels were shining with like brightness, and conveyed to the soul wondrous pleasure by the sound of their wings and greatly gladdened it with the melody of their song.'

,, 9 VIGILATE Matth xxiv 42.

,, 11 LOCVM MONASTERII endowments. l 17. p 23 l 16. p 31 l 1. p 63 l 8. p 66 l 2 and 27. p 67 l 29. p 70 l 22—28. p 78 l 26. I 33. II 3. h a 4 end. 6 p 295 l 47 S. 12 end. epist ad Ecgb 5 (end) monastic endowments to be employed for the foundation of bishoprics. conc Aurel V (549) c 19. Lingard I 193. II 241.

,, 15 CNOBHERESBVRG Burgh castle in Suffolk, at the junction of the Yare and Waveney (Stevenson).

,, 26 LIBELLVS DE VITA EIVS p 54 l 10. in AA SS l c. Stevenson 'another in Bodl ms Rawl 505 f 174, appears from internal evidence to have been written A D 655.'

,, 28 CORPORE EXVTVS the story in Aelfric makes the corpse-bearers stand round the body ready to perform their office and it was in their presence that the dead man shewed signs of requickening.

,, 31 IBVNT SANCTI This verse is the song of a troop of holy spirits which in a vision, somewhat like this of Furseus, appeared to St Guthlac. (Goodwin. St Guthlac c 5). The saint, however, was conveyed through the air by evil spirits with creaking wings and iron whips to beat him with; he beheld the north part of heaven surrounded by clouds of intense

darkness, and was carried by the spirits to the door of hell. He is rescued from the evil angels by his patron St Bartholomew. Guthlac is carried back to earth and in the mid height of air there came towards him a troop of holy spirits and cheered him with their song.

P **53** 32 REDVCTVS IN CORPORE p 56 l 4. p 69 l 3. p 93 l 19. I 30 (Gregory's letter) p 71 l 14 S *fana . . necesse est ut a cultu daemonum* in obsequio *ueri dei debeant* commutari. ib l 22 *ad laudem dei* in esu suo *animalia* occidant. Gregory's epitaph v 7 p 188 l 16 *albatum* uexit in arce *poli.* v 10 p 193 l 6 *quos interemptos* in Rheno proiecerunt (Hussey). D Rock church of our fathers I 32—34 has some exx from liturgies.

P **54** 2 MALIGNORVM SPIRITVVM in the visions of a *rediuiuus* reported by abbess Hildelid to Boniface, and by him (ep 10 Jaffé) to Eadburga abbess of Thanet, the good spirits strove with the evil for the possession of him; the evil exclaiming p 55 *ego sum cupiditas tua . . . ; ego sum uana gloria . . . ; ego sum mendacium* etc.

„ 7 VERBA SVPERFLVA ibid ego sum otiosum uerbum. The cursed spirits threaten St Guthlac saying "Power is given us to thrust thee into the torments of this abyss" Goodwin p 39.

„ „ COGITATIONES Bonif ibid ego uaga cogitatio *et inutilis cura, qua te supra modum siue in ecclesia siue extra ecclesiam occupabas.*

„ 8 IN LIBRO DESCRIPTAS p 5 l 13—15.

„ 10 DIXI p 53 l 26 n.

„ 11 PROFECTVS SPIRITALIS for an account of a similar vision revealed to Adamnan see Reeves' Life of St Columba introd clvii; there it is said "Adamnan desired to remain in the happy region, but heard the voice of his guardian angel commanding his soul to be replaced in the same body from which it had passed, and that it should relate in the conventions of the laity and clergy the rewards of heaven and the pains of hell such as the conducting angel had revealed to him."

„ 21 ABRENVNTIARE glossary. Chrys ad illuminandos catech 2 4 ἀποτάσσομαί σοι σατανᾶ καὶ τῇ πομπῇ σου καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου.

P **55** 10 ACCVSATIONES DEFENSIONES v 13.

„ 23 INCENDERVNT a favorite legend is thus given by Eudes (Odo) of Shirton (ms lat Par n 2593 f 109 cited by Hauréau p 242): Master Serlo exacted a promise from a sick pupil of his that after death he would report to him his state. Accordingly some days after death he appeared to him in a parchment cape, written over within and without with sophisms. The master asking who he was, he replied: 'I am he

who promised to come.' Being asked how he was, he said that he wore, because of the pride which he took in discussing sophisms, a cape heavier than a tower, and that he was grievously tormented with the fire of purgatory. The master, slighting the punishment, *illum ignem facilem iudicauit; et dixit ei mortuus quod manum extenderet, ut facilem poenam sentiret; et mortuus unicam guttam dimisit, quae statim manum magistri perforauit; et ait discipulus: 'talis sum totus.' magister uero perterritus statim saeculum dimisit et intrans claustrum statim has uersus composuit:*

linquo *coax* ranis, *cra* coruis uanaque uanis,
ad logicam pergo quae mortis non timet *ergo*.

P 56 2 EORVM QVI AD MORTEM PAENITERENT Greg in I 27 (p 66 2—9 S) a new-born child or its mother may be baptised directly after birth, if death is imminent. V 12 (p 196 l 45 seq S) the valley (seen in vision) terrible with burning flames and with sharp frosts, is the place of trial and punishment for those who, having deferred confession and amendment, in the very article of death take refuge in repentance, and so pass from the body; who all nevertheless at the day of doom attain the kingdom of heaven, because of their confession and repentance even in death. V 13.

,, 4 IN CORPORE RESTITVTVS p 53 l 32 n.

,, 9 EXEMPLIS ET SERMONIBVS p 27 l 2 n.

,, 10 ILLIS SOLVMMODO p 96 l 32. so Drycthelm the *revenant* in V 12 (p 197 16 S) *haec et alia quae uiderat idem uir domini, non omnibus passim desidiosis ac uitae suae incuriosis referre uolebat; sed* illis solummodo *qui uel tormentorum metu perterriti uel spe gaudiorum perennium delectati profectum pietatis ex eius uerbis haurire uolebant.*

,, 12 FRATER QVIDAM SENIOR p 80 l 2—4. uita Cuthb 5 end *haec mihi religiosus nostri monasterii, qui est ad ostium Vuiri fluminis, presbyter nomine Inguald, qui nunc longae gratia senectutis magis corde mundo caelestia quam terrena carnalibus contemplatur aspectibus, ab ipso Cudbercto iam tunc episcopo se audisse perhibuit.*

,, 20 SVDAVERIT V 12 (end) Drycthelm would stand in water up to the loins or even neck, repeating prayers and psalms: in winter he would break the ice to do this penance; and when any wondered that he could support the cold, *respondebat ille simpliciter, erat namque homo simplicis ingenii ac moderatae naturae: 'frigidiora ego uidi.'*

,, 22 SCOTTIA = l 24 insula patria = p 52 l 24 Hibernia.

,, 25 ANGLORVM Orientalium p 50 l 7.

P **56** 26 DIXIMVS p 53 l 11—18.

,, 29 FVLLANO built the monastery of Fosse in the diocese of Liège; assassinated 31 Oct circa 656 (Stevenson citing Gall Christ III 932. Ussher ant 501. Mabillon ann Bened XIV 16).

,, 31 ANACHORETICA V 12 (p 197 20 S) Hæmgils a solitary in Ireland, living on bread and water. It was a British anchorite who tried Augustine by the test of humility and found him wanting II 2 (p 80 l 4 S). Victbert went as a missionary to the Frisians (V 9 p 191 l 37), *cum esset et ipse contemptu mundi ac doctrinae scientia insignis, nam multos annos in Hibernia peregrinus* anachoreticam *in magna perfectione uitam egerat.* St Guthlac's life in his 'ancer-setle' at Crowland is thus described (c 4) 'He resolved that he would use neither woollen nor linen garment, but that he would live all the days of his life in clothing of skins. Each day from the time that he began to live in the wilderness the abstemiousness of his diet was such that he never tasted aught but barley bread and water; and when the sun was set then he took his food on which he lived.'

P **57** 1 VLTANVM he was abbat of the monastery of Péronne and died 1 May 686 A D Gall Christ III 933. IX 1036.

,, 4 MANVVM LABORIBVS II 2 (p 80 l 41 S) the 300 British monks of Bancor lived *de labore manuum suarum.* V 14 a brother, *quem utinam non nossem, cuius etiam nomen, si hoc aliquid prodesset, dicere possem,* tolerated by his brethren and superiors for his skill as a carpenter, spending night and day in his workshop, rather than in church, had a vision of a place reserved for him in hell by the side of Caiaphas. h a 7 the abbat Easteruini after forsaking the career of arms *assumpta militia spirituali tantum mansit humilis fratrumque simillimus aliorum, ut uentilare cum eis et triturare, oues uitulasque mulgere, in pistrino in horto in coquina in cunctis monasterii operibus iucundus et obediens gauderet exerceri . . . saepe pro curandis monasterii negotiis alicubi digrediens, ubi operantes inuenit fratres, solebat eis confestim in opere coniungi uel aratri gressum stiua regendo uel ferrum malleo domando uel uentilabrum manu concutiendo uel aliud quid tale gerendo.* mirac Cuthb 20 (II 23 9 St) sums up the monk's life as *excubiasque famemque preces* manuum*que* laborem. uita Cuthb 19 pr at first Cuthbert received from the brethren (in his solitary life c 18) a very little bread through a window and drank from his own well: after a while he resolved, according to the example of the fathers, to live by his own hand-labour. Seed-wheat and tools

were brought to him, but the wheat did not grow: barley, sown at the wrong time, yielded a large crop, which he saved from the birds by a remonstrance: 'Why do you touch what you did not sow? Do you think you have more need than I? If you have received licence from God, do His will; if not, begone, nor injure again what is not yours.' cf Greg dial I 4 col 169 the abbat Equitius mowing. II 32 Benedict employed in field labour. Boniface (ep 64 Jaffé) writes to monks *Styrme in coquina sit. Bernhardus operarius sit et aedificet domunculas nostras, ubi opus sit.* Willibald uita Bonif 2 (p 435 end). regula Bened 48. Martene ant eccl rit IV 23.

P **57** 6 GENTILIVM p 52 l 5. Pagi 644 6—8.

,, 9 HLODVIO Clovis (Chlodowig, Lewis) II was 4 years old at the death of his father Dagobert in Jan 638 and died about 656, after two years of lunacy, the first of the *rois fainéants*.

,, ,, VEL and.

,, ,, ERCVNVALDO succeeded Aega as mayor of the palace of Neustria 640 and died 660 Aimo Floriac IV 37 in Bouquet rer Gall script III 136. Mabillon ann Bened XIII 26 (Stevenson). cf Hoefer biogr génér under Erchinoald.

,, 10 LATINEACO Lagny on the Marne Mabilion ann Ben XIII 26. XIV 1 2. Stevenson adds Gall Chr VII 490.

,, 14 PERRONA Péronne on the Somme, 21 m SW of Cambrai.

,, 15 XXVII rather 30 Pagi 644 5, i e 14 Febr 650; he died 16 Jan.

,, 17 INLESVM p 29 l 27. p 35 l 12. p 158 l 14 n. p 184 l 10.

,, 18 DOMVNCVLA p 99 l 11. On shrines see Rock church of our fathers III 352—423. This shrine was made by Eligius bp of Noyon with his own hands Mabillon ann Bened XIV 1.

,, 21 TRANSLATVM 9 Febr 654 a Sunday (the stated day for translations) Pagi 644 5. On translations see p 49 l 15. p 64 l 24. h a 14. Rock church of our fathers III 482—493. AA SS index 'reliquiae.'

,, 22 VIRTVTIBVS p 21 l 4 n. CORPORIS his relics were preserved in St Fursey's collegiate church at Péronne, a bone of his head with his stole and chasuble at Lagny Mabillon l c.

,, 24 LIBELLO p 53 l 26.

,, 25 QVISQVE = quicumque.

XX

WHEN Felix bishop of the East Angles died he was succeeded by Thomas his deacon, and he after five years by Berctgilsus called also Boniface. Honorius was followed in the episcopate of Canterbury by Deusdedit the sixth archbishop. He held the see more than nine years, having been consecrated by Ithamar bishop of Rochester, and he himself consecrated Damian to succeed Ithamar in that bishopric.

P 57 28 DEFVNCTO FELICE p 51 l 28. AA SS Mar I 779. Pagi 646 5 (cf 627 25) cites contin Ingulfi in Gale I 109, who places the death of Felix 646. Others (taking the 17 years of his episcopate as complete) give 8 Mar 647 as the day of death.

,, 29 POST X ET VII ANNOS ACCEPTI EPISCOPATVS p 104 l 26. V 19 *Vilfrid* post *xl et v* annos accepti episcopatus *diem clausit extremum.* uita Cuthb 42 pr *transactis sepulturae eius annis undecim,* i e 11 years *after* his burial.

,, 30 THOMAM Flor Vig places his consecration A D 647.

P 58 1 GYRVIORVM distinguished from the East Angles IV 19. Peterborough lay in their country Flor Vig in MHB 535[d], which included (Camden) Cambs, Hunts, Northants, Linc.

,, 2 SVBTRACTO A D 652. BERCTGILSVM COGNOMINE BONIFATIVM l 8 n. p 42 l 15 n.

,, 5 PRIDIE KAL OCT 30 Sept 653. see AA SS under the day.

,, 7 DORVVERNENSIS Canterbury, see MHB ind p 980 under *Cantuaria.*

,, 8 DEVSDEDIT the first English abp. Stevenson: 'before his consecration his name was Frithona (life by Gotscelin of Canterbury in ms Cott Vesp B XX 13. Elmham p 192).' DCB 821.

,, 9 ITHAMAR bp of Rochester AA SS June 11 294.

,, 10 DIE SEPTIMO KAL APR 26 Mar 655 a Thursday cena domini chr Sax 655. Pagi 664 10 shews that Beda reckons the 9y 7m 2d not from consecration, but election, for Deusdedit died (IV 1) 14 July 664, which will make the day of his election 12 Dec 654. So the episcopate of Theodore is dated not from consecration, but from his arrival in his diocese.

,, 13 DAMIANVM after his death the see was long vacant IV 2 end. Stubbs dates his consecration 655 and his death 664. On what authority? The Saxon version writes the name *Domianum.* It is worth notice as

marking the great spread of Christianity that the four bishops whose consecration is recorded in this chapter were all of native origin. Ithamar the first English bishop had only been consecrated eleven years before 644 A D.

XXI

AT this time the Midland Angles were converted to Christianity. Their king was now Peada, the son of Penda, and he was desirous of marrying Alchfleda a daughter of king Osuiu, but that monarch insisted that he and his people should first become Christians. After hearing the word of truth and professing his faith Peada was baptised by bishop Finan in the town of Ad murum. He took with him into his kingdom four presbyters to instruct his people and their preaching was most successful. King Penda himself did not forbid the preaching of Christianity, but reproached those who did not obey the God in whom they professed to believe. Penda lived two years after the above named events. After his death one of the four presbyters Diuma by name, a Scot, was made bishop of the middle Angles and of the Mercians. Diuma died shortly after and was succeeded by Ceollach, also a Scot, and when he had retired to Hii, Trumheri an Angle became bishop. This was in the time of king Wulfhere.

P 58 16 HIS TEMPORIBVS p 59 l 23 two years before Penda's death, i e before 655. Chron Sax and Flor Vig also place the conversion of the Middle Angles or Middle Saxons A D 653.

,, 21 ALCHFLEDAM p 68 l 11. Ealhflæde, Saxon version. See Acta SS Febr II 178.

,, 22 FIDEM the French princess Bertha stipulated for the free exercise of her religion before she married Ethelbert I 25. Ethelbert's daughter Ethelberga or Tata was given to Edwin on the same terms II 9. Thus the conversion of three kingdoms was in part due to Christian queens.

,, 25 INMORTALITATIS cf p 86 l 10.

,, 28 ALCHFRIDO DCB 71 72. A patron of Wilfrid Eddius 7—10. 12. 'He must not be confounded with Aldfrith, another son of Oswiu, who became king of Northumbria in 685, who was an enemy of Wilfrid, and an upholder of the Irish learning' (W Stubbs).

P 59 5 AD MVRVM l 11 *Ad Caprae Caput.* p 21 l 15 n. Sigberct king of Essex was baptized by Finan at the same place p 61 l 2 (the

uilla regia 12 miles from the east coast). According to Smith, *Walbottle* near Newcastle, Stubbs suggests *Walton*. The number of names compounded with Wal is great in that locality.

P 59 12 SVPRA p 47 l 6.

,, 14 MVLTI e g Suidhelm p 62 l 28.

,, 23 MORTEM PENDAN 15 Nov III 24. PENDAN this is the Saxon genitive form of masculine nouns of the weak declension.

,, 24 IN SEQVENTIBVS III 24.

,, 27 ORDINATVS 656 Anglia sacra I 424. DCB I 864.

,, 31 INFEPPINGVM the locality is uncertain. Smith suggests *Reppington* in Derbyshire. See also Camden Brit col 491. The Saxon version has *On Feppingum*.

,, 32 CEOLLACH p 67 l 22. Anglia sacra I 425. ET IPSE cf l 9.

P 60 l 2 HII p 24 l 8 n.

,, 3 TRVMHERI p 67 l 24—31.

,, 6 SEQVENTIBVS IV 24 end.

XXII

AT the entreaty of king Osuïu the East Saxons returned to the Christian faith. Sigberct their king was a friend of Osuiu and was often admonished and instructed by that monarch when he came to visit the province of the Northumbrians. Osuiu spake to him of the nature of God, of his government of the world, and of the future happiness of those who serve him. At last Sigberct consented to be baptised, and his friends were baptised with him at Ad Murum. At his earnest request Cedd was called from the province of the middle Angles and along with him another priest was sent to preach to the East Saxons. Cedd's labours being attended with success he was ordained bishop of the East Saxons by Finan. When Cedd returned he built many churches and ordained clergy. He also established monastic institutions among the Christians.

In the midst of all this progress king Sigberct was murdered by two brothers his relatives, who were aggrieved at the too merciful tendency of his character. But Sigberct had been guilty of a great fault for which he was punished by his death. He had gone to a feast with one of those earls who murdered him though the man was living in unlawful wedlock. Cedd foretold that he should die in that earl's house.

Suidhelm son of Sexbald succeeded Sigberct. He was baptised by bishop Cedd and Aediluald king of the East Angles and brother of Anna was his sponsor.

P 60 10 SIGBERCT the second Sigberct the proselyte is distinguished as Sigberct *bonus* (Smith).

,, 20 INVISIBILEM the whole passage reads like an extract from or paraphrase of a creed.

P 61 2 SVPRA p 59 l 5.

,, 3 MVRVM p 21 l 15 n.

,, 11 CEDD p 59 l 8. DCB.

,, 12 MISIT PRAEDICARE p 22 l 19 n.

,, 13 OMNIA PERAMBVLANTES p 27 l 7 n.

,, 23 YTHANCAESTIR called *Othona* by the Romans. It was near Dengie in Essex.

,, 24 TILABVRG Tilbury in Essex on the Thames.

,, 25 PENTAE now the Freshwell one of the two springs of which is still called Pant's well (Camden).

,, 27 REGVLARIS p 64 l 32.

P 62 18 NAM refers to ANTE PEDES 17, 'at his feet, I say, for.'

,, 22 MORI HABES glossary 'habeo.'

,, 23 MORS l 1—7.

,, 28 CEDDE there were thus two bishops of the East Angles. Perhaps Boniface represented the church in connexion with Rome, and Cedd the independent church.

,, 29 RENDLAESHAM Rendlesham is on the Deben in Suffolk.

,, 30 SVSCEPIT so Oswald was godfather of Cynigils p 30 l 27.

,, 31 ORIENTALIVM ANGLORVM in the diocese of Boniface p 58 l 2.

XXIII

BISHOP Cedd often visited his own province of Northumbria, and during one such visit king Oidiluald asked him to accept in his kingdom of Deira a site for a monastery. The king wished it to be an oratory and afterwards a burial-place for himself, and believed that he would be helped by the daily prayers in such a religious house.

Cedd chose a situation amid lofty and remote mountains, a place fit for the haunt of robbers and wild beasts. By long prayers and fasting he purified the place, intending to fast during the whole of Lent except on Sundays till the evening and then to take but very little food. After ten days Cedd was summoned by the king, and his brother and presbyter Cynibill continued the fast. The monastery was at a place called Laestingaeu. Cedd after many years of episcopal labour died there in a time of great mortality. He was first buried outside, but when a new church was built, his remains were laid on the right side of the altar. He had made his brother Ceadda who afterwards was also a bishop head of the monastery. All four brothers were eminent priests, and two of them bishops. When the East Saxons heard of Cedd's death, about thirty monks came thence to Laestingaeu to live near the body of their father, but all save one died in the same pestilence. The survivor, a little boy, was saved through the prayers of the father. This child had not been baptised, and the supplications of Cedd saved him from perdition, and he afterwards being baptised became a presbyter and a minister of life to others.

P **63** 6 REGNVM p 31 l 1 n. p 44 l 8. II 5 (p 83 l 40 S) *for some time* the dominions of Osuiu were *almost* coextensive with those of Oswald.

,, 8 POSSESSIONEM p 53 l 11 n.

,, 12 ORATIONIBVS Lingard II 49 'numerous benefactions were made to religious establishments, on the express condition that the donor after death might obtain a burial-place in the church, or in the cemetery of the brethren.' He cites the example of Byrhtnoth, ealdorman of Essex, who defeated the Danes at Maldon, and was buried at Ely.

,, 20 REMOTIS with the same view it was that St Guthlac chose Crowland. 'No man could ever inhabit it before he came thither, on account of the dwelling of the accursed spirits there.' Goodwin p 23.

,, 22 ISAIAE XXXV 7.

,, 25 BESTIALITER Eddius 19 (end) calls the Picts *bestiales*.

P **64** 2 IEIVNIVM p 27 l 27 n. Ussher religion of the anc Irish c 6 end.

8 IEIVNIIS fasting was usual with those who chose such a life. St Guthlac determined that each day from the time that he began to dwell in the wilderness he would never taste aught but barley bread and water, and that he did not take till the sun was set p 27.

P 64 17 PRAEFATA Essex p 63 l 2.

,, 18 STATVTIS PROPOSITIS the Saxon version says 'and there he placed a provost and aldermen.'

,, ,, TEMPORE MORTALITATIS A D 664 p 65 l 4. p 79 l 3. Ussher ant 491. Pagi 664 8 9. The Sax chron mentions that there was an eclipse of the sun that year.

,, 21 OBIRET after the council of Whitby p 76 l 27.

,, 23 DE LAPIDE p 25 l 4 n.

,, 24 RECONDITVM p 57 l 21 n. Greg dial IV 50 (cf n ed Bened) 'an prosit animabus, si mortuorum corpora in ecclesia fuerint sepulta'. cf ibid 51—54.

,, 27 SEQVENTIBVS c 28.

,, 32 MONASTERIO p 61 l 26.

,, 33 ILLO 'thither,' to Lastingham l 15—24.

P 65 4 PRAEFATAE p 64 l 20.

,, 6 PATRIS his spiritual father Cedd see l 12.

XXIIII

WHEN king Osuiu could not induce the Mercian king Penda by any offers, to cease from ravaging his kingdom, he resolved to seek the help of God and to offer the gifts, which the pagan king had rejected, unto the Lord. He vowed therefore that his daughter should be dedicated to the life of a nun, and that he would bestow twelve possessions on the church for monastic uses. The enemy had an army thirty times larger than his own, but Osuiu trusted in Christ. One of his sons Ecgfrid was at the time a hostage in the hands of the Mercians, while Oidiluald, his nephew, was a leader among the enemy's forces, though when the time of the engagement came, he stood apart and merely watched what would be the issue of the conflict. The pagans were routed and nearly all their leaders slain. The battle took place near the river Vinuaed, and owing to an inundation many of the fleeing enemy perished in the water. The king fulfilled his vow. His daughter Aelfleda, little more than one year old, was devoted to a virgin life, and of the twelve possessions, six were given in Deira and six in Bernicia. Aelfleda entered the monastery of Heruteu where Hild was abbess. Shortly afterwards the monastery at Streanæshalch was founded and the young princess was first a scholar there, and afterwards a teacher and died at the age of fifty-nine. Osuiu and other

members of his family are buried in that monastery. This victory led to the conversion of the Mercians, among whom Diuma was made first bishop. The second was Cellach. These were both Scots, but the third Trumheri was an Angle, who had been abbot at Ingetlingum. That was the place where Osuin was murdered, and the monastery was built that prayers might be kept up for the murderer and the murdered king alike.

The dominion of Osuiu was extended over the Mercians and over a great part of the Picts. He made Peada, son of Penda, king of the South Mercians, but he was killed in the next year. Then followed a rebellion of the Mercian leaders, by which Osuiu was driven away and Vulfhere a son of Penda set up as king, who ruled seventeen years. Trumheri continued to be bishop, and was succeeded in turn by Iaruman, Ceadda, and Vynfrid. These were all bishops of Mercia under king Vulfhere.

Alcuin sanct Ebor 517—565. Will Malmesb I § 50.

P **65** 19 QVI FRATREM EIVS OCCIDERAT c 9 pr.

,, 29 VOVIT cf Jephtha's vow and the oblation of Samuel (Lingard I 193. II 241) conc Aurel V (549) c 19).

P **66** 2 POSSESSIONES p 53 l 11 n.

,, 10 CYNVISE or Kyneswide (Tho Eliensis 7), wife of Penda. Will Malmesb I § 74, who names their sons Weda (Peada of Beda), Wulfer, Ethelred, Merewald, Mercelin; and daughters (both nuns) Kineburga and Kineswitha. The confusion between Weda and Peada which is continued in Higden's Polychronicon V arose from the similarity between P and the Saxon W (p).

,, 24 VOVERAT p 65 l 29 n. conc Tolet IV (A D 633) c 49 (=48 Hinschius decr pseudo-Isid 1863 p 370). X (A D 656 c 6) 'if parents have given to a little child the tonsure or a religious habit, or if children without their parents' knowledge have assumed the one or the other and the parents, on observing it, have not at once raised an objection, then these children are bound to the religious life. However it is only children under ten years of age that parents may devote to the church. If they are older, they may devote themselves to the religious life voluntarily, either by their parents' will or from their own piety'. Eddius c 18 Wilfrid restored a boy to life, and charged the mother to devote him to God in his 7th year. She hid him, but he was brought back and died a monk of Ripon. ib 21 many nobles sent their sons to Wilfrid for instruction, *ut* aut deo seruirent, *si eligerent, aut*

adultos, si maluissent, regi armatos commendaret. Greg. II replied to Boniface (ep 27 p 90 Jaffé, 22 Nov 726): *addidisti adhuc, quodsi pater uel mater filium filiamque intra septa monasterii in infantiae annis sub regulari tradiderint disciplina, utrum liceat eis, postquam pubertatis inoleuerint annos, egredi et matrimonio copulari. hoc omnino deuitamus, quia nefas est, ut oblatis a parentibus deo filiis uoluptatis frena laxentur.* Baronius 713 6 the Syrian bp Theopentus devotes his daughter. Isid regula (Menard concordantia regularum ed 1638 p 991).

P 66 20 VINVAED the river Aire (Smith) which runs through Leeds (Yorks) p 67 l 13 in regione Loidis.

,, 25 AELFFLEDAM Pagi 670 3. Eddius 57. uit Cuthb 23 24. 34. born 654 A D died 713 A D. AA SS.

,, 27 POSSESSIVNCVLIS l 2 n.

,, 28 ABLATO STVDIO MILITIAE TERRESTRIS Lingard I 371 372 'that these lands ceasing to support an earthly thaneship or service, might furnish a fit place and sufficient maintenance for a heavenly service...had not these folclands...been given as bocland to the convent, they would have continued to be, as they had been before, dealt out as benefices to the king's thanes; but...now, being devoted to religious purposes, they were liberated from earthly services for ever.' He also cites h a I Benedict *cum esset minister Osuiu regis et possessionem terrae suo gradui competentem illo donante perciperet, annos natus circiter uiginti et quinque fastidiuit possessionem caducam, ut adquirere posset aeternam; despexit militiam cum corruptibili donatiuo terrestrem, ut uero regi militaret* (shewing 'the distribution of læns or benefices among the Northumbrian thanes') and the letter to Ecgberct, where Beda 'declaims with great eloquence against the many grants of land to monasteries as boclands, on this ground, that boclands did not furnish thanes to fight against invaders in defence of their country' (c 6). 'On this account the number of military men will gradually diminish, till the country will be left naked and defenceless against the incursions of the barbarians' (ibid). He 'complains that so few lands remain to be allotted to the sons of noble Angles and aged warriors, who are obliged on that account to abandon that country for which they ought to draw the sword, and to seek employment in foreign countries' (ibid). Thus it appears that 'the folclands were national property, out of which læns or benefices were distributed to the royal thanes and military men as fees for their services' (cod dipl II 120). Charters for the conversion of folcland into bocland were granted by the king and confirmed by the

witan (ep ad Ecgb 7. 10 end. 11 pr. h a 7 p 297 l 19 S *ab Aldfrido rege* eiusque consiliariis...*terram trium familiarum...comparauit.* cod dipl I 90. 96. 100. 108. 152. II 28). Bocland is 'land conveyed and held by book or charter'.

P 67 1 FAMILIARVM Lingard I 370 'the lands of the Anglo-Saxon tribes were parcelled out by measurement or estimation into shares or allotments, each of which was supposed to be capable of yielding a competent support to the settler, his family, labourers, herds and flocks. By Beda these shares are uniformly called *terrae familiarum'*. In king Alfred's version *terra familiae* is here (and usually) rendered 'hide', but below (p 68 l 8) by *folcs*. 'Beda's...*terra familiae* is the Latin translation of folcland;...the shares (folcscearu) into which the lands of the tribe were originally divided, were called folclands, and were governed by folcriht, or the custom of the country, until they were taken out of the common stock and converted by competent authority into boclands, or estates in perpetuity, or for a term of lives, with remainder to some other party for ever.'

,, 3 HERETEV p 137 l 2. Hartlepool in the county of Durham.

,, 6 STREANÆSHALCH Whitby p 71 l 4. p 136 l 4. 137 l 18.

,, 8 VNDELX=59.

,, 11 AEANFLED p 47 l 10 n. Eddius 3.

,, 12 IN ECCLESIA SEPVLTI p 35 l 3 n.

,, 13 LOIDIS Leeds II 14 end (of Paulinus) *in Campodono, ubi tunc etiam uilla regia erat, fecit basilicam, quam postmodum pagani, a quibus Aedwini rex occisus, cum tota eadem uilla succenderunt: pro qua reges posteriores fecere sibi uillam* in regione Loidis, ie Oswinthorp (Smith).

,, ,, TERTIO DECIMO Osuiu succeeded his bro Oswin A D 642 (III 9. 14).

,, 14 XVII[a] DIE KAL DEC 15 Nov 655.

,, 17 CAPITE PERFIDO Penda is called by Will Malmesb I § 50 *illud uicinorum excidium, illud perduellionum seminarium.*

,, 19 20 p 94 l 10 11. p 99 l 20 21.

,, 21 SVPRA p 59 l 25—31.

,, 22 CELLACH p 59 l 32.

,, 24 TRVMHERI p 60 l 3. p 68 l 21.

,, 27 SVPRA p 45 l 11—17 where we have the same words as here l 31 seq.

,, 28 PROPINQVA great granddau of Yffi, founder of the king-

dom of Deira, whose second son, Aelfric, was Oswin's grandfather (Stevenson).

P 67 29 DONARET p 53 l 11 n.

,, 32 ORATIONES p 45 l 15 n. v 12 (p 196 50 S) *multos autem* preces uiuentium *et eleemosynae et ieiunia et maxime celebratio missarum, ut etiam ante diem iudicii liberentur, adiuuent.*

P 68 4 PICTORVM p 29 l 8 n. p 94 l 3 n. p 149 l 22. II 5 p 83 l 40 S. Eddius 19. 21.

,, 6 PRAEFATO p 58 l 17, Osuiu's son-in-law ibid l 21.

,, 8 and 10 FAMILIARVM p 67 l 1 n.

,, 10 PROXIMO VERE i e 656, when Easter day fell on 24 Apr.

,, 11 CONIVGIS Alchfleda dau of Osuiu p 58 l 21.

,, 12 TRIBVS ANNIS at the end of 658.

,, 15 VVLFHERE IV 3 pr. cod dipl n 13 places Oct 672 in the 14th regnal year of Vulfhere, but is marked spurious (Stevenson). Eddius 14 15. 20. 49. cf Pagi 655 13. 675 5. He was second founder of Peterborough abbey.

,, 20 ANNIS X ET VII to 675 A D p 169 l 31. Eddius 20.

,, 21 SVPRA p 67 l 24 n.

,, 22 IARVMAN CEADDAN VYNFRIDVM IV 3.

XXV

FINAN succeeded bishop Aedan, and built a church worthy of the episcopal see in the island of Lindisfarne. The paschal controversy was at its height at this time. The Scots were said to keep Easter Sunday contrary to the custom of the universal Church. Ronan a Scot, but educated in Gaul and Italy, was a staunch supporter of the orthodox time of Easter, but he could not influence bishop Finan. So that there were two different times of celebrating Easter observed in the province. For the queen Eanfled observed it according to the rule which she had learnt in Kent, while the king followed the Scottish use. This was tolerated through the episcopates of Aedan and Finan, but when the latter was dead, and Colman, a Scot, consecrated as his successor, a greater controversy arose. Osuiu the king favoured the Scottish observance, but his son Alchfrid, having been instructed by Vilfrid himself trained at Rome, took the opposite side, and gave to Vilfrid the monastery of Inhrypum, which he had previously given to those who held the Scottish opinions, and preferred to resign their

monastery rather than change their custom as Alchfrid desired. Agilberct bishop of the West Saxons and a presbyter named Agatho were at this time in the Northumbrian province. So a synod was called at Streanæshalch for the consideration of this and other questions. Of the one part were king Osuiu, Colman with the Scottish clergy, the abbess Hild and bishop Cedd, of the other were Alchfrid, Agilberct, Agatho and Vilfrid.

After much debate, the controversy was ended thus. The Scots had alleged in defence of their custom, ancient usage and especially the practice of St Columba. In reply Vilfrid urged that the Roman use was derived from St Peter himself, to whom Christ had given the keys of the kingdom of heaven and was therefore to be preferred. Osuiu appealed to Colman, and asked whether St Peter possessed this authority. When the bishop replied "It is true, O king," then he enquired: "Can you shew any such power given to St Columba?" The bishop said "None." Then said the king: "I dare not longer contradict the decrees of him who keeps the doors of the kingdom of heaven, lest he should refuse me admission."

Thereupon the assembly agreed to renounce their use and conform to the Roman observance.

Ussher ant 482. 486. 487. 499. Pagi 664 3—16.

P 68 26 SVBLATO 31 Aug 651 pp 46 l 33. 49 l 14. FINAN p 49 l 22. AA SS Febr III 21.

,, 28 ECCLESIAM p 49 l 18 and 28.

P 69 1 DE LAPIDE II 16 pr. p 25 l 4 n. DE ROBORE SECTO Theodori paenitentiale II 1 3 and 4 *ligna ecclesiae.* HARVNDINE TEXIT I 19 *consumptis domibus quae illic palustri* harundine tegebantur. cf p 37 l 28 n. Lingard I 240—2. II 338—339, who cites the example of Greenstead church Essex, as it was till lately. 'The walls were formed of the trunks of oak trees sawed down the middle. The halves being cut away at the bottom into a tenon, were inserted into a groove cut in a horizontal piece of timber, which served for the base sustainiment. A second horizontal piece of timber, grooved like the first, received by way of entablature the ridges of the trunks, which stood with their sawed faces inwards, and within one inch of each other. At the gable ends the trunks rose gradually pedimentwise to the height of fourteen feet.' Cf. Haddan-Stubbs III 190.

,, 3 IN HONORE p 53 l 32 n.

,, 5 PLVMBI Wilfrid roofed York cathedral with lead Eddius 16.

P 69 8 PASCHAE p 23 l 5 n. Excursus II.

,, 9 GALLIIS where Columba suffered obloquy for adhering to the national usage.

,, 11 RONAN Mabillon annales Bened XV 36 (I 474) cites the instrument of the second founder of a cell at Mazeroles near Lussac on the Vienne, who there *sanctum dei peregrinum ex genere Scottorum nomine Ronanum* (so Mabillon for *Romanum*) *cum suis peregrinis constituit rectorem.* See Gall Chr II 1222 (Stevenson).

,, 12 VEL=and.

,, 19 SVPRA II 16 (p 97 20 S) of Paulinus *habuit autem secum in ministerio et* Iacobum diaconum *uirum utique industrium ac nobilem in Christo et ecclesia, qui ad nostra usque tempora permansit.* ib. 20 (end) *uirum utique ecclesiasticum et sanctum.* He remained at York and 'won great spoils from the ancient enemy by teaching and baptising.' A village (Akeburg) near Catterick, where he lived, was to Bede's time called by his name. From his skill in singing, when peace returned and the faithful increased, *etiam magister ecclesiasticae cantionis iuxta morem Romanorum seu Cantuariorum multis coepit existere: et ipse senex et plenus dierum iuxta scripturas patrum uiam secutus est.*

,, 21 EANFLED p 67 l 28. V 19 p 205 14 S. Eddius 2 3.

,, 22 IN CANTIA p 47 l 8—10. II 20 cited on l 19.

,, 25 BIS IN ANNO VNO L Hensley in DCA "*Easter*" 'the statement respecting Eanfleda and her followers as still fasting and keeping Palm Sunday, when Oswy had done fasting and was keeping his Easter, must refer to some year not far from 651; and the xiv of the moon fell on Sunday in 645, 647, 648 and 651.' Eus uita Const III 5 § 2 'one party are fasting and mourning, while the others are rejoicing.' ibid 18 § 6. In the years 350, 360, 368 there was a difference of one or more weeks between Alexandria and Rome Hefele Conciliengesch 1^2 607. Ideler Handb d Chronol II 253. 254.

,, 28 AIDANO p 50 l 18—p 51 l 19.

,, 30 QVI IPSVM MISERANT p 51 l 7.

P 70 6 COLMANVS AA SS Febr III 84. DCB no 23. Eddius 10. Fordun III 38 adds concerning him *Anglorum, qui litterati fuerant, ferre non ualens inuidiam, episcopatu relicto ad patriam remeauit.*

,, 11 IN VACVVM Gal ii 2.

,, 13 SCOTTIS p 19 l 9—13.

,, 14 LINGVA so Oswald his brother used to act as interpreter of Aedan's sermons p 23 l 24—27.

P 70 16 ALCHFRID MAGISTRVM HABENS VILFRIDVM V 19 (p 206 l 8 S) of Wilfrid *Brittaniam ueniens coniunctus est amicitiis* Alchfridi *regis*, qui catholicas ecclesiae regulas sequi semper et amare didicerat. Wilfrid (ibid p 205 10) had early learnt *minime perfectam esse uirtutis uiam quae tradebatur a Scottis;* and his epitaph (V 19 end) extols his services to the 'catholic' rule of Easter. He himself (Eddius 45 end) boasted that he was the first after Gregory's missionaries to root up *Scotticae uirulenta plantationis germina.* On Wilfrid see Pagi 709 2--4.

,, 17 ROMAM p 72 l 6. V 19 (p 205 11—43 S). On his first visit (Eddius 5) he staid many months in Rome and learnt from archdeacon Boniface 'the 4 gospels of Christ perfectly' *et paschalem rationem, quam schismatici Britanniae et Hiberniae non cognouerunt et alias multas ecclesiasticae disciplinae regulas.*

,, 18 DALFINVM V 19 (p 205 l 25—206 l 1 S) where he is called bp of Lyon. Eddius (4) calls him abp, and says that he offered to adopt him, to give 'good part of Gaul to rule for ever' and his brother's daughter to wife. He replied that he was bound by a vow to visit the apostolic see. On his return (5 end) he came to Lyon, where (6) he spent three years. When Dalfinus was slain by order of queen Balcthild Wilfrid was spared. Mabillon (ann Bened xiv 25) shews that Dalfinus was not bp of Lyon, but that the bp Aunemund had a brother of the name.

,, 20 TONSVRAE p 71 l 3 n. p 76 l 24. p 90 l 26 n. Eddius 6 *seruus dei Wilfridus desiderio concupiscens* tonsurae Petri apostoli *formulam, in modum coronae spineae caput Christi cingentis, a sancto Dalfino archiepiscopo libenter suscepit.*

,, 22 DONAVERAT p 53 l 11 n. XL V 19 (p 206 l 12—16, where our passage recurs, almost word for word) *triginta.* So Eddius. FAMILIARVM p 67 l 1 n. Eddius 8 *cum terra xxx mansionum.*

,, 23 INRHYPVM Ripon V 1. Here Wilfrid was buried (V 19). Eddius 8. 14. 17 building of the church. 18 end. 43—45. 49. 57. 60. 61. 63. A century later Botwin abbat of Ripon writes to Lull (Bonif ep 129 Jaffé). Willibrord was bred at Ripon Eddius 25. Alcuin uita Willibr 1. Similar names; Inderauuda (=in silua Derorum V 2. 6 end), Incuneningum (V 12), Inundalum (V 19).

,, 24 EIS QVI SCOTTOS SEQVEBANTVR uita Cuthb 7 pr *cumque post aliquot annos* regi Alchfrido placeret pro redemtione animae suae locum quendam regni sui, qui uocatur Inrhypum, ad construendum ibidem monasterium Eati abbati donare, *tollens idem*

abbas quosdam e fratribus secum, in quibus et Cudberctum, condidit ibi quod petebatur monasterium atque eisdem quibus antea Mailros institutis disciplinae regularis imbuit.

P 70 26 LOCO CEDERE c 26.

„ 29 SVPRA p 31 l 20 n. p 76 l 21. Pagi 661 9.

P 71 1 PRESBYTERVM V 19 (p 206 17 S); he was afterwards consecrated bp at Compiègne by Agilbert (ibid l 20—25. Eddius 12).

„ 3 VEL = and. TONSVRA p 70 l 20 n. Aldhelm in his letter to king Geruntius (Bonif ep 1 pp 26 27 Jaffé) 'a report, contrary to the faith of the church, has spread far and wide, that there are in your province some priests and clerks who stubbornly refuse St Peter's tonsure.' They profess to follow their ancestors, men illuminated by divine grace; in truth the author of this tonsure is Simon Magus. Our tonsure was instituted by St Peter in imitation of the crown of thorns etc. Smith app IX b. Ussher ant 477.

„ 4 STRENÆSHALC p 67 l 6.

„ 6 SYNODVS see Eddius 10. Haddan-Stubbs III 106 'excepting Cedd, who was brought thither by his connexion with the county, it was entirely a Northumbrian gathering.'

„ 9 IACOBVS p 69 l 18 n.

„ 10 HILD IV 23. She took part against Wilfrid when his appeal was tried at Rome Eddius 58. Five abbesses sign (before the presbyters) a privilege granted to the churches and monasteries of Kent by king Wihtred at a Kentish Witenagemot at Baccanceld (696—716?) Haddan-Stubbs III 232—242. At the Northumbrian synod on the Nidd AD 705, which restored to Wilfrid Ripon abbey and the see and abbey of Hexham, the abbess Aelfleda took an active part (Eddius 58). Cf Hefele Conciliengesch I^2 25. III^2 354. 359.

„ 12 SVPRA p 61 l 17.

„ 13 INTERPRES p 23 l 24.

„ 15 REX the king seems to have been president of the synod and not one of the clerics.

„ 17 SACRAMENTORVM the meaning of this word had become greatly extended before it could embrace the time of observance of Easter.

„ 23 MAIORIBVS p 74 l 22. p 75 l 8 and 27. Colman in Eddius 10 patres nostri *et antecessores eorum manifeste spiritu sancto inspirati, ut erat Columcille, xiv luna die dominica pascha celebrandum sanxerunt* exemplum tenentes Iohannis apostoli et euange-

listae, *qui supra pectus domini in cena recubuit et amator domini dicebatur. ille xiv pascha celebrauit; et nos, sicut discipuli eius Polycarpus et alii, ea fiducia celebramus: nec hoc audemus pro patribus nostris nec uolumus mutare.*

P **72** 3 LINGVA ANGLORVM Eddius 10 Aegelbert and Agatho ordered Wilfrid *suauiloqua eloquentia in sua lingua Romanae ecclesiae et apostolicae sedis dare rationem.*

,, 6 ROMAE p 70 l 17. p 75 l 24. Eddius 14 *qui quartadecimanam partem contra apostolicae sedis regulam sibi elegerunt.*

,, 8 GALLIA p 70 l 18 n.

,, 11 OMNEM ORBEM p 75 l 1 and 25—29. this argument from universality ('securus iudicat orbis terrarum') is very frequent II 2 (p 80 19 S) Augustine to the Britons *in multis quidem nostrae consuetudini, immo* uniuersalis ecclesiae, *contraria geritis.* II 19 pr pope Honorius urges the Scots *ne paucitatem suam in extremis terrae finibus constitutam sapientiorem antiquis siue modernis* quae per orbem erant *Christi ecclesiis aestimarent.* V 15 pr. Bp Daniel of Winchester recommends Boniface (ep 15 p 73 end Jaffé) to employ it against the heathen. Yet we find the nobler cry 'Athanasius contra mundum' eg Baronius 649 4 (pope Martin I). 650 35 the argument *ad uerecundiam* ('to what church do you belong? that of Byzantium, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem? All these are with us') did not shake the constancy of Maximus. Cummian, a pupil of Columba's (Migne LXXXVII 972 ^{bc}) 'I have read that they are to be excommunicated who oppose the canonical statutes *quaternae apostolicae sedis* (Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria) *concordantibus his in unitate paschae*'. (ibid^{d}) 'what are the conventicles of perverse dogmas? *utrum Hebraei et Graeci et Latini et Aegyptii simul in obseruatione praecipuarum sollemnitatum uniti, an* Britonum Scottorumque particula, qui sunt pene extremi *et, ut ita dicam,* mentagrae orbis terrarum?' ibid 973^{ac}. 974^{d} *quid autem prauius sentiri potest de ecclesia matre, quam si dicamus,* Roma errat, Hierosolyma errat, totus mundus errat, soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt? 977^{c}. 978^{a}. conc Arelat A D 314 c 1 Easter to be kept on one day throughout the world, to be announced by letters of the bishop of Rome. Euseb uita Const III 19.

,, 16 STVLTO much of Vilfrid's strong language in this synod gives us a key to the character of the man, and suits with his subsequent history.

P **72** 18 APOSTOLI p 71 l 27. Socr h e v 22 the quartadecimans appealed to St John as the authority for their observance of the 14th day of the moon. See a fragment of Euseb on Easter (Mai noua biblioth patr IV 209—216).

,, 23 IVDAIZANTE the charge brought against Blastus (Tert praescr 53=app 22). See conc Antioch A D 341 c 1. Socr h e I 9. Eus uit Const III 18. Epiphan haer 50. 70 § 9. Hilgenfeld der Paschastreit der alten Kirche Halle 1860. Schürer de controuersiis paschalibus Lips 1869.

,, 32 VIDES Acts xxi 20.

P **73** 6 NIL CVRANS VTRVM HAEC SABBATO AN ALIA QVALIBET FERIA PROVENIRET p 51 l 14 n. Eus h e v 23 § 1. 24 § 11. Hippol philosophum VIII 18.

,, 7 SABBATO 'on the sabbath or Saturday.'

,, 13 DOMINICA DIES PRIMA SABBATI p 51 l 17 n. p 74 l 4.

,, 16 17 PROXIMO MANE POST LVNAM XIIII^{am} this clearly is equivalent to XV^{a} luna, therefore the day *previous* to the appearance of the fourteenth moon was reckoned the fourteenth day of the moon.

,, 26 IOHANNIS SVCCESSORES enumerated by Polycrates in Eus h e v 24 §§ 3—8. Irenaeus (ib §§ 16 17) speaks of the difference between Polycarp and Anicetus, Polycarp adhering to the tradition of St John.

,, 28 NICENO CONCILIO Eddius 10. Socr h e I 9. Thdt I 10. Eus uit Const III 17—19. Hefele Conciliengesch I^{2} 320—342. None of the canons of the council relate to Easter; that published by Pitra (spicil Solesm IV 540) is of later date.

P **74** 5 A XV^{a} LVNA Beda de sex aetatibus A D 194 Victor 13th bp of Rome sent round a circular directing *pascha dominico die celebrari, sicut et praedecessor eius Eleutherus* a quinta decima luna *primi mensis* usque in uicesimam primam. *cuius decretis fauens Theophilus Caesareae Palaestinae episcopus scripsit aduersus eos, qui quarta decima luna cum Iudaeis pascha celebrant, cum ceteris qui in eodem concilio aderant episcopis, synodicam et ualde utilem epistulam.*

,, 8 XIII^{a} LVNA p 75 l 8. explained de temp rat 59 *qui* a tertia decima (al *quarta decima*) luna *usque ad uigesimam dominicum paschae obseruandum decernendo, praeoccupant saepius initium paschae legalis, dum quod ipsa in decima quarta luna fieri statuit, illi in decimam tertiam conuertunt.* He cites a letter of Theophilus of Alexandria to Theodosius: when the 14th day of the moon falls on the Sunday,

necesse est iam ieiunium solui sabbato die, Easter eve and the termination of the fast would fall on the thirteenth, and so *incipimus legi contraria facere.*

P **74** 18 ANATOLIVS l 29. p 23 l 10 n. Beda de sex aetatibus AD 279.

,, 22 COLVMBAM p 24 l 20 n. p 75 l 8 and 30. p 76 l 7.

,, 32 CIRCVLVM X ET VIIII ANNORVM p 25 l 30. The cycle of 84 years was in use in Britain II 2 pr. After Naiton, king of the Picts, had been won to the Roman use by Ceolfrid's long argument, he ordered the Metonic (19 years') cycle to be followed throughout his dominions V 21 (end) *statim...iussu publico mittebantur ad transscribendum discendum obseruandum per uniuersas Pictorum prouincias* circuli paschae decennouales, *oblitteratis per omnia erroneis octoginta et quattuor annorum circulis.* cf ibid p 214 14 S. See Beda de temporibus II (and de temporum ratione 44) 'de circulo decennouali.' DCA I 592--5.

P **75** 3 AEGYPTIORVM of the Alexandrian church cf n on l 21.

,, 8 COLVMBA p 74 l 22.

,, 12 IN NOMINE Matth vii 22.

,, 17 SIMPLICITATE RVSTICA the same condescending tone in Beda himself p 23 l 4.

,, 21 CATHOLICVS V 19 (p 206 14 S) pascha catholicum. V 21 pr catholicum *dominicae resurrectionis tempus.* CALCVLATOR V 21 (p 214 22 S) *Cyrillus seriem xcv annorum in quinque decennoualibus circulis comprehendit: post quem Dionysius Exiguus totidem alios ex ordine pari schemate subnexuit, qui ad nostra usque tempora pertingebant. quibus termino adpropinquantibus tanta hodie* calculatorum *exuberat copia, ut etiam in nostris per Brittaniam ecclesiis plures sint qui mandatis memoriae ueteribus illis Aegyptiorum argumentis facillime possint in quotlibet spatia temporum paschales protendere circulos.*

,, 24 SEDIS APOSTOLICAE p 72 l 6 n.

,, 25 VNIVERSALIS ECCLESIAE p 72 l 11 n.

,, 30 VIRTVTIBVS p 21 l 4 n.

,, 32 TV ES Matth xvi 18.

P **76** 4—15 REX cet Eddius 10 *tunc Oswiu rex, tacente sancto Wilfrido presbytero, subridens interrogauit omnes dicens:* '*enuntiate mihi,* utrum maior est Columcille an Petrus apostolus in regno caelorum?' *omnis synodus una uoce et consensu respondit:* '*hoc dominus diiudicauit qui dixit:* tu es Petrus cet tibique trado claues regni caelorum cet.' *iterum rex sapienter dixit:* 'ille est ostiarius et clauicularius,

contra quem conluctationem controuersiae et iudiciorum eius in uita mea non facio nec facientibus consentio.'

P 76 7 COLVMBAE v 9 p 191 l 15 seq S.

„ 10 ETIAM 'yes.' v 2 John of Beverley to a dumb man: '*dicito aliquod uerbum, dicito* gæ' [=yea, yes] *quod est lingua Anglorum uerbum adfirmandi et consentiendi, id est* etiam. v 9 (p 191 l 11 S) *interrogauitque me, an eum cognoscere possem. aio* 'etiam: *tu es enim Boisil.*'

„ 12 OSTIARIVS v 21 (p 216 l 2 S) Ceolfrid clenched his argument with the same appeal to hope and fear in his letter to the Picts: *sic enim fit ut post acceptam temporalis regni potentiam* ipse beatissimus apostolorum princeps caelestis quoque regni tibi tuisque cum ceteris electis libens pandat introitum. h a 11 (end) of Benedict (ob 12 Jan 690) *sepultus in ecclesia beati apostoli Petri, ut, quem degens in carne semper solebat amare,* quo pandente ianuam regni caelestis intrabat, *ab huius reliquiis et altari post mortem nec corpore longius abesset.* So Aldhelm (in Bonif p 30 Jaffé) *si ergo Petro* claues caelestis regni *a Christo conlatae sunt, de quo poeta* [Aldhelm himself de aris Mariae 11 2] *ait:* 'clauiger aetherius, portam qui pandit in aethra,' *quis, ecclesiae eius statuta principalia spernens et doctrinae mandata contemnens, per* caelestis paradisi portam *gratulabundus ingreditur? et si ipse* potestatem ligandi atque monarchiam soluendi in caelo et in terra felici sorte et peculiari priuilegio accipere promeruit, quis, paschalis festi regulam et tonsurae Romanae ritum refutans, *non potius se strictis nexibus inextricabiliter obligandum quam clementer absoluendum ullatenus arbitretur?* Jaffé monum Carol (Berl 1867) 14. 16—18. pope Martin 1 in Baronius 646 20 *donec iudicium de eo nostrae apostolicae auctoritatis, hoc est principis apostolorum Petri, cognoscat, utpote quoniam solus et prae omnibus creditus est atque accipere meruit a rege regum Christo deo* claues regni caelorum ad aperiendum recte credentibus in eundem dominum nostrum et claudendum infidelibus haereticis. Gildas in MHB 33[c] clauicularius ille caelorum. ibid 45[e]. Ebrard, Rettberg and Werner (Bonifacius Leipz 1875 36. 37. 104) have shewn that the British church represented spiritual freedom as opposed to the absolute monarchy and mechanical good works of Rome.

XXVI

WHEN Colman saw his opinions rejected he returned to Scotland to consult with his friends there what he ought to do. Bishop Cedd adopted the catholic use in his own see. This synod was in 664 AD. Tuda succeeded Colman as bishop in Northumbria, and Eata abbat of Mailros was made abbat of Lindisfarne. This Eata was one of twelve boys whom Aedan had taken from among the Angles for special instruction and he afterwards became bishop of Lindisfarne. Colman took with him into Scotland some of the bones of bishop Aedan. The humble style of all the buildings of the community over which he presided shews the frugality and self-denial of Colman and his predecessors. They kept no money, built no houses for the reception of the visits of great men, their thought being to serve God and not the world. Thus men of religion were held in great veneration, and their preaching and other ministrations much sought unto. This continued to be the character of the Northumbrian church for a long time afterwards.

Cf c 17.

P 76 21 AGILBERCTVS p 31 l 20. p 70 l 29 n.

,, 22 DOMVM to Gaul Pagi 664 5—7. Eddius 12 he there with 11 other bps consecrated Wilfrid.

,, ,, COLMAN Eddius 10 (end) uncharitably says Colmanus *uero episcopus audiens quid esset faciendum*, tonsuram et paschae rationem *propter timorem patriae suae* contempsit, *ut recederet et alii meliori sedem suam occupandam relinqueret.* Peter the venerable in Bernard ep 229 (=IV 17) § 9 takes too cheerful a view of these controversies, when he cites them as examples of variety without schism: *alio tempore oriens, alio occidens, alio in eadem Britanniae insula Angli, alio Scoti Christiani, scilicet antiquiores, pascha domini celebrabant.* Cuthbert (Beda uita Cuthb 39 § 65) at his death charged his disciples to refuse communion to those who dissented from the Roman usage; yet he was prior of Aedan's foundation Lindisfarne. Fuller § 91 'in this councill, or collation (call it which you please) after much arguing *pro* and *con*, Wilfride at last knockt down all with this argument: that the Romish celebration of Easter was founded on the practice of S[t] Peter, prince of the apostles, and porter of heaven. King Oswy hearing this was affrighted, who had rather anger all the other eleven apostles than offend St Peter, one so high in power and

place; for fear (as he said) lest coming to heaven-gate, S^t^ Peter should deny him *a cast of his office*, and refuse to let him into happinesse. S^t^ Coleman, being on the other side, was angry, that so slight an argument had made so deep an impresion on the king's credulity: and, to manifest his distaste, after the councill was broken up, carried all those of his own opinion home with him into Scotland.'

P 76 23 QVI SE SEQVI VOLVERVNT uiri circiter XXX p 99 l 29.

,, 24 PASCHA CATHOLICVM ET TONSVRAM CORONAE p 70 l 20 n. p 77 l 9. p 90 l 26 n. v 22 (p 217 9 S) of the Britons *et capita* sine corona *praetendunt* et sollemnia Christi sine ecclesiae Christi societate uenerantur.

,, 25 HOC the tonsure.

,, 27 SVAM SEDEM p 61 l 17.

P 77 2 OSVIV c 14.

,, 4 AIDAN p 23 l 2. p 49 l 14. FINAN p 49 l 22. p 68 l 26. AA SS 17 Febr. COLMAN p 70 l 6.

,, 8 SCOTTOS AVSTRINOS the southern Irish had long before submitted to Rome p 23 l 12—15.

,, 9 MOREM PROVINCIAE Ussher shews from Adamnan and elsewhere that the inhabitants of the southern districts of Ireland adhered to the discipline of the church of Rome primord p 934 (Stevenson).

,, ,, CORONAM TONSVRAE cet p 76 l 24 n.

,, 14 ET VERBO ET OPERE p 27 l 2 n.

,, 17 EATA p 115 l 5—8. p 151 l 7—10 *uir omnium* manuetissimus. p 152 l 22. uita Cuthb 6 he received Cuthbert as a monk of Melrose. 7 and appointed him 'praepositus hospitum' in the new foundation of Ripon. 16 made him provost of Lindisfarne: *nam et ipsum locum idem* reuerentissimus *pater* abbatis iure *regebat*. 25 when bp summoned Cuthbert to a conference at Melrose. His life in Surtees soc no 8 miscellanea biographica 1838 pp 119—125 from a York ms.

,, 18 MAILROS p 151 l 7. p 152 l 20. v 9 (p 191 6 S). 12 (p 195 15) *Tuidi fluminis circumflexu maxima ex parte elauditur.* uita Cuthb 6. 7. Lambarde confuses Melrose with the monastery of Lindisfarne.

,, 20 XII PVERIS on the frequency with which this number was adopted by the early Christians, see Reeves' introd to life of S Columba p lxxi. This duodecimal economy is seen in the story of king Oswald

and his twelve companions in exile Adamn uita S Columbae I 1, in the number of Columba's own disciples, in the twelve years which formed the term of monastic service. St Willibrord's companions in his missionary expedition to Friesland were also twelve. In most of these cases we find mention, that it was *iuxta numerum XII apostolorum*, shewing a desire to imitate even the accidental features of the apostolic system.

P 77 24 NON MVLTO POST A D 678 IV 12 end.

,, 25 DOMVM p 76 l 26.

,, 26 OSSIVM p 49 l 19. Lingard II 87.

,, 27 ECCLESIA Lindisfarne.

P 78 2 PAVPERIBVS p 27 l 2 and 33. p 81 l 5.

,, 3 POTENTIVM SAECVLI p 27 l 30.

,, 10 TVNC in contrast with the degeneracy of Beda's time for which see his ep ad Ecgb and Bonif ep ad Cuthb (both in Hussey).

,, 12 VENERATIONE p 151 l 31—p 152 l 3. At a little later date there is a curious narrative of how religious men were honoured. A very wealthy nobleman was in the habit of often saying in the presence of the brotherhood, 'who will obtain for me the honour of entertaining the great hero St Cuthbert and sheltering him under my roof? I call Christ and my faith to witness that were he to come I would adorn my house with plate, strew my threshold and court-yard with roses and sweet-smelling lilies and make my walls shine with shields of gold. My butler should joyfully receive his attendants with capacious bowls of wine, and serve them with horns of mead so that the number of their cups should be innumerable. Beds should be prepared for the saint in my chambers and halls, with my own hands would I place him on the couch and would cherish his feet in my bosom.' See Hardy catal Brit hist vol I pt I pref p xxxii.

,, 16 MANV SIGNARI V 2 John of Beverley cured a dumb man by signing his tongue with the cross; by his blessing he covered the same man's bald head *capillis pulcherrime crispis*. Of the cross marked on the forehead as a safeguard from evil spirits Ceolfrid in V 21 (p 315 9—15 S). Beda urges Ecgberct (ep c 9) to teach the people, as a means of pleasing God, *quam frequenti diligentia* signaculo se dominicae crucis *suaque omnia aduersum continuas inmundorum spirituum insidias necesse habeant munire*. Cf Bonif ep p 42 l 19 Jaffé. pp 54. 226 (pope Zachary sends a scroll, in which the parts of the mass in which crosses are to be made, are marked). Greg

dial I 1 p 156[a] a falling rock checked by the sign of the cross. ib 4 p 165[d] a nun, eating a lettuce without first blessing it with the sign of the cross, *arrepta a diabolo protinus cecidit.* ib 10 p 196[e] (cf note) a blind man cured. ib 11 cross made 'by faith, not by touch,' in the air was found impressed on bread in the oven. ib II 2 Benedict drives away the devil who flew about him in the form of a blackbird. ib 3 p 216[d] he breaks a glass containing poison by making a cross in the air. ib III 5 (end) Sabinus makes the sign of the cross and drinks off poison sent by an archdeacon, who expires at that instant. ibid 6 cure of a demoniac. ibid 7 a Jew overheard a conference of evil spirits, but remained safe having fortified himself with the sign of the cross. ibid 35 serpents killed. Baronius 719 10 a golden house crumbles into mud, and the guide stands detected as the devil. ibid 603 14 Greg I sends a cross with a 'benedictio' from the chains of SS Peter and Paul as a cure for the eyes: *quia multa per eandem benedictionem fieri miracula consueuerunt.* Adamnan uita Columbae II 21. The cross was also employed as a *signum salutare* over the pail before milking, over tools before they were used. Hence arose the readiness to erect *uexillum crucis* on the site of any remarkable occurrence. The cruciform arrangement of masts and yards in a ship was also regarded as conducive to a favorable voyage. For much additional matter on this subject see Reeves' introd to life of St Columba pp cxiv—cxv.

P 78 17 BENEDICI Adamn uita Columbae III 27 by Columba's blessing Iona was freed from serpents. cf ibid I 12.

,, 26 AVARITIAE ep ad Ecgb 4. 7. 10. 11 for 30 years, since king Aldfrid's death, laymen had procured grants of land in perpetuity, on pretence of founding monasteries, in reality to escape the military service which possession of the land involved. TERRITORIA p 53 l 11.

,, 28 COACTVS as Cedd was pressed to receive *possessionem terrae aliquam* p 63 l 7.

XXVII

THE year 664 A D was distinguished for an eclipse of the sun and a severe pestilence in Britain, in which bishop Tuda died. The plague also extended to Ireland. Many persons from among the Angles retired to Ireland at this period for study and instruction and were well received by the Irish-Scots. Among these pious students were two young men Edilhun and Ecgberct, who were at the monastery of

Rathmelsigi, and were seized with the plague. Ecgberct in fear of death went forth from his chamber and prayed for time to be given him in which to repent, and vowed if his life were spared, he would never return to Britain, would fast a whole day and night in every week, and chant the whole psalter daily. When he had returned to his couch, his companion awoke, and told how by a vision he had learnt that Ecgbert's prayer was granted. The next night Edilhun died, but Ecgbert recovered and lived till 729 A D. He practised more severities than he had included in his vow, for in the forty days' fast he took only bread and the thinnest milk once in the day. This same abstinence he also practised for forty days before Christmas and forty days after Pentecost.

P 79 3 ECLIPSIS p 169 l 22. de sex aet A M 4622. de temporibus (end XC 292° Migne).

„ „ TERTIO a mistake for *primo* 3 45 p m. Ussher 491. Petavius de ratione temporum (1705) I 543. Pagi 664 8. The annals of Tigernach (O'Connor script rer Hib I xcii) and Ulster (Ussher 490) are correct (Stevenson) The Saxon Chronicle has Beda's date i e v non Maii.

„ 4 PESTILENTIAE l 28. p 42 l 23. p 64 l 20. p 105 l 30. p 118 l 10. p 89 l 17 Vighard and all his suite struck down by it at Rome. h a c 8 end. 9 pr its ravages in Beda's own monastery 12 years later 686 A D. Adamnan uita Columbae II 46 (with note pp 182 183 ed Reeves 1857). III 12. In the life of Geraldus Saxo (Ussher 539 col 1 end) it is said to have swept away two-thirds of the inhabitants of Ireland.

„ 10 PÆGNALAECH this name in the Saxon version is Peginaleah. But the Sax Chron gives Wagele. After what has been said above on the confusion of Peada and Weda p 66 l 10 n the variation of the initial letters will be easily accounted for. Smith taking Beda's form thinks the similarity of name is enough to identify it with Pincanheal (now *Finchale* two miles from Durham) where a synod was held in 788 A D. Ingram, who brings forward another form of the word *Vegnalech* from Leland collectan II 143 ed 1774, conjectures that it is Whalley. This Whalley is an extensive parish lying in three counties, Lancashire, Cheshire and Yorkshire, containing several towns, chapelries and townships, with a fine abbey church, so that it is not unlikely to have been of ancient celebrity. The form comes very near to that of the Sax Chron. In Sim Dunelm Whalley is written Walaleage, see Pearson historic maps of England.

„ 11 IBIDEM foreign students in Ireland l 24. p 26 l 9 n. p 32 l 22. p 42 l 18 n. p 149 l 1. v 9 (pr and p 191 l 39 S). 10 (p 193

l 16). 12 (p 197 l 21). Synodus episcoporum Patricii c 33 'clericus qui de Britannis ad nos uenit sine epistula, etsi habitet in plebe, non licitum ministrare' (Migne LIII 826). Gertrude, abbess of Nivelle (cent VII) who is said to have known nearly the whole bible by heart, sent for teachers from Ireland (Mabillon AA SS O S B II 465 de transmarinis regionibus *gnauos homines ascibat ad docendum*).

P 79 14 LECTIONIS uita Cuthb 6 § 11 Cuthbert on entering Melrose as a monk *aequalem ceteris fratribus uitae regularis obseruantiam tenere uel etiam artioris disciplinae studiis supergredi curabat*, legendi *uidelicet operandi uigilandi atque orandi sollertior.* Charlemagne in 787 gave directions for education in monasteries (capitularia regum Francorum Par 1780 I 201 202).

,, 22 ECGBERCT Lingard II 302.

,, 23 EDILVINI p 39 l 18.

,, 25 MVLTO TEMPORE from 679 AD to 701 AD.

,, 27 RATHMELSIGI Mellifont co Louth 5 m WNW of Drogheda. The remains of the abbey are still seen. On St Mel see AA SS Mar II 551. 561—2.

,, 28 MORTALITATE l 4 n.

P 80 2 VENERANDAE CANITIEI PRESBYTER p 56 l 12. So Beda cites the evidence of (the presbyters) Herefrid (uita Cuthb praef § 1 and c 8), Ingуald (ibid 5 end) and Sigfrid (ibid 6).

,, 6 SEDVLVS Beda often uses the adj thus h a 1 pr *monasterium...* sedulus *rexit.* ibid 9 (p 297 l 50 S) *hoc* sedulus *eisdem solebat iterare mandatum.* but also *sedulo* v 13 pr. cf *festinus* Greg dial I 10 col 200[a].

,, 16 PSALTERIVM h a 9 (end) Benedict, when drawing to his end, would employ a reader to beguile his sleepless nights by reading the patience of Job or some other consolatory passage of scripture. *et quia nullatenus ad orandum surgere, non facile ad explendum* solitae psalmodiae cursum *linguam uocemue poterat leuare, didicit uir prudens affectu religionis dictante per singulas diurnae siue nocturnae orationis horas aliquos ad se fratrum uocare, quibus* psalmos consuetos *duobus in choris resonantibus, et ipse cum eis quatenus poterat psallendo, quod per se solum nequiuerat, eorum iuuamine suppleret.* cf. 13 pr of Ceolfrid, in prospect of death *post incomparabilem orandi psallendique sollertiam, qua ipse cotidianus exerceri non desiit.* 14 pr *completa horae tertiae psalmodia.* ibid 16 Ceolfrid, from the day of his quitting his monastery to the day of his death (114 days) *exceptis* (=beside, not

reckoning) *canonicis orationum horis*, quotidie bis psalterium ex ordine decantare *curauit*. cf Rock church of our fathers III 321. Bingham XIV I 'of the psalmody of the ancient church'. Lull (Bonif ep 116 Jaffé) directs a week's fast to be kept in Thuringia in order to avert a scourge of rain *et unusquisque seruorum dei et sanctimonialium* quinquaginta psalmos cantet omni die *in illa septimana*.

P **80** 25 VISIONEM IV 29.

,, 30 NVPER p 170 l 32 n.

P **81** 3 SCOTTORVM SIVE PICTORVM p 19 l 11 n. EXEMPLO VIVENDI ET INSTANTIA DOCENDI p 27 l 2 n.

,, 5 DIVITIBVS p 78 l 2 n.

,, 6 DIXIMVS p 80 l 12—18.

,, 10 SVPERFICIE CRASSIORE cream.

,, 11—13 three quadragesimal fasts also in Theodore's penitential II 14 1 (Haddan-Stubbs III 202) *ieiunia legitima tria sunt in anno pro populo; xl ante pascha, ubi decimas anni soluimus; et xl ante natalem domini: et post pentecosten xl dies et noctes.* cf I 2 1 (p 178). 6 2 (p 182). 8 10 and 11 (p 184). 10 2 (p 186). 12 8. 14 2 and 3 (p 187). 14 9 (p 188). 14 24 (p 189). 15 4 (p 190). W E Scudamore in DCA I 662—3. Bingham XXI 1 and 2.

XXVIII

VILFRID is sent by king Alchfrid to Agilberct bishop of Paris for ordination, and while Vilfrid tarried abroad king Osuiu sent Ceadda brother of bishop Cedd into Kent to be ordained. The archbishop Deusdedit was just dead, so Ceadda was ordained by Vini bishop of the West Saxons who was at that time the only bishop in Britain who had been canonically ordained. By the labours of Ceadda and Vilfrid the Scots who continued to live among the Angles were brought to accept the catholic institutions, or else they departed to their own country.

P **81** 15 INTEREA perhaps still in 664, for 709, the year of Wilfrid's death, was the 45th of his episcopate (V 19). See Haddan-Stubbs III (108 109). ALCHFRID he desired to make a pilgrimage to Rome at this time *propter adoranda apostolorum limina*, in company with Benedict Biscop; but his father Osuiu kept him at home (h a 2). His Romish predilections bound him to Wilfrid h e V 19 (p 206 l 8 S), who on returning to Britain from France *coniunctus est amicitiis Alch-*

fridi regis, qui catholicas ecclesiae regulas sequi semper et amare didicerat. He gave him lands at Stanford (? Stainforth in the W Riding); and at Ripon, turning out the Scots who remained true to their national usage, to make way for him. Here he was ordained presbyter by Agilberct, *desiderante rege ut uir tantae eruditionis ac religionis sibi specialiter indiuiduo comitatu sacerdos esset ac doctor. quem non multo post, detecta et eliminata (ut et supra docuimus) Scottorum secta,* Galliam mittens, *cum consilio atque consensu patris sui Osuiu,* episcopum sibi rogauit ordinari, *cum esset annorum circiter triginta, eodem Agilbercto tunc episcopatum agente Parisiacae ciuitatis: cum quo et alii undecim episcopi ad dedicationem antistitis conuenientes multum honorifice ministerium impleuerunt.* Eddius 11 the kings and wise men elect Wilfrid as most capable of enforcing the Roman usage. 12 he asserts that all the existing bps, *quorum nullum meum est accusare, aut quartadecimani sunt ut Brittones, ut Scotti, aut ab illis...ordinati.* To make sure therefore of recognition by Rome, he asked leave to seek consecration in Gaul. cf Haddan-Stubbs III 106. Wilfrid certainly did not return from Gaul until three years before Theodore's arrival in England, which was in A D 669 (Eddius 15), that is until A D 666 (Haddan-Stubbs 108).

P 81 16 REGEM Clotaire III (655—670), a mere boy king of Neustria.

„ 17 ORDINANDVM Wilfrid objected to the consecration of English bishops inasmuch as they were either converts to the Scottish calculation regarding the observance of Easter, or had received ordination from those who were of that opinion uita Wilfridi 12.

„ 19 MAGNO CVM HONORE Eddius 12 before all the people *et in sella aurea sedentem more eorum sursum eleuarunt, portantes in manibus soli episcopi intra oratoria nullo alio attingente hymnosque et cantica in choro canentes.*

„ 20 PLVRIMIS (Eddius 12) twelve in all.

„ 21 CONPENDIO Compiègne Bouquet III 321. 696. Gall Chr IX 434 (Stevenson).

„ 23 FILII Alchfrid.

„ 25 DIDICERAT OPERIBVS p 27 l 2 n.

„ 27 CEADDA p 64 l 26. Eddius 14 while Wilfrid was abroad, king Osuiu was won over by the Scottish party *ordinantesque seruum dei religiosissimum et admirabilem doctorem de Hibernia uenientem nomine* Ceadda... *in sedem episcopalem Eboracae ciuitatis indocte contra canones constituerunt.* AA SS Mar I 143.

„ 28 SAEPIVS C 21—23. 26.

P 81 29 LAESTINGAEV p 64 l 15.

,, 30 PRESBYTERVM SVVM as chaplain v 19 cited on l 15. Cuthbert, abbat of Wearmouth (in Bonif ep 134 p 301 Jaffé) sent presents to Lull *per Hunuini* meum presbyterum. EADHAEDVM p 114 l 28. p 170 l 4.

P 82 1 ECGFRIDO Eddius 17. 19—21. 24.

,, 2 INVENERVNT this expression should be noticed as an indication of the little communication between the north and south of England at this period.

,, 3 DEVSDEDIT died 14 July 664 (III 20) and the see remained vacant till 26 Mar 668 (IV 1).

,, 6 VINI p 31 l 30. p 32 l 5—10.

,, 8 BRETTONVM Theodore's penitential II 9 1 (Haddan-Stubbs III 197) qui ordinati sunt a Scottorum uel Britonum episcopis, qui in pascha uel tonsura catholici non sunt, adunati ecclesiae non sunt, *sed iterum a catholico episcopo manus impositione confirmentur*. Accordingly Ceadda was reconsecrated p 93 l 5—13.

,, 9 SAEPIVS p 23 l 6 n. p 51 l 13.

,, ,, SECVS as the *mos canonicus* is that of Rome (cf l 11 *canonice*) *contra* is the word wanted. See *secus* in the glossary. May not *secus ac*, 'otherwise than,' have induced Beda to give the word a sense opposite to the received? Mr Gidley alone has seen the difficulty.

,, 10 VLLVS qu Boniface of E Anglia and possibly Damianus of Rochester (Haddan-Stubbs III 106).

,, 11 CANONICE ORDINATVS pope Zacharias (Bonif p 187 Jaffé) denounces roundly the *erroneos simulatores sub nomine episcoporum uel presbyterorum, qui numquam ab episcopis catholicis fuerunt ordinati.*

,, 13 CASTITATI qu purity of doctrine, orthodoxy? v 18 (p 203 11 S) Aldhelm wrote a book against the error of the Britons, *quo uel pascha non suo tempore celebrant uel alia perplura ecclesiasticae* castitati [in Aldhelm *caritati*] *et paci contraria gerunt.* v 20 (end) *in catholicae fidei confessione* castissimus.

,, 14 OPPIDA RVRA p 27 l 6. p 58 l 15—25 n. p 61 l 13.

,, 15 NON EQVITANDO p 27 l 7 n.

,, 17 EISDEM ACTIBVS III 5.

,, 18 CEDDI c 22 23.

,, 19 VENIENS Wilfrid returned from Gaul in the year 666 A D.

,, ,, VILFRID IV 2 end. Eddius 14 end.

,, 22 SCOTTI c 25 end. v 21 end. 22.

XXIX

AS archbishop Deusdedit was dead, the kings Osuiu and Ecgberct chose the presbyter Vighard as fit to be archbishop and sent him to Rome to be ordained, and that he afterwards might ordain other bishops for the churches in Britain. But Vighard died at Rome before he could be consecrated, and the pope Vitalian wrote to king Osuiu, exhorting him to follow the rule of St Peter in the keeping of Easter, and promising, as soon as he should be able to find a fit man, to send a bishop to preside over the British church and to instruct the people. He deplores the death of Vighard and sends by the bearers of his letter some relics as presents to the king and his queen. Lastly he exhorts him to labour for the spread of Christianity through the whole island of Britain. The account of him who was sent in Vighard's stead is reserved for the next book.

P 82 26 HIS TEMPORIBVS according to Jaffé regesta A D 665; chron Sax and Flor Vig 667.

,, 27 ECGBERCT p 89 l 6—18.

,, 28 CONSILIO the secular authorities were active at this time in their care for the spiritual wants of the country over which they ruled.

,, 29 INTELLEXERAT c 25 end.

,, 30 EDVCATVS A SCOTTIS p 19 l 11 n.

P 83 3 VIGHARDVM the first abp of Canterbury chosen from the secular (de clero) clergy (Stevenson). h a 3 *eo autem tempore miserat* Ecgberctus Cantuariorum rex de Brittania electum ad episcopatus officium uirum nomine Vighardum, *qui a Romanis beati Gregorii papae discipulis* in Cantia fuerat omni ecclesiastica institutione sufficienter edoctus; cupiens eum sibi Romae ordinari episcopum, *quatenus suae gentis et linguae habens antistitem tanto perfectius cum subiectis sibi populis uel uerbis imbueretur fidei uel mysteriis, quanto haec non per interpretem sed per cognati et contribulis uiri linguam simul manumque susciperet. qui uidelicet* Vighardus Romam ueniens, cum cunctis qui secum uenere comitibus antequam gradum pontificatus perciperet, morbo ingruente defunctus est.

,, 9 PRAEREPTVS this untimely death was shared by almost all his companions p 89 l 17. It is most likely that the death of these men was due to the malaria which has so often proved fatal to visitors of Rome. The insalubrity of the Pontine Marshes is notorious, and such attempts as had in ancient times been made to drain them were

rendered inoperative at the time of the invasion of Italy by Theodoric (AD 455). Caecilius Decius gave free course to the waters in the neighbourhood of Rome, and the reestablishment of these immense marshes was one of the many disasters which resulted from the attacks of the Goths on Italy.

P 83 11 VITALIANVS was pope from 657 AD to 673.

,, 12 SERVVS SERVORVM DEI a title now, like 'pontifex maximus,' 'papa,' 'apostolica sedes,' confined by usage to the Roman see. It was borne by Wilfrid (Eddius 49 pr), Maurus bp of Ravenna (Bavonius 649 13), the abbess Eangyth (Bonif ep 14 Jaffé *indigna* ancilla ancillarum dei), Berhtwald abp of Canterbury (ib ep 11 famulorum dei famulus), bp Daniel of Winchester (ib ep 7 dei famulorum famulus); often dei plebis famulus (ib p 443 n 2); Leobgytha (ib 23 ultima leue iugum Christi portantium famula), the abbats Wicbert and Doto (ib 130 131 seruus seruorum dei).

,, 19 PROMERVIT for a similar expression see p 46 l 29.

,, 22 PRO SVAE ANIMAE REDEMTIONE a constant expression in reference to any religious work undertaken, or gift bestowed for the benefit of the church. See Maitland's Dark Ages p 72.

,, 26 ISAIA the passages quoted here are from xi 10 xlix 1 6 7 8 and xiii 6 7.

P 84 15 PRINCIPIS APOSTOLORVM c 25 end.

,, 16 IN PASCHA CELEBRANDVM 'for the celebration of Easter.' Beda is strict in his use of cases; another writer of the age might mean 'in the celebration of Easter.'

,, 17 18 QVI VT...SIC DOCTRINA EORVM a slight anacoluthon; the strict construction would be *quorum, ut...mundum, sic doctrina corda inlustrat*, 'whose teaching enlightens believers' minds, as the greater and lesser light of heaven give light to the world.'

,, 20 POST NONNVLLA so in the letter from John IV pope elect to the Scots (II 19) the portion relating to Easter is omitted. Ussher (epist Hib syll no 9 note) gives from a very ancient ms possibly of Whitby abbey a part of what is wanting: 'numquam enim celebrare debemus sanctum pascha nisi secundum apostolicam et canonicam fidem, ut in toto orbe celebratur a Christiana plebe, id est secundum apostolicam regulam CCCXVIII patrum [of Nicaea] et computum sanctorum Cyrilli et Dionysii. nam in toto terrarum orbe sic Christi una columba, hoc est ecclesia immaculata, sanctum paschae resurrectionis diem celebrat. nam Victoris [rather *Victorii*] regulam

paschae sedes apostolica non adprobauit, ideo nec sequitur dispositionem eius pro pascha.'

P 84 24 REPERIRE p 89 l 19—p 90 l 30. Haddan-Stubbs III 112 note b 'the kings asked the pope definitely to consecrate Wighard, whom they themselves with the English church had chosen and sent. The pope implies in his reply that they had merely asked him to find for them a fit person to consecrate, and promises to send his own nominee to them. Probably he took advantage of the death of Wighard and of nearly all his company to read the matter in his own way.' Lingard I 69 cites p 91 l 10 *episcopum quem* petierant; and h a 3 (end) Benedict was charged by the pope that *patriam reuersus doctorem ei ueritatis quem sedula* quaesierat *adduceret.* Honorius bp of Rome (II 18) allows consecration of an abp in England as a special favour.

,, ,, PRO LONGINQVITATE ITINERIS owing to the difficulty of travelling and various stoppages and detentions, Theodore did not reach his diocese for two years p 92 l 3.

,, 31 EIVS INCOLVMITATE the pronoun here refers to *uestra celsitudo* of l 29.

P 85 1 QVI HAEC OBTVLIT Vighard.

,, 2 APOSTOLORVM tradition said that both St Peter and St Paul were buried in Rome.

,, 5 RELIQVIAS I 29 (p 70 10) Gregory sends to Augustine sacred vessels and vestments, *sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias.* Leo III to bp Riculf A D 810 (Bonif ep p 317 Jaffé) de reliquiis *uero sancti Caesarii, sicut petistis, per eundem Bernharium uenerabilem episcopum sanctitati uestrae direximus.* So Patrick (AA SS 17 Mar II 573 c 107 n 145) and Columba (Adamnan bk II). For a store of relics and a numerous list of miracles wrought by them see ann monast (Rolls' series) I 84 seqq where an account is given of the *dies sanctarum reliquiarum* at Tewkesbury.

,, 6 LAVRENTII there was an oratory of St Laurence in the dormitory of Bede's monastery. cf Greg Tur glor mart I 42.

,, 7 PANCRATII Iac a Voragine leg aur 76=71 p 340 341 Grässe. Greg Tur glor mart I 29. St Pancras suffered martyrdom in the Diocletian persecution 304 A D.

,, 8 CONIVGI VESTRAE Eanfleda (c 15), who having been reared from infancy in Kent, might well be called the 'spiritual daughter' of Rome.

P 85 10 VINCVLIS Alcuin carmen 169 (Migne CI 770^{bc}) 'de catenis sancti Petri apostoli.' Greg ep XII 7 (II 1185^{e}).

,, 13 PIA OPERA CORAM DEO FLAGRANT (=fragrant) ET VERNANT James Shirley 'death's triumphs' (end).

'only the actions of the just
smell sweet and blossom in the dust.'

,, 20 QVAERITE Matt vi 31.

,, 28 QVIS Theodorus IV 1.

XXX

AFTER Suidhelm's death, Sigheri and Sebbi were kings over the East Saxons. Sigheri with his people, during the great pestilence, forsook Christianity and set up the idol temples once more in their province. Sebbi however continued in the true faith. In consequence of this apostasy king Vulfheri sent bishop Iaruman to recall the people to the faith of Christ, and his preaching was so successful that the heathen temples and altars were all destroyed and the Christian churches opened again and the people rejoiced to confess the name of Christ.

P 86 2 EODEM TEMPORE 665 A D.

,, 3 SVPRA p 62 l 27. cf Pagi 664 13 who cites Tho Eliensis uita Etheldr 7 and the (spurious?) charter of Peterborough (monast angl I 63 seq). REGES p 31 l 1. p 44 l 19 n. p 52 l 2. p 63 l 6. p 86 l 3.

,, 4 SIGHERI he was son of Sigberct the little. Sebbi was son of Seward and resigned his kingdom and afterwards died 694 A D.

,, 5 PRAEFATAE p 79 l 4 n.

,, 7 APOSTASIAM p 19 l 16 n. Essex had before apostatised, and been recovered to the faith by Osuiu c 22 pr.

,, 10 NON ESSE CREDENTES p 58 l 25 n. II 13 (p 94 30 S) Aeduini's heathen councillor says *haec uita hominum ad modicum apparet:* quid autem sequatur quidue praecesserit, *prorsus ignoramus.*

,, 15 VVLFHERI p 115 l 25. He was Wilfrid's stedfast patron.

,, 16 EX PARTE that is by Sigheri and those who fell away from the faith along with him.

,, 18 IARVMAN p 68 l 22. IV 3 pr. TRVMHERI c 24.

P 86 22 VIAM IVSTITIAE probably this expression is derived from 2 Pet ii 21, where the Vulgate has these words of a similar lapse from the faith: *melius enim erat illis non cognoscere* uiam iustitiae, *quam post agnitionem retrorsum conuerti.*

,, 23 DESTRVCTIS FANIS ARISQVE II 13 end. V 11 pr. Gregory (I 30) ordered Mellitus to sprinkle the idol temples with holy water and convert them to Christian use.

BOOK IV

I

IN the year 664 AD, distinguished by the eclipse and the pestilence, archbishop Deusdedit died and on the same month and day died also Erconberct king of Kent. The throne was received by Ecgberct his son, and he in conjunction with Osuiu, king of Northumbria, sent an Angle named Vighard, a presbyter of great learning, to Rome to be consecrated archbishop. But Vighard and nearly all his companions were carried off by a plague before he could be consecrated. The pope Vitalian sought carefully for a fit man to send to be archbishop in England. His choice first fell on a learned abbat named Hadrian, a native of Africa, but he excused himself as unworthy of so high a charge, and suggested that a certain monk named Andrew should be appointed. He however was too infirm. After some time Hadrian proposed for the pope's acceptance Theodore a monk learned in Greek and Latin, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, but then living at Rome. The pope ordained him first subdeacon, and then, when his hair was so far grown that he might receive the circular tonsure on the crown of the head, which was the Roman form, he was consecrated bishop, and started for Britain in company with Hadrian, from whom the pope had required a promise that he would conduct the new archbishop to his see and take heed that he introduced there nothing contrary to the true faith. Hadrian had been into Gaul on two occasions before this. They left Rome May 27 AD 668, and went by sea to Marseilles, then by land to Arles where they were detained till Ebrinus the mayor of the palace at this time gave them leave to travel. Then Theodore visited Agilberct bishop of Paris, and Hadrian went to the bishops of the Senones and the Meldi, for the approach of winter forced them to tarry in Gaul. King Ecgberct heard that they were there and sent an escort for them, but Ebrinus detained Hadrian for some time having a suspicion that he was going on a mission from the emperor into Britain. Eventually finding his fears groundless, he let him follow Theodore, and when he arrived in England

the new archbishop set him over the monastery of St Peter, where the archbishops of Canterbury are usually buried, for Vitalian had charged Theodore to provide for Hadrian and his followers.

P 89 1 ANNO MEMORATO AD 664. PRAEFATAE p 79 l 3.

,, 2 PESTILENTIAE p 153 l 23. COLMAN III 26 pr.

,, 4 VI^{us} the succession was Augustine 596 AD, Laurentius 604, Mellitus 619, Iustus 624, Honorius 627, Deusdedit 655.

,, DORVVERNENSIS Theodore seems to be the last of whom this word was employed as his sole title. Brihtwald his successor is the first to whom the present title "Archbishop of Cantuarebyri" is applied Sax chron an 694. This expression is found in the copy of the chronicle Cott Dom A VIII see the note p 66 in Thorpe's edition of the S chron.

,, ,, II IDVVM IVL 14 July cf III 20.

,, 5 ERCONBERCT III 8. p 169 l 22.

,, 7 VIIII ANNOS he died July 673 c 5 end.

,, 8 NON PAVCO TEMPORE from 14 July 664 (l 4) to 26 Mar 668 (p 90 l 29) when Theodore was consecrated.

,, 9 PRAECEDENTE c 29 esp p 83 l 3 n.

,, 15 VITALIANVS consecrated 30 July 657 (Pagi 655 1) died 27 Jan 672 (Pagi 669 2).

,, 17 PESTILENTIA p 79 l 4.

,, 20 SEDVLVS the pope seems to have spared no pains to get a good man, but he seems quite to have taken it for granted that when Wighard was dead, he was at liberty to choose a successor.

,, 21 HIRIDANO ita codex *Mori.* sed codices primaeuae auctoritatis in hac uoce differunt. alii enim habent *Niridano* et quidem recte. locus est iuxta Montem Cassinum (Smith).

,, 22 NEAPOLI CAMPANIAE p 90 l 14. a Gr construction, common in Plin e g XVI § 17 *in Campania* Italiae. HADRIANVS AA SS 9 Jan. With the character given of his learning cf Anastasius on Leo II (in Baronius 683 1) 'uir eloquentissimus, in diuinis scripturis sufficienter instructus, Graeca Latinaque lingua eruditus, cantilena et psalmodia praecipuus et in earum sensibus subtilissima exercitatione limatus, lingua quoque scholasticus eloquendi maiori lectione polita.'

P 90 1 GRAECAE ET LATINAE l 15. p 92 l 18 n.

,, 14 THEODORVS h a 3 *at uero papa apostolicus, ne legatariis obeuntibus legatio religiosa fidelium fructu competente careret, inito consilio elegit de suis quem Brittanias archiepiscopum mitteret,* Theodorum *uidelicet* saecularari simul et ecclesiastica philosophia praeditum

uirum et hoc in utraque lingua Graeca scilicet et Latina, *dato ei collega et consiliatore uiro aeque strenuissimo ac prudentissimo Adriano abbate.* Benedict Biscop also (from whom the tradition would pass unadulterated to Beda) was induced to return home with Theodore, *cui uel illo pergenti uel ibidem docenti pariter interpres existere posset et ductor.* See his penitential in Haddan-Stubbs III. Mabillon AA SS Ben saec II.

P 90 20 ADISSET for this reason probably Ebrinus looked upon Hadrian with more suspicion than he did upon Theodore.

,, 22 PROPRIORVM ie 'he had a competent number of slaves of his own' which would be a saving of cost.

,, 23 DILIGENTER ADTENDERET the germs of a papal nuncio; so John the chanter c 18. Already Rome was jealous of correspondence between the Eastern and English churches.

,, 26 TONDI Ionas uita Eustasii 12 (Migne LXXXVII 1051[od] charge against Columban's disciple) *capitis comam aliter* tondi.

,, 27 TONSVRAM p 70 l 20 n. p 76 l 24 n. Ceolfrid in his letter to Naiton king of the Picts (V 21) treats at large of the tonsure (p 214 l 34 seq S) *hortor ut ecclesiasticam et Christianae fidei congruam habere curetis.* True, the apostles were not all shaven alike, nor has the catholic church one only form of tonsure. Job let his hair grow in prosperity, shaved it off in his troubles. Joseph wore his hair long in prison, shaved it off on his discharge. The difference of tonsure does not hurt those who have a pure faith in God and love to their neighbour; esp as the catholic fathers had no controversy about it, as about Easter or the faith; still of all tonsures found in the church or in mankind, I may justly say that we should embrace none more than that worn on his head, to whom the Lord said *Tu es Petrus;* should detest none more than his to whom Peter said 'Thy money perish with thee.' Nor are we shorn *in coronam* only for the reason, that Peter was so shorn; but because Peter was so shorn in memory of the Lord's passion, representing the crown of thorns; by this tonsure we declare *ipso etiam frontispicio* our readiness to bear mockeries for our Lord's sake, and our hope of the crown which he has promised to them that love him. *ceterum tonsuram eam quam magum ferunt habuisse Simonem, quis rogo fidelium non statim cum ipsa magia primo detestetur et merito exsufflet adspectu?* At first sight it looks like a crown, but as you follow it to the neck, *decurtatam eam quam te uidere putabas inuenies coronam.* Such a habit befits *Simoniacis et non Christianis,* who will miss the crown everlasting. Not that all will be rejected

who have this tonsure, if by faith and good works they favour catholic unity; as for instance Adamnan, whom, when sent on an embassy to king Alfrid he visited our monastery, I asked why, hoping for a crown of endless life, he wore *terminatam in capite coronae imaginem*? if he sought the society of Peter, why he imitated the tonsure of him whom Peter anathematised? He replied: 'Though, brother beloved, I have Simon's tonsure after the fashion of my country, yet I detest with all my mind Simoniac perfidy.' I rejoined: 'What you embrace in the heart, you should display openly.' Naiton decreed that all the clerks of his realm should accept the tonsure 'so full of reason.' *adtondebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris ac monachi.* Ecgberct brought the monks of Iona to the Roman usage in respect of Easter and the tonsure (v 22) *immutauit piis ac sedulis exhortationibus inueteratam illam traditionem parentum eorum, de quibus apostolicum illum licet proferre sermonem, quod* 'aemulationem dei habebant sed non secundum scientiam,' *catholicoque illos atque apostolico more celebrationem...praecipuae sollemnitatis sub figura* coronae perpetis *agere perdocuit.* v 12 (p 197 28 S) *monachica sit* tonsura coronatus. anon uita Cuthb II (§ 12 p 265 of Stevenson's Beda II) *postquam seruitutis Christi iugum* tonsuraeque Petri formam in modum coronae spineae caput Christi cingentis... *susceperat.* Almost the same words in Eddius 6 pr. [Alcuin] de diuinis officiis 25. 37 end (Migne CI 1233^{d}. 1238^{b}). Aldhelm (in his letter to Geruntius in Jaffé's Boniface ep I pp 26 27) speaks at length of the obstinacy of the Britons in defending their national tonsure, that of Simon Magus, and rejecting that of St Peter. capitula sel can Hibern (D'Achery spicil IX 45) c 6 'de tonsura Britonum' where Gildas is cited *quorum* tonsura aure ad aurem tantum contingebat. c 7 PATRICIVS *si quis clericus,* cuius capilli non sunt tonsi Romano more, debet excommunicari (cf Labbe conc III 1478 Patricii conc can 6). The first and second 'orders' or ages of Irish saints had one tonsure 'from ear to ear', and one Easter 'after the vernal equinox, on the 14th moon' (O'Conor rer Hib scr II 162—5). Germanus abp of Constantinople (Migne XCVIII 392^{d} or in W B Marriott uestiarium christianum 1868 p 82) 'the tonsure of the priest's head and the circle cut away in the midst of the hair is in place of the crown of thorns worn by Christ. The double circlet marked out by the hair of the head, sets forth in semblance the honoured head of the apostle Peter.' A Roman council AD 721 can 17 (Mansi XII 264) excommunicated priests who let the hair grow. conc Tolet IV c 41. Isid off eccl II 7 (Marriott p 68) 'the

cutting off the hair from the upper part of the head, and leaving it lower down in the form of a crown, is in our judgement a figurative setting forth of the priesthood and royalty of the church.' Honor Augustod gemma animae I 193 (ibid 134). Ussher antiq 478-479. Alford ann 664. Mabillon AA SS Ben saec III pt I praef § I pp iij—xiv. Schröckh XX 155 seq. Thomassin la discipline de l'église pt II bk I c 20 21 who honestly says in effect c 20 § 15 that there seems to be no historical warrant for the use of the apostles' names. C C F Siegel Alterthümer Leipz 1828 under *Tonsur.* Rock church of our fathers I 185—8. DCA *hair. tonsure.* The three tonsures are 1) St Peter's (the Roman) 'the hair shorn away from the top of the head in a circular shape more or less wide, according as the wearer happened to be high or low in order: the hair clipt over the ears and all about the neck in such a way, that from behind and on the sides it looked like a ring or crown around the head.' 2) that of Simon Magus (the Irish) 'made by cutting away the hair from the upper part of the forehead in the figure of a half-moon, with the convex side before' (Rock). 3) that of St Paul (that of Theodore and the Greeks, see note on l 28).

P **90** 28 PAVLI Germanus (Migne XCVIII 396[a]) 'the shaving the whole head is in imitation of James the brother of God and of the apostle Paul' (Marriott p 86). Ratramnus contra Graecorum opposita IV 5 (LXXI 322[d] Migne) *clerici qui* barbam *quidem* nutrientes *at uero* caput penitus capillis omni ex parte nudant. In the vision h e IV 14 St Peter is *attonsus ut clericus*, St Paul has a long beard.

,, 29 VII KAL APR 26 Mar 668, which by De Morgan's tables was Passion Sunday, the 5th in Lent.

,, 30 VI KAL IVN 27 May.

,, 32 ARHELAS Pagi 668 5 infers that Arles belonged to Neustria and was its capital. For Theodore passed unmolested through Marseille, which belonged to Childeric king of Austrasia, but was detained at Arles by Ebroin, mayor of the palace to Clotaire III king of Neustria and Burgundy.

P **91** 1 IOHANNI Gallia Christ I 542 (Stevenson).

,, 3 COPIAM PERGENDI the sovereigns of Gaul and their chief ministers claimed the right to arrest any travellers to whose reasons for passing through their country they might conceive an objection. When Wilfrid in 678 A D went to Rome a message was sent to Theodoric then king of Neustria, desiring him to detain the bishop on his journey. He,

with the assistance of Ebrinus, prepared to arrest the traveller, but by a mistake which they made concerning his name, he was able to escape them.

P 91 3 EBRINVS a persecutor of the church Eddius 24—27. 31 32. Baronius 668 6—11. 671 1. 685 11—22. Pagi 656 23 24 (he succeeded Erchinoald AD 656). 658 6. 669 6. 674 2 and 16. 676 17. 677 17 18. 678 13. 681 28—31. 687 4. allg deutsche Biographie V (1877) 594 595.

,, 5 SVPERIVS III 7. 25 26. 28.

,, 7 EMME otherwise Emmo or Haymo, gives a charter as bp of Sens AD 658 or 659 (Mabillon ann XIV 63); died 675 chron s Petri in D'Achery spicil II 464 (Hussey. Stevenson cites Gallia Chr XII 9).

,, 8 FARONEM brother of Fara p 33 l 13, he signs (p 449) the charter just named as 'Burgundofarus, in Christi nomine, ac si peccator, episcopus'. cf Mabillon's index *Faro*. His stone coffin was seen in Mabillon's days in the church of a monastery near Meaux, and his relics in a shrine upon the altar (XVI 19). He was bp of Meaux 626—672. His life by a successor, Hildegar, in Mabillon AA SS Ben II 580. Baronius 614 13. MELDORVM Eddius 54. 59.

,, 11 ECGBERCTO p 82 l 27. PETIERANT Osuiu and Ecgberct cf p 84 l 24 n.

,, 15 QVENTAVIC Quentae vicus, le village de la Canche in Ponthieu (Picardy) at the mouth of the Canche, opposite Étaples, 15 m south of Boulogne. Here are the ruins of the monastery of S Josse (Iodocus). Wilfrid (Eddius 25) crossed to this port: so Boniface in 718 (Willibald uita Bonif 5 p 444 Jaffé, where Cuentawich, and the river Cuenta). Till its destruction by the Normans in 842 it was a great place of commerce. Charles the Great gave Alcuin the monastery of St Josse, to enable him to entertain pilgrims or traders from his native land (Lingard II 188).

,, 19 IMPERATORIS i e Constantine Pogonatus who in September this year succeeded his father Constans II. This year also on the death of Clotaire III, Ebroin had raised Childeric to the monarchy in opposition to his brother Theodoric.

,, 23 STATIM h a 3 Benedict Biscop accompanied Theodore from Rome; when Th entered on his see, Benedict undertook (for two years, after which he went again to Rome) the government of St Peter's monastery, of which Hadrian was afterwards abbat. Hadrian remained behind (l 18) so that he occupied two years on the way between Rome

and England (v 20) i e he reached England A D 670. 39 y later he died in his monastery (v 20). Aldhelm was a pupil of Hadrian's Will Malmesb uita Aldh 1 ; so was Tobias bp of Rochester (v 23).

P 91 24 PRAEFATVS I 33. II 3.

,, 25 DOMNVS pope Vitalian.

,, 27 SVIS the monks who had accompanied him from Hiridanum.

II

THE episcopate of archbishop Theodore continued for more than twenty-one years. He travelled throughout England, teaching the right rule of life and the canonical observance of Easter. He united under himself the whole church of the Angles, and caused instruction to be given in both sacred and secular learning. Ecclesiastical arithmetic, astronomy and metrical rules were taught, and Latin and Greek so that in Beda's days some of the scholars were living who could speak both these languages as well as their own. This was a happy period for Britain. All the churches began to learn singing, which hitherto had only been used in the churches of Kent. Aeddi, invited by Wilfrid from Kent, was a great teacher of church music. Theodore objected to the consecration of bishop Ceadda, whereupon that prelate expressed his willingness to resign his episcopate. But the archbishop completed his ordination according to catholic custom and he continued in his office. Wilfrid, who had been sent into Gaul for consecration, returned before the arrival of Theodore and ordained priests and deacons in Kent. When Theodore came he ordained Putta to be bishop of Rochester which see had been a long time vacant. Putta was especially skilled in Gregorian chanting.

P 92 2 SECVNDO i e 669 cf p 90 l 29.

,, 3 VI KAL IVN 27 May 1 S after Tr, Beda's *natalis*.

,, 4 ANNOS he died 19 Sept 690 aet 88 (v 8).

,, 5 PERAGRATA INSVLA TOTA this visitation lasted 669—672, in it Th established bps in every see except London. The letter of Vitalian conferring on Th the supremacy over England (Will Malmesb g p in Haddan-Stubbs III 116 117) is probably spurious: a further growth of legend (Thorn in Twysden 1769 40) gives Th legatine authority over the three islands.

,, 8 PASCHAE p 23 l 14 15 n.

P 92 12 DIXIMVS p 90 l 1 and 15.

,, 15 METRICAE ARTIS p 13 l 28 n. ARITHMETICAE ECCLESIASTICAE v 19 (p 205 l 42) Wilfrid learnt at Rome *computum paschae rationabilem.* cf p 75 l 21 n. Such calculations as are prefixed to the prayer-book and such rules as are found in Beda de temporum ratione. In 820 Rhabanus Maurus wrote de computo. DCA 'calendar.'

,, 17 HODIE AD 731 p 170 l 32.

,, 18 LATINAM GRAECAMQVE LINGVAM AEQVE VT PROPRIAM NORVNT cf p 90 l 1 n. v 8 (end) of Tobias bp of Rochester *uirum* Latina Graeca et Saxonica lingua atque eruditione multipliciter instructum. v 20 pr *cuius* [Hadriani] *doctrinae simul et Theodori inter alia testimonium perhibet, quod Albinus* discipulus *eius, qui monasterio ipsius in regimine successit,* in tantum studiis scripturarum institutus est, ut Graecam quidem linguam non parua ex parte, Latinam uero non minus quam Anglorum, quae sibi naturalis est, nouerit. v 23 pr bp Tobias dies AD 726 discipulus *beatae memoriae magistrorum* Theodori *archiepiscopi et abbatis Hadriani: unde...cum eruditione litterarum uel ecclesiasticarum uel generalium* ita Graecam quoque cum Latina didicit linguam, ut tam notas ac familiares sibi eas, quam natiuitatis suae loquellam haberet. Beda recommends (ep ad Ecgb 3) the abp to require all to learn and often repeat the Lord's prayer and creed in their mother-tongue: the clergy also and monks, who are ignorant of Latin, should do the same. *ipse multis saepe sacerdotibus idiotis haec utraque, et symbolum uidelicet et dominicam orationem, in linguam Anglorum translatam obtuli.* Bonif ep 4 Jaffé 'Scottus ignoti nominis' writes to Aldhelm to borrow a book for a fortnight and to offer himself as a pupil. Aldhelm has been at Rome and has learnt from Maidulf. *dum te praestantem ingenio facundiaque* Romana *ac uario flore litterarum, etiam* Graecorum *more, non nesciam, ex ore tuo, fonte uidelicet scientiae purissimo, discere malo, quam ex aliquo quolibet potare turbulento magistro.* cf Will Malmesb uita Aldhelmi in Wharton Anglia sacra II 3. Pope Zachary (1 July 746) rebukes Boniface (p 168) for rebaptising children baptised by a Bavarian priest, *qui linguam Latinam penitus ignorabat et, dum baptizaret, nesciens Latini eloquii, infringens linguam diceret:* 'baptizo te in nomine patria et filia et spiritus sanct.' In the AS church the Greek creed was sung in service, as at St Gallen and Reichenau. 'King Aethelstan's psalter' (ms Cotton Galba A XVIII) contains in its third portion (9th cent)

a short litany, the Lord's prayer, the apostles' creed and the ter sanctus in AS character, but the language Greek. See Ussher de Romanae ecclesiae symbolo Lond 1647. Heurtley harmonia symbolica Oxf 1858 and esp C P Caspari ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Gesch des Taufsymbols III Christiania 1875 (*passim* esp 188—199. 219—234. 466—510). Alcuin ep 257 cites Greek. id sanct Ebor 1542—9 specifies Athan Bas Io Chrys Aristot among the treasures of York library. Theganus uita Ludouici imp (Migne CVI 413^{e}) lingua Graeca et Latina ualde eruditus, sed Graecam melius intellegere poterat quam loqui; Latinam uero sicut naturalem aequaliter loqui poterat. From the ann monast (Wav) II 155 under the year 741 we find, Romanae ecclesiae LXXXIX Zacarias praesidet. hic libros decalogorum beati Gregorii de Latino in Graecum vertit.

P 92 26 SONOS CANTANDI IN ECCLESIA l 28 n. p 93 l 23. p 114 l 10. p 125 l 19—126 l 3. p 171 l 14. v 6 pr abbat Herebald says *cum primaeuo adulescentiae tempore in clero illius* [of John of Beverley] *degerem legendi quidem* canendi*que studiis traditus.* v 22 (end) Beda's friend Acca cantatorem *quoque egregium uocabulo Maban, qui* a successoribus discipulorum beati papae Gregorii in Cantia fuerat cantandi sonos edoctus, *ad se suosque instituendos accersiit* [to Hexham] *ac per annos duodecim tenuit, quatenus et, quae illi non nouerant, carmina ecclesiastica doceret et ea, quae quondam cognita longo usu uel neglegentia inueterare coeperant, huius doctrina priscum renouarentur in statum. nam et ipse episcopus Acca* cantator *erat peritissimus.* He was first trained under Boza, then under *Wilfrid,* whom he accompanied to *Rome.* As one result of his visit to Rome in 678 Benedict Biscop (h a p 295 24 S) ordinem cantandi psallendi atque in ecclesia ministrandi iuxta morem Romanae institutionis suo monasterio contradidit, *postulato uidelicet atque accepto ab Agathone papa* archicantore *ecclesiae beati apostoli Petri et abbate monasterii beati Martini* Iohanne, *quem sui futurum magistrum monasterii Romanum Anglis adduceret. qui illo perueniens non solum uiua uoce quae Romae didicit ecclesiastica discentibus tradidit, sed et non pauca etiam litteris mandata reliquit, quae hactenus in eiusdem monasterii bibliotheca memoriae gratia seruantur.* conc Rom 5 July 595 (Greg op II 1288 ed Ben. Mansi IX 1226. X 475): 'it has been for some time the practice in the Roman church to ordain singers as deacons, and still to employ them to chant, and no longer

for preaching or attending on the poor. The consequence is that in appointments to the ministry a good voice is more considered than a good life. Therefore no deacon shall henceforth sing in the church, except the gospel at mass.' Ioannes Diaconus (in Baronius 604 23) says of Gregory I *antiphonarium* regulari musicae modulatione centonizauit *et* scholas cantorum in ecclesia Romana constituit. Pope Sergius a Syrian of Antioch, began as a singer *studiosus erat et capax in officio cantilenae* (id 687 6). conc Clovesho AD 747 c 12 (Haddan-Stubbs III 366) presbyters to adopt *simplicem sanctamque melodiam secundum morem ecclesiae;* if they cannot sing, they must read. c 15 (p 367) 'of the 7 canonical hours.' c 27 (pp 372—4) 'of the usefulness of sacred psalmody.' In 760 bp Remedius of Rouen introduced the Roman church-singing by aid of the *cantor* Simeon; afterwards Frankish monks went to the Roman schools of singing, by direction of Pepin; in 787 Charles the Great urged his clergy to exchange the Gallican use for the Roman (Werner's Bonifacius Leipz 1875 453). Bingham III 7. XIV 1. de Coussemaker hist de l'harmonie au moyen âge Par 1852 4to. idem scriptorum de musica medii aeui nouam seriem a Gerbertina alteram collegit nuncque primum edidit ibid 1863—77. 4 vols 4to. DCA 'cantor.' In process of time the position of the musical portion of ecclesiastics became one of the gross abuses. In a petition prepared by Richard Ullerston for the bishop of Sarum to present to the council of Pisa the twelfth article is *contra praerogatiuam cantorum.* Some of his remarks are quoted from St Gregory. In ecclesia dudum consuetudo est ualde reprehensibilis exorta ut quidam ad sacri altaris ministerium cantores eligantur et in diaconatus ordine instituti modulationi uocis inseruiant, quos ad predicationis officium et eleemosynarum studium uacare congruebat: and in rugged verse he says:

non uox sed uotum, non musica chordula sed cor,
non clamor sed amor sonat in aure dei.

P 92 28 IACOBO p 69 l 18 n. II 20 end.

,, 30 AEDDI or Eddius author of the life of Wilfrid (ed by Gale and in Mabillon AA SS Ben V 671—722) which see c 14 (end) after the death of Deusdedit king Ecgberct summoned Wilfrid to Kent, where he held ordinations, *episcopalia officia per plura spatia agens, cum* cantoribus Aedde *et Aeona . . . in regionem suam reuertens cum regula Benedicti instituta ecclesiarum dei bene meliorauit.*

,, ,, COGNOMENTO STEPHANVS p 58 l 2 n.

P 93 4 EPISCOPOS Haddan-Stubbs III 118. Bisi for E Anglia (p 101 l 26) probably consecrated 669 (Flor Vig), for his predecessor Bonifacius consecrated 652 (p 58 l 2) held the see 17 years (p 104 l 16); Wilfrid at York for Northumbria, including the Picts under the rule of Oswy (p 94 l 1—4. V 19 p 206 29 S. Eddius 15); Chad (l 5—13. IV 3) at Lichfield for Mercia and the Lindisfari 669; Putta at Rochester (l 14—25) 669; Leutherius for Wessex (III 7 end) 670 (AS chron); on Chad's death Winfrid for Lichfield (IV 3 end) 672.

,, 6 NON RITE CONSECRATVM p 82 l 8 n. Eddius 15 after three years abp Theodore came *de regione Cantuaria* to the king of the Deiri and Bernicii, . . . and brought with him the statutes of the apostolic see, by which he had been sent. *primoque ingressu illius regionis rem* contra canones male gestam *a ueris testibus audiuit, quod* praedonis more episcopus alterius episcopi sedem praeripere ausus sit; *indigneque ferens* Ceaddam episcopum de aliena sede iussit deponi. *ille uero seruus dei uerus et mitissimus tunc peccatum ordinandi a quartadecimanis in sedem alterius plene intellegens paenitentia humili secundum iudicium episcoporum confessus emendauit et cum consensu eius in propriam sedem Eboracae ciuitatis sanctum Wilfridum episcopum constituit. tunc sanctus pontifex noster secundum praeceptum domini non malum pro malo, sed bonum ut Dauid Saulo pro malo reddens, qui dixit:* 'non mittam manum meam in christum domini,' *sciebat sub Wlfario rege Merciorum fidelissimo amico suo locum donatum sibi in* Licetfelda *et ad episcopalem sedem aut sibi aut alii cuicumque uoluisset dare paratum. ideoque* pacifice inito consilio cum uero seruo dei Ceadda in omnibus rebus episcopis oboediente, per omnes gradus ecclesiasticos ad sedem praedictam plene eum ordinauerunt et honorifice rege suscipiente eum in locum praedictum constituerunt. *ibique benedicte in uita sua multa bona perficiens tempore oportuno in uiam patrum exegit, expectans diem domini in iudicio uenturo, ut credimus sibi mitissimum, sicut dignum est.* Theodore's penitential II 9 1 (Haddan-Stubbs III 197) enjoins the reordination of such as have only Scotch (Irish) or British orders.

,, 10 ILLE Theodorus.

,, 14 DEFVNCTO DEVSDEDIT p 89 l 3—5. QVAEREBATVR etc c 1

,, 15 VILFRID III 28 pr.

,, 16 ANTE THEODORVM i e before 27 May 669 p 92 l 3.

,, 17 IPSE Wilfrid. Eddius 14 *Ecgbertus quoque rex Cantuariorum religiosus pontificem nostrum ad se accersiuit et* illic presbyteros

for preaching or attending on the poor. The consequence is that in appointments to the ministry a good voice is more considered than a good life. Therefore no deacon shall henceforth sing in the church, except the gospel at mass.' Ioannes Diaconus (in Baronius 604 23) says of Gregory I *antiphonarium* regulari musicae modulatione centonizauit *et* scholas cantorum in ecclesia Romana constituit. Pope Sergius a Syrian of Antioch, began as a singer *studiosus erat et capax in officio cantilenae* (id 687 6). conc Clovesho AD 747 c 12 (Haddan-Stubbs III 366) presbyters to adopt *simplicem sanctamque melodiam secundum morem ecclesiae;* if they cannot sing, they must read. c 15 (p 367) 'of the 7 canonical hours.' c 27 (pp 372—4) 'of the usefulness of sacred psalmody.' In 760 bp Remedius of Rouen introduced the Roman church-singing by aid of the *cantor* Simeon; afterwards Frankish monks went to the Roman schools of singing, by direction of Pepin; in 787 Charles the Great urged his clergy to exchange the Gallican use for the Roman (Werner's Bonifacius Leipz 1875 453). Bingham III 7. XIV 1. de Coussemaker hist de l'harmonie au moyen âge Par 1852 4to. idem scriptorum de musica medii aeui nouam seriem a Gerbertina alteram collegit nuncque primum edidit ibid 1863—77. 4 vols 4to. DCA 'cantor.' In process of time the position of the musical portion of ecclesiastics became one of the gross abuses. In a petition prepared by Richard Ullerston for the bishop of Sarum to present to the council of Pisa the twelfth article is *contra praerogatiuam cantorum.* Some of his remarks are quoted from St Gregory. In ecclesia dudum consuetudo est ualde reprehensibilis exorta ut quidam ad sacri altaris ministerium cantores eligantur et in diaconatus ordine instituti modulationi uocis inseruiant, quos ad predicationis officium et eleemosynarum studium uacare congruebat: and in rugged verse he says:

non uox sed uotum, non musica chordula sed cor,
non clamor sed amor sonat in aure dei.

P 92 28 IACOBO p 69 l 18 n. II 20 end.

,, 30 AEDDI or Eddius author of the life of Wilfrid (ed by Gale and in Mabillon AA SS Ben v 671—722) which see c 14 (end) after the death of Deusdedit king Ecgberct summoned Wilfrid to Kent, where he held ordinations, *episcopalia officia per plura spatia agens, cum* cantoribus Aedde *et Aeona . . . in regionem suam reuertens cum regula Benedicti instituta ecclesiarum dei bene meliorauit.*

,, ,, COGNOMENTO STEPHANVS p 58 l 2 n.

P 93 4 EPISCOPOS Haddan-Stubbs III 118. Bisi for E Anglia (p 101 l 26) probably consecrated 669 (Flor Vig), for his predecessor Bonifacius consecrated 652 (p 58 l 2) held the see 17 years (p 104 l 16); Wilfrid at York for Northumbria, including the Picts under the rule of Oswy (p 94 l 1—4. V 19 p 206 29 S. Eddius 15); Chad (l 5—13. IV 3) at Lichfield for Mercia and the Lindisfari 669; Putta at Rochester (l 14—25) 669; Leutherius for Wessex (III 7 end) 670 (AS chron); on Chad's death Winfrid for Lichfield (IV 3 end) 672.

,, 6 NON RITE CONSECRATVM p 82 l 8 n. Eddius 15 after three years abp Theodore came *de regione Cantuaria* to the king of the Deiri and Bernicii, ... and brought with him the statutes of the apostolic see, by which he had been sent. *primoque ingressu illius regionis rem* contra canones male gestam *a ueris testibus audiuit, quod* praedonis more episcopus alterius episcopi sedem praeripere ausus sit; *indigneque ferens* Ceaddam episcopum de aliena sede iussit deponi. *ille uero seruus dei uerus et mitissimus tunc peccatum ordinandi a quartadecimanis in sedem alterius plene intellegens paenitentia humili secundum iudicium episcoporum confessus emendauit et cum consensu eius in propriam sedem Eboracae ciuitatis sanctum Wilfridum episcopum constituit. tunc sanctus pontifex noster secundum praeceptum domini non malum pro malo, sed bonum ut Dauid Saulo pro malo reddens, qui dixit:* 'non mittam manum meam in christum domini,' *sciebat sub Wlfario rege Merciorum fidelissimo amico suo locum donatum sibi in* Licetfelda *et ad episcopalem sedem aut sibi aut alii cuicumque uoluisset dare paratum. ideoque* pacifice inito consilio cum uero seruo dei Ceadda in omnibus rebus episcopis oboediente, per omnes gradus ecclesiasticos ad sedem praedictam plene eum ordinauerunt et honorifice rege suscipiente eum in locum praedictum constituerunt. *ibique benedicte in uita sua multa bona perficiens tempore oportuno in uiam patrum exegit, expectans diem domini in iudicio uenturo, ut credimus sibi mitissimum, sicut dignum est.* Theodore's penitential II 9 1 (Haddan-Stubbs III 197) enjoins the reordination of such as have only Scotch (Irish) or British orders.

,, 10 ILLE Theodorus.

,, 14 DEFVNCTO DEVSDEDIT p 89 l 3—5. QVAEREBATVR etc c 1

,, 15 VILFRID III 28 pr.

,, 16 ANTE THEODORVM i e before 27 May 669 p 92 l 3.

,, 17 IPSE Wilfrid. Eddius 14 *Ecgbertus quoque rex Cantuariorum religiosus pontificem nostrum ad se accersiuit et* illic presbyteros

multos (*ex quibus unus erat Puta* . . .) et non paucos diaconos ordinauit.

P 93 19 IPSE Theodorus. VENIENS IN CIVITATE p 53 l 32. HROFI Rochester.

,, 20 DAMIANO p 58 l 13.

,, 23 PVTTA l 17 n. same character of him p 114 l 1—10.

,, ,, MODVLANDI p 92 l 26 n. After the devastation of Kent by the Mercians he served a Mercian church and went about as a teacher of church music p 114 l 10.

,, 24 DISCIPVLIS p 92 l 26 n. conc Clovesho 747 c 17 (Haddan-Stubbs III 368) festivals of Gregory and of Augustine kept in the English church.

III

ON the death of bishop Iaruman, Vulfheri king of the Mercians asked archbishop Theodore to consecrate another bishop for Mercia, but the archbishop brought Ceadda from Læstingaeu, and left Wilfrid as bishop of all the northern kingdom of Oswy. Ceadda's custom was to walk from place to place in the labours of his episcopate, but the archbishop insisted that he should ride and on one occasion lifted him on to his horse. He was an exemplary bishop among the Mercians and Lindisfari, and Vulfheri gave him a site for a monastery at Adbaruæ, but his episcopal see was at Lichfield. He had also a retired mansion for prayer and private study, where he lived with seven or eight of the brethren. After he had been bishop of Mercia for two years and a half when many of the church were taken from life and he among the rest, the approach of his death was miraculously made known to him, and the manner of the revelation was related by one of the brethren named Ouini. He was a monk of great merit and had come to Laestingaeu from East Anglia. He entered the monastery as a labouring monk, for he was not able to study. On one occasion while he was at outdoor work and the brethren had gone to the church, he heard a sound of joy and singing come down from heaven and enter and fill the room where Ceadda was, and after about half an hour the same sound went up back into heaven. Not long after the bishop looking forth from a window sent Ouini to church to summon the brethren, whom Ceadda exhorted to regularity of discipline and holiness of life and told them that his death was not far distant. When Ouini was afterwards alone with the

bishop he asked the meaning of those heavenly voices which he had heard, and learnt that they were the angelic spirits who had been sent to tell Ceadda that he should be called to his heavenly reward in seven days. And so it came to pass. Beda then narrates how the life of Ceadda was conspicuous for many merits but especially for his great sense of the close presence of God, which made him earnest in his prayers in all times of storm and tempest.

A discourse of the reverend father Ecgberct supports the evidence of Ouini. Ecgberct had been a companion of Ceadda in Ireland but he never returned to England. He was however visited by a holy man named Hygbald, and to him he said, "I know a person who at the time of Ceadda's death saw the soul of Cedd his brother come from heaven with angels to escort the dying bishop to the heavenly kingdom." Whether he spake of himself is not known. Ceadda's body was first buried close to St Mary's church, but was afterwards translated into the church of St Peter. In both places miracles were wrought for a token of his virtue. A frenzied man by accident sleeping on the place was found to be cured in the morning. Also the dust of the ground there when mixed with water has effected wondrous cures. As a successor to Ceadda, Theodore ordained Vynfrid who had been a deacon under Ceadda for a considerable time.

P **93** 27 VVLFHERI son of Penda (p 68 l 15) died 675 after a reign of 17 years p 169 l 31.

,, 28 IARVMANNO p 68 l 22. III 30 end.

,, 31 CEADDA l 4 n. V 19 (p 206 26 S) while Wilfrid was in Gaul *consecratus est in episcopatum* Eburaci *iubente rege Osuio* Ceadda *uir sanctus, ut supra memoratum est, et tribus annis ecclesiam sublimiter regens, dehinc* ad monasterii sui, *quod est in* Laestingaei, *curam secessit,* accipiente Vilfrido episcopatum totius Nordanhymbrorum prouinciae.

P **94** 1 LÆSTINGAE p 64 l 15 and 28. p 81 l 29. p 95 l 15. Dugdale I 342 343. So John of Beverley retired to a monastery V 19 end.

,, 3 NORDANHYMBRORVM p 19 l 6 n.

,, ,, PICTORVM p 68 l 4. Eddius 21 *sicut igitur Ecgfrido rege(?-i?) religioso regnum ad aquilonem et austrum per triumphos augebatur, ita beatae memoriae Wilfrido episcopo ad austrum super Saxones et aquilonem super Britones et Scotos* Pictos*que regnum ecclesiarum multiplicabatur.* ib 51 (near the end: in Haddan-Stubbs III 140) in a Roman council 27 Mar 680 *Wilfridus deo amabilis episcopus Eboracae ciuitatis* .... pro

omni aquilonali parte Brittaniae *et Hiberniae insulisque, quae ab Anglorum et Britonum necnon Scottorum et* Pictorum *gentibus colebantur, ueram et catholicam fidem confessus est.* (also in Beda h e v 19 p 207 11 seq S). Varin 189. 252—4.

P 94 3 REX OSVIV p 68 l 2—5.

,, 5 AMBVLANDO p 27 l 9 n. Soames AS church 283. cf 2nd council of Mâcon (585 AD) c 15 'if a layman meets a clerical dignitary, he must bow to him. If a clerk and layman meet, both on horseback, the latter must salute the clerk by taking off his hat. If the clerk is on foot, the layman mounted, the latter must dismount and salute.'

,, 11 MERCIORVM SIMVL ET LINDISFARORVM p 67 l 19 20. p 68 l 22.

,, 12 LINDISFARORVM men of Lindsey.

,, 14 DONAVIT p 23 l 16 n. so Caedualla king of Wessex gave the isle of Wight to Wilfrid iv 16. FAMILIARVM p 67 l 1 n. Baronius 616 3.

,, 15 ADBARVÆ cf p 25 l 3. p 59 l 5 and 11. p 122 l 6 *Ad Lapidem*. p 154 l 21. h a 12 (p 300 6 S) *Ad Villam Sambuce*. Baronius 713 7 *Ad Aquas Saluias*. Such names are frequent in itineraries. cf *Inhrypum* etc. Stevenson 'qu Barrow, near Goxhill Linc'.

,, 19 LYCCIDFELTH Eddius 24 Theodoric king of the Francs and Efruin (Ebroin) plundered and stript Wulfrid bp of Liccitfelda, confounding him with Wilfrid.

,, ,, DEFVNCTVS Fuller § 84 'his death is celebrated in the kalendar March the second, and the dust of his tombe is by papists reported to cure all diseases [alike] in man and beast. I believe it might make *the dumb to see and the lame to speak*'.

,, 20 HODIE 731 AD p 170 l 32.

,, 24 ORARE AC LEGERE p 95 l 25.

,, 28 CLADES p 89 l 2 n. p 105 l 30 n.

P 95 1 PRAEFATA p 94 l 21.

,, 2 OVINI AA SS Mar I 312. See add. note p. 429*.

,, 9 AEDILTHRYDE c 19 20, dau of Anna. The royal families of Northumbria and E Anglia were connected (p 136 l 24), and had a common enemy in Mercia (p 52 l 5. III 24).

,, 15 EIVSDEM Ceadda. LAESTINGAEU p 94 l 1 n.

,, 16 AD OTIVM, VT QVIDAM see Beda's letter to Ecgberct. LABOREM p 57 l 4 n. Martene de ant mon ritibus 1 6.

,, 20 PRAEFATA l 1.

P 95 25 cf p 94 l 24.

,, 26 CANTANTIVM p 34 l 14 n. p 96 l 28.

P 96 7 SONITVM MANV FACIENS Cic off III § 75. Tibull I 2 32. Petron 27 digitos concrepuit. Mart III 82 15 digiti crepantis signa *nouit eunuchus.* XIV 119 1 *dum poscor* crepitu digitorum. Hier ep 125 (=4 ad Rusticum) 18 *duobus* digitulis concrepabat, *hoc signo ad audiendum discipulos prouocans.* id in Osee l III c 11 col 123[e] (ed Ven 1768). Clem Al paed II 60 (p 204) censures whistling and snapping the fingers as means of calling slaves *τοπποσμὸς δὲ καὶ συριγμὸς καὶ οἱ διὰ τῶν δακτύλων ψόφοι τῶν οἰκετῶν οἱ προκλητικοὶ ἄλογοι σημασίαι οὖσαι λογικοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκκλιτέοι.* (In Cic leg agr II § 82 Baiter reads *increpuerint*).

,, 16 DIEM SVI OBITVS INSTARE p 34 l 4 n.

,, 17 HOSPES the angel l 33. p 34 l 14 n.

,, 25 IPSE Ouini.

,, 28 CANTICVM p 95 l 26 n.

,, 32 NE HOC CVIQVAM ANTE MEVM OBITVM DICAS cf p. 56 l 10. Matt 17 9. Mk 9 9.

,, 33 ANGELORVM l 17 n. p 97 l 8.

P 97 2 VOCARE VENERVNT p 34 l 17 n.

,, 7 CORPORIS ET SANGVINIS PERCEPTIONE MVNIVIT p 144 l 29 n Cædmon fortified himself for death with the heavenly *uiaticum.*

,, 17 MONASTERIO p 95 l 15.

,, 24 CORVSCI lightnings.

P 98 9 DISCVSSIS PENETRALIBVS CORDIS searching our inmost hearts.

,, 10 RVDERIBVS lit. 'rubble' 'refuse'.

,, 12 PRAEFATI p 97 l 18.

,, 14 SVPRA p 26 l 5 n. l 9 n. III 27.

,, 15 HIBERNIA p 79 l 12 n.

,, 16 IN ORATIONIBVS ET CONTINENTIA p 97 l 12 13. p 79 l 14.

,, 27 ANGELORVM p 34 l 14 n. uita Cuthb 4 Cuthbert sees the angels descend to carry home Aedan's soul.

,, 32 SEXTO DIE NON MART 2 March 672.

P 99 3 IN EANDEM burial in church p 25 l 2 n. p 39 l 7.

,, 5 FRENETICVS see the cure of a demoniac nun by means of the relics of Anastasius Baronius 713 5—16.

,, 11 DOMVNCVLI p 57 l 18 n.

P 99 14 PVLVERIS p 21 l 7 n (on *astulas*). p 36 l 5 n. v 18 Pecthelm reported of bp Hæddi, that where he died *ob meritum sanctitatis eius* multa sanitatum sint patrata miracula hominesque prouinciae illius solitos ablatum inde puluerem propter languentes in aquam mittere atque huius gustum siue aspersionem multis sanitatem aegrotis et hominibus et pecoribus conferre; propter quod frequenti ablatione pulueris sacri fossa sit ibidem facta non minima. Jerome ep 109=53 ad Riparium rails fiercely against Vigilantius for speaking ('opening his stinking mouth') against the relics of the holy martyrs, and for calling such as venerate them *cinerarios et idololatras*. In the tract contra Vig he compares his adversary to centaurs, sirens, owls, Cerberus, the Erymanthian boar, chimaera etc. Happily he has preserved some of the 'blasphemies' which to protestant ears sound like the voice of sober reason II 390[bc] (Ven 1767) *quid necesse est te tanto honore non solum honorare sed etiam adorare illud nescio quid, quod in modico uasculo transferendo colis?...quid* puluerem linteamine circumdatum adorando oscularis?...prope ritum gentilium uidemus sub praetextu religionis introductum in ecclesiis, *sole adhuc fulgente moles cereorum accendi et,* ubicumque puluisculum nescio quod in modico uasculo pretioso linteamine circumdatum osculantes adorant. Jerome replies 391[b–d] *dolet martyrum reliquias pretioso operiri uelamine et non uel pannis uel cilicio colligari uel proiçi in sterquilinium, ut solus Vigilantius ebrius et dormiens adoretur. ergo sacrilegi sumus, quando apostolorum basilicas ingredimur? sacrilegus fuit Constantius imperator I,* qui sanctas reliquias Andreae Lucae et Timothei transtulit Constantinopolim [Hier chron an 19 et 20 Constantii and catal c 7 end. Philostorg III 2], apud quas daemones rugiunt et inhabitatores Vigilantii illorum se sentire praesentiam confitentur? sacrilegus dicendus est et nunc Augustus Arcadius, qui ossa beati Samuelis longo post tempore de Iudaea transtulit in Thraciam? omnes episcopi non solum sacrilegi sed et fatui iudicandi, qui rem uilissimam et cineres dissolutos in serico et uase aureo portauerunt? 394[cd] *male facit ergo Romanus episcopus, qui super mortuorum hominum Petri et Pauli,* secundum nos ossa ueneranda, secundum te uilem puluisculum, offert domino sacrificia et tumulos eorum Christi arbitratur altaria? *et non solum unius urbis sed totius orbis errant*

episcopi, qui cauponem Vigilantium contemnentes, ingrediuntur basilicas mortuorum, in quibus puluis uilissimus et fauilla nescio quae iacet linteamine conuoluta, ut polluta omnia polluat? 395[d] Vigilantius *de barathro pectoris sui caenosam spurcitiam euomens* proceeds to ask: *ergo cineres suos amant animae martyrum et circumuolant eos semperque praesentes sunt?* he also (396[c–e]) argues against the miracles wrought in the martyrs' *basilicae.* cf Greg Tur glor mart 1 50. 62 end. mirac Martini II 26 wax from St Martin's grave quenches a fire.

P 99 14 AQVAS p 21 l 7 n. 1 1 (p 42 7 S) no serpents in Ireland; scrapings of Irish books a specific against their poison *uidimus quibusdam a serpente percussis rasa folia codicum qui de Hibernia fuerant et ipsam* rasuram aquae inmissam ac potui datam talibus protinus totam uim ueneni grassantis totum inflati corporis absumsisse ac sedasse tumorem. Becket's blood diluted had like virtues J G Nichols pilgrimages to St Mary of Walsingham and St Thomas of Canterbury by Erasmus [2] (1875) 131 132.

„ 16 SOSPITATIS p 130 l 7—12. p 160 l 31.

„ 19 PRODECESSORES III 24 end.

„ 20 MERCIORVM ET MEDITERRANEORVM ANGLORVM ET LINDISFARORVM p 67 l 19 20.

„ 22 VVLFHERI III 24 end. He died 675 AD after a reign of 17 years p 169 l 31.

IV

WHEN Colman left Britain, he first went to the island of Hii with his Scots and the Angles, about thirty in number, who were his companions. After a time they removed to another island on the west of Ireland named Inis-boufinde. Here he lived with his company of monks partly Scots and partly Angles; but they did not agree together, for the Scots wandered away in the summer time when the crops were to be gathered, but came and desired to live on the labours of the Angles in the winter. So Colman found a place in Ireland called Mageo suitable for a monastery, and buying a piece of land there from the earl to whom it belonged, he built, with the assistance of the said earl and those who dwelt near, a suitable house and brought thither the Angles and left the Scots behind. This monastery is still occupied by English, and is now called Muigeo and has an excellent company of monks who live under a rule and canonical abbat.

P 99 26 COLMANVS III 25 26.

,, 29 VTRIQVE in its strict classical use, both parties, Scots and Angles cf p 79 l 13.

,, 30 ECCLESIA SVA Lindisfarne p 77 l 15, where he was bishop for 3 years ib l 6, i e 661—664.

P 100 1 HII bp Ceollach also retired to Iona p 60 l 2. cf III 3 end. 4. 5 pr. p 49 l 23. The monastery, founded by Columba, *multis diu Scottorum Pictorumque populis uenerabile mansit* V 9 (p 191 16 S). W F Skene Celtic Scotland II (Edinb 1877) church and culture.

,, 4 INISBOVFINDE Inishbofin an island and parish in the barony of Murrisk, off the west coast of Mayo. Ussher ant 499 (end) cites the Ulster annals 667 (=668) *nauigatio Columbani* [i e Colmani] *episcopi cum reliquiis sanctorum* [e g of Aedan p 77 l 26] ad insulam Vaccae albae, *in qua fundauit ecclesiam* and ann 675 (=676 8 Aug) Columbani episcopi insulae Vaccae albae pausa, i e his death. ib 539 from the uita Geraldi Saxonis ad Magunensem ecclesiam *ipse cum suis deuenit. ibi quoque sanctissimus uir usque in finem uitae moram trahens in amore dei et proximi permansit.*

,, 7 VTRAQVE p 99 l 29 n.

,, 8 INVICEM = inter se.

,, 15 MAGEO Mayo, called 'of the Saxons' from these monkish settlers. For the letter-change cf V 2 (p 183 35 S) *gæ, quod est lingua Anglorum uerbum adfirmandi et consentiendi, id est 'etiam'* (our 'yea'). 'Elge' Ely p 127 l 30 (Hussey). cf 'gestern' yesterday; 'Gäscht' yeast; also "go," "gone" beyond. St Gerald, an Englishman, erected this monastery into an episcopal see and became the first bp. In 1559 the see of Mayo was permanently united to that of Tuam (Cotton's fasti IV 49 50; the register of bps is very imperfect).

,, 19 PRECES p 45 l 16.

,, 21 PRAEFATA l 4.

,, 25 MELIORA INSTITVTA the Roman Easter and tonsure AD 715 (p 26 l 6) or (p 170 l 27 and V 22 pr) AD 716.

,, 28 CONTINENTIA p 98 l 16 n. PROPRIO LABORE p 57 l 4 n.

V

IN the year 670 AD king Oswy fell ill and died at the age of fifty-eight. Had he recovered from his illness he had resolved to go to Rome and end his life there, and had asked Wilfrid to be his companion. He was succeeded by his son Ecgfrid, in the third year of

whose reign archbishop Theodore convened a synod at Herutford. The bishops present were Bisi of the East Angles, Wilfrid of Northumbria by deputy, Putta of Rochester, Leutherius of the West Saxons and Vynfrid of Mercia. These with the archbishop agreed upon ten canons as most necessary to be carried out in the English church. These related to Easter, to the independence of bishops, sanctity of monastic property, the fixed residence of monks in their own monastery, letters of commendation for clerics travelling about, bishops not to perform sacerdotal offices out of their own dioceses without permission, synods to be called regularly, order of precedence among bishops, the increase of the episcopate, lastly marriages and divorce. These articles were discussed and subscribed by all, and any infringement of them shall bring upon the offender an exclusion from every sacerdotal office.

In the year of this synod 673 A D Ecgberct king of Kent died, and his brother Hlothere succeeded him. The bishop Bisi above mentioned was successor of bishop Boniface, and during his life in consequence of his incapacity through illness two bishops Aecci and Baduuini were consecrated in his place and from that time the bishopric of the East Angles has been divided between two bishops.

P 101 3 BRITTANIAM VENIT 27 May 669 p 92 l 2 n. OSVIV see his character in Alcuin sanct Ebor 565—576.

,, 7 ROMAM VENIRE p 138 l 12 n. v 7. Several of our early kings made this pilgrimage, some taking the tonsure: thus Caedualla king of Wessex (p 170 l 10). Aedilred (675—704) and Coenred (704—709) kings of Mercia (p 170 l 19 and 22. v 19. Will Malmesb I § 98. II §§ 77 78). Offa king of Essex (v 19. Will Malmesb I § 98). Eadberct king of Northumbria p 175 l 15. Ine king of Wessex 725 (MHB 254[e] and index). Offa king of Mercia about 790 (Matt Par p 29 Watts). Siric king of Essex 797 (MHB 340). Aetheluulf king of Wessex 855 (Will Malmesb I § 109). Burrhed king of Mercia 874 (MHB 355). Cnut 1031 (MHB 429). Lingard I 104 105. Others became monks in England: Sigberct king of East Anglia (III 18). Sebbi king of Essex IV 11. Ceoluulf king of Northumberland (p 174 l 24). So Carloman, son of Charles Martel, became a monk of Monte Cassino in 747 (Will Malm I § 68 p 99). cf MHB ind *Roma* p 954. Fuller cent VIII § 12 'about this time [718] it grew fashionable with kings and queens in *England* to renounce the world and turn monks and nuns, commonly in convents of their own foundation. Surely it is not only lawfull, but commendable for men to leave the world, before it leaveth them, by *being crucified thereunto, and*

using it as if they used it not. But let others dispute, whether this properly be renouncing the world, for Christians to bury their parts and persons in a cloister, which, put forth to the bank, would turn *to good account* for church and common-wealth. *David* (I dare say) as holy a man as any of these, lived a king and died a king: the swaying of his sceptre did not hinder the tuning of his harp; his dignity being no impediment to his devotion. And whilest these kings turning monks, pretended to go out of the world, a world of spirituall pride and superstition went into them, if (as it is too too suspicious) they had an high opinion to merit heaven thereby.'

P **101** 9 DVCEM as Alchfrid intended to journey to Rome with Benedict Biscop h a 2; and Eanfleda actually performed the pilgrimage under Benedict's escort Eddius 3.

,, 10 DIE XV KAL MART 15 Febr 670 p 169 l 27: as Beda reckons this the second year from Theodore's coming, and makes his successor Ecgfrid (p 149 l 15) die in the 15th year of his reign 20 May 685, he plainly begins the year at Christmas and (Pagi 670 2) 'numerat annos Iulianos eosque utrimque incompletos.'

,, 12 TERTIO 673 24 Sept (l 22) p 169 l 28. cf p 104 l 12. p 150 l 17—19. THEODORVS COGIT so the council of Hatfield c 17 was summoned by Theodore A D 680.

,, 14 MAGISTRIS sufficiently defined here as clergy learned in the decisions of councils, and attached to the 'canonical' or Roman use cf p 79 l 17. Smith app XVII.

,, 23 INDICTIONE PRIMA see DCA 'indiction.' MHB introd p 117. By the usual calculation the second indiction began 1 Sept 673, but Beda makes the very day of this council (24 Sept) the end of one indiction and the beginning of another (de temporum rat 48 end XC 496[c] Migne) *incipiunt autem indictiones ab viii Kalendas Octobres ibidemque terminantur.* So Pagi 672 4 defends Beda from Baronius (and Wharton) who assign this council to 672.

,, ,, HERVTFORD Hertford.

,, 24 APOSTOLICA SEDE c 1. p 104 l 12.

,, 26 BISI bp of Dunwich 669—673 Flor Vigorn 673.

,, 28 VILFRID bp York 669—678; restored 686—692; bp Leicester 692—705; bp Hexham 705—709 (Stubbs registr sacr p 3).

,, 30 PVTTA bp Rochester 669; of Hereford 676, died 688 (Stubbs ibid. Flor Vig 676. 688).

,, 31 LEVTHERIVS Hlothere, nephew of bp Æthelbyhrt, con-

secrated bp of Winchester 670, held the see 7 years (AS chron 670. Flor Vig 670); died 676 Flor Vig.

P **102** 1 VYNFRID bp Lichfield 672, deposed 675 p 68 l 22. p 99 l 18—24. p 104 l 23—31. Flor Vig 672. 675.

,, 5 and 13 and 25 QVAEQVE=quaecumque.

,, 15 LIBRVM CANONVM non puto hunc fuisse librum aliquem peculiarem a Theodoro compositum, sed collectionem canonum ecclesiae in concilio Chalcedonensi approbatam, et a Dionysio Exiguo non diu antea in Latinum sermonem traductam, et in ecclesiam occidentalem receptam. Theodorus enim rogato fratrum consensu, non ad nouellas aliquas constitutiones a se formatas, sed ad ea quae a patribus canonice sunt antiquitus decreta protulit. eundem librum canonum, nulla alterius mentione facta, et ex eodem libro decem capitula quae per loca notauerat. tantum abfuit a libro nouo canonum componendo ut antiquos e libro canones uix exscripserit quidem (Smith).

,, 19 PASCHAE p 23 l 4 n. l 6 n. IN COMMVNE p 69 l 25 n.

,, 20 DOMINICA p 26 l 12 n. l 16 n.

,, 21 MENSIS PRIMI v 21 often. The first month of the Jewish year Nisan levit 23 5. With this capitulum cf conc Antioch AD 341 c 1 (Bruns I 81).

,, 22 NVLLVS EPISCOPORVM can apost 13=14. 34=36. conc Nic AD 325 c 15. conc Antioch AD 341 c 13. 21. 22. conc Constantinop AD 381 c 2, by which (Hefele Conciliengesch II^2 14) appeals to Rome were forbidden. conc Carth II AD 387 (or 390) c 11 ne quisquam episcoporum alterius plebes uel dioecesim sua importunitate pulsare debeat. conc Hippon AD 393 (ser 1) c 2=3 a nullo usurpentur plebes alienae. Baronius 403 19 tenth charge brought against Chrysostom: 'he intrudes into others' dioceses and consecrates bps.' ibid 729 3 4. Pope Zachary 1 Apr 743 (Bonif ep 43 pp 123 124 Jaffé).

,, 25 MONASTERIA conc Rom 5 Apr 601 (Greg opp II 1294 append n 7 ed Bened. Mansi X 486). conc Hispal II 619 c 10. conc Tolet IV 633 c 51 (monks not to be treated as slaves by bps, nor monasteries as their private property). Baronius 601 9. 626 35 end. 39. 676 2 and 5. Pagi 676 5. Bonif ep 82 Jaffé privilege granted by pope Zachary 4 Nov 751 to Fulda abbey, exempting it from all jurisdiction except that of Rome. Mabillon annales Ben I 448. Compare the oath taken by fellows of colleges by the early statutes not to appeal to the pope etc.

,, 26 ALIQVO=ulla re cf l 27 *quicquam*.

P 102 28 MONACHI NON MIGRENT conc Chalced c 4 and 23. conc Tolet VII A D 646 c 5. conc Latun (of St Jean de Losne) A D 670—673 c 7 and 19 (Hefele III² 107 108). conc Tolet XIII 683 c. 11. Greg dial II 25 a monk was always urging Benedict to discharge him; when at last he did so, the truant encountered a serpent, and entreated to be taken back. Bonif ep 14 p 70 the abbess Eangyth had long desired to make a pilgrimage to Rome; some objected *quod canones synodales praecipiant, ut* unus quisque in eo loco, ubi constitutus fuerit et ubi uotum suum uouerit, ibi maneat et ibi deo reddat uota sua. DCA 'circumcelliones (2)'. 'gyrouagi.'

,, ,, DE LOCO AD LOCVM *priuilegia* were granted in later times whereby this was made a common abuse and Ullerston in the petition already quoted complains much thereof. Quis enim fructus ex huius modi priuilegiis insurgat ut plurimum non uidemus, si non religionis dissolutionem, intentionis patronorum et religionis instituentium frustrationem, fundatorum fraudationem, ut dum illi monasteria vel pia loca dotabant seu fundabant quatenus inibi conuersantes stricte seruarent suorum patronorum instituta, isti in regione longinqua abeuntes per priuilegia dispensationes et exemptiones non solum de specie in speciem sed ab opposito in oppositum mutarunt sanctorum patronorum instituta.

,, 30 DIMISSIONEM 1st hand *de*—cf p 44 l 30. p 62 l 6 (Hussey).

P 103 1 NVLLVS CLERICORVM DISCVRRAT forbidden in several of the canons cited under the last head: also can apost 13=12. 15=14. 34=32. conc Arel I c 2. Nic c 15 16. Laod 320 c 41 42. Antioch c 3 and 7. Sardic c 19 etc. Chalced c 23. Arel V 554 c 7. Afric c 105. Cabilon 644 c 13. Trull 692 c 17. Bonif ep p 128 Jaffé.

,, 2 ALICVBI=usquam.

,, 3 ABSQVE COMMENDATICIIS LITTERIS can apost 34=32 *μηδένα τῶν ξένων ἐπισκόπων ἢ πρεσβυτέρων ἢ διακόνων ἄνευ συστατικῶν προσδέχεσθαι.* conc Chalced c 13. Brag II 563 c 8. Rem 624—5 c 12. See bp Daniel's letter commendatory given to Wynfrith (Bonif ep 11); cf Willibald uita Bonif 5 pp 443. 445; another, charged with an anathema, from Greg II to all Christians 1 Dec 722 ibid ep 18. others from the same ibid 19—22. ib p 93 pr. Others from Greg III ibid ep 35—37. Pope Zachary to Bonif ib 51 p 152 *de eo quod dixisti, ut* nullus sine commendaticiis suscipiatur epistolis. id ib 68 1 May 748 p 197. Bingham II 4 § 5. XVII 3 §§ 6—8. DCA I 232 b. 407 408. Stevenson 'see specimens in Baluz capit reg Franc II 430. 443. 716. 959. Alcuin opp I 160—162 ed 1777.'

P 103 6 SEXTVM can apost 30=32. 32=34.

,, 10 BIS IN ANNO SYNODVS CONGREGETVR can apost 36=38. conc Nic c 5. Antioch 20. Chalced 19. Carth III 397 c 2 *placuit, ut propter causas ecclesiasticas, quae ad perniciem plebium saepe ueterascunt,* singulis quibusque annis concilium conuocetur. Hippon 393 ser 2 c 5. Elus 551 c 7 (Hefele Conciliengesch III[2] 10). Tolet III 589 c 18 *praecipit haec...synodus, ut, stante priorum auctoritate canonum, quae* bis in anno praecepit congregari concilia, *consulta itineris longitudine et paupertate ecclesiarum Hispaniae,* semel in anno *in locum, quem metropolitanus elegerit,* episcopi congregentur. Tolet IV 633 c 3. Tolet XII 681 c 12. Trull 692 c 8. Suess 744 c 2 (Hefele III[2] 519). Greg III (Bonif ep 37 Jaffé) gives directions for two synods yearly in Germany. Pope Zachary 31 Oct 731 (ib 52 end, once a year in Gaul). conc Celcyth 787 c 1 (Haddan-Stubbs III 449). Bingham II 16 § 17. A W Haddan in DCA I 476 a.

,, 12 CLOFESHOCH Haddan-Stubbs III 122 'that Clovesho was either in Mercia or in some kingdom subordinate to Mercia, has been rightly inferred by Smith and others from the fact that all the recorded councils of Clovesho date within a period coincident with the predominance of Mercia, and that the Mercian kings take the lead in them, often without the presence of any other king at all. It is singular that no recorded council of Clovesho occurs until the celebrated one under abp Cuthbert [yet in Haddan-Stubbs III 300 we find a council of Clovesho A D 716, 43 years after the council of Hertford] seventy years [A D 742 Haddan-Stubbs III 340—342] subsequent to the appointment of the place for a yearly synod. There is indeed in the interval only one genuine council of the entire Anglo-Saxon church of which the place is recorded, except those of Twiford and Onestresfeld, the circumstances of which account for their locality. That one is Theodore's own council of Hatfield in A D 680; and it is curious that he should himself desert the place which he had fixed on only seven years before. Boniface's expression in A D 742 "Synodus Londinensis," and all the probabilities of the case, indicate London or its immediate neighbourhood.'

It has been conjectured that Clofeshoch is Cliff or Cliffe-at-Hoo five miles from Rochester.

,, 16 CONGREGATIONIS other mss have *consecrationis*, which is the true reading cod eccl Afric c 86 (title) 'de episcoporum ordine, ut, qui posterius ordinati sunt, prioribus se non audeant anteferre'. Haddan-

Stubbs III 121 'the order of the bishops' names...that of their consecration, with the exception of the placing of Wilfrid after Bisi—assuming that Bisi was consecrated early in A D 669. This may be accounted for by the fact that although Wilfrid was consecrated three or four years before Bisi, he was not placed in his see as a diocesan bp until the year 669, and probably after the consecration of the E Anglian bp'. conc Bracar II 563 c 6 *item placuit, ut conseruato metropolitani episcopi primatu ceteri episcoporum secundum suae ordinationis tempus alius alio sedendi deferat locum.* A W Haddan in DCA I 224 b δ. 240 a.

P 103 18 PLVRES EPISCOPI cod eccl Afr c 98. Greg. III to Boniface cir 732 (ep 28 p 92 Jaffé) *praecipimus, ut iuxta sacrorum canonum statuta* ubi multitudo excreuit fidelium, ex uigore apostolicae sedis debeas ordinare episcopos. Haddan-Stubbs III 122 'Gregory's scheme of two archiepiscopates, with twelve suffragan sees a-piece, no doubt supplied the basis of Theodore's proceedings. The division of sees was actually and generally, although not universally, accomplished during the eight years following the council, but apparently not according to any definite decree of the council entering into particulars'. Lingard I 121.

,, 20 DECIMVM can apost 47=48. Theodori paenitentiale I 2 'de fornicatione'. ib 14 'de paenitentia nubentium specialiter'. II 12 'de questibus coniugiorum'.

,, 21 INCESTVM DCA 'adultery'. 'incest'. conc Namnet 658 c 3 (Hefele III² 104).

,, 29 ALIQVO=quoquam.

,, 30 QVAEQVE=quaecumque.

P 104 2 SVPRA p 101 l 21 22.

,, 10 ECGBERCT who succeeded his father Erconberct July 664 p 89 l 5—7.

,, 12 HLOTHERE son of Sexburg (p 33 l 24. p 128 l 21) died 6 Febr 685 p 150 l 17—19; after his death Ecgberct's sons, Edric and Victred, successively became kings of Kent IV 26 end.

,, ,, BISI p 101 l 26.

,, 15 SVPRA p 92 l 30. Flor Vig 647 cons bp Dunwich 652. Will Malm gesta pont II 2 p 237.

,, 17 EPISCOPVS A D 669.

,, 19 AECCI bp Dunwich Flor Vig 673. In 731 Aldberct was bp Beda V 23. BADVVINI bp of Elmham Flor ib. he subscribes as bp in 693.

In 706 Northbert subscribes Flor Vig catal. In 731 Hadulac was bp Beda v 23. Wharton Anglia sacra I 404 405.

P **104** 20 HODIE p 100 l 22 n.

VI

SOON after this Vynfrid bishop of the Mercians was for some offence deposed by archbishop Theodore, and Sexwulf the founder and abbat of Medehamstede was consecrated in his place. Vynfrid retired to the monastery of Adbaruæ where he died. Theodore made Earconuald bishop of the East Saxons. This was a most holy man, so that even the litter in which he was drawn about in his feeble age cures many that are sick when they are put under or near it. Splinters from it have also a great and healing virtue. This Earconuald, before his consecration, built two monasteries, one for himself at Chertsey, and the other for his sister Aedilburga at Barking. She was of the same piety as her brother, and took great care of those who were under her in her monastery, and heavenly miracles gave evidence to her holiness.

P **104** 23 VYNFRIDO p 102 l 1.

,, 24 INOBOEDIENTIAE Haddan-Stubbs III 122 'according to the AS chron A D 657 Winfrid was expelled from his see by the council itself, and in all probability a refusal to allow his diocese to be divided was the real reason of his expulsion. But Bede implies a space of time, though not a long one, between the council and the expulsion, and Flor dates the latter A D 675'.

,, 27 SEXVVLFVM bp of Lichfield (p 94 l 19) p 114 l 4. p 115 l 1. Eddius 44 end. Flor Vig 675.

,, 28 MEDESHAMSTEDI Peterborough Flor Vig 675. Pagi 675 5.

In the Laud MS of the Saxon chron there occur several enlargements commencing with the year 654 AD in which is contained a monograph on the abbey of Peterborough, and the privileges granted to its abbats by the see of Rome.

,, 29 REDIIT AD MONASTERIVM SVVM so Ceadda c 3 pr.

,, 30 ADBARVÆ p 94 l 15.

P **105** 2 SVPRA III 30. cf IV 11. EARCONVALDVM p 111 l 29. Dugdale monast (1846) I 422. his life in AA SS Apr III 781. a further copy in Dugdale's St Paul's appendix. Sigebald, abbat of Chertsey, promises if he survives Boniface, to pray for him as he does for Erconuald (Bonif ep 57 Jaffé).

,, 6 VIRTVTVM p 21 l 4 n.

P 105 7 FERETRVM CABALLARIVM horse-litter h a 16 of Ceolfrid *etiam cum ad hoc per infirmitatem deueniret ut equitare non ualens* feretro caballario *ueheretur*.

,, 11 ASTVLAE p 21 l 7 n.

,, 14 AEDILBVRGAE c 7—10.

,, 16 SVDERGEONA Surrey.

,, 17 CEROTAESEI Chertsey cf note on l 2.

,, 19 IN BERECINGVM Barking. cf Ingetlingum, Ingyruum, Inhrypum.

,, 22 23 RECTE VIVENDO ET PIE CONSVLENDO p 27 l 2 n.

VII

THE monastery of Barking was made famous by many heavenly signs. One of these Beda relates. At the time of the mortality which has been so often mentioned, the disease first attacked the monks and many of the brethren died. It then spread to the sisters and the mother of the congregation asked anxiously of those who were sick in what place they would desire to be buried if they should be taken from the world. From them she had no answer, but one night after matins were ended and these handmaids of Christ had gone out of the oratory, a bright light came down from heaven and resting on a spot to the south of the monastery marked that place out as divinely appointed for the burial-place. This radiance was greater than the light of day, and was noticed by one of the brethren as making its way through the chinks of the doors and windows, and he spake of it on the following morning.

P 105 26 HOC l 19.

,, 30 SAEPE DICTAE CLADIS p 79 l 4 n. p 88 l 2. p 94 l 28. p 118 l 9. h a 8 end.

P 106 4 VIRORVM l 1. p 34 l 13. p 39 l 3. p 40 l 6. Whitby under Hild was a seminary of bps p 137. IV 23—25. (an abuse of the practice ep ad Ecgb c 7). uita Cuthb 34. 35. The abbess Eangyth (A D 719—722) writes to Wynfrith (Bonif ep 14 p 67 Jaffé) of her weighty responsibility *uniuersarum commissarum animarum* promiscui sexus *et aetatis*. conc Nic II 787 c 20 forbids double monasteries (cf Bever pand can I 325—327. so Leunclauius ius gr lat I 432). Greg ep X 25 applauds Ianuarius for declining to establish a monastery for men adjoining to a nunnery. Patrick separated the sexes AA SS 17 Mar II 562 92. Patr conc I 9 in Labbe III 1478. cf O'Conor rer hibern scr II 164 the first

order of saints admitted women in monasteries, the second excluded them. The earliest double monastery certainly known in Europe is that founded at Poitiers by Radegunde (Mabillon ann OSB I 124. AA SS OSB I 334), who seems to have borrowed the institution from Britain. Gall founded a double monastery on the lake of Constance (Lecointe ann 622 n 9. Gallia Chr V 970), Fara one at Faremoutier A D 614 (Beda III 8. Mabillon ann I 304 305. 321), Amat at Remiremont in 620 (Mabillon ibid 315), Ado at Jouarre in 630 (Mabillon AA SS O B saec II p 487), Salaberga at Leon in 640 (Mabillon ann 379). When Willibald, abbat of Heidenheim, died, his sister Walburg succeeded him (A D 761). Fridolin founded a double monastery at Sickingen A D 568 (AA SS 6 Mar I 430). conc Hispal II 618 c 11 nunneries to be governed by monks; the nuns to make the habits worn by the monks on whom they depend. Varin also names the double monasteries of Marchiennes, Maubeuge, Nivelle (all due to Amand), those of Camelaria, Chelles, Durin (Durivum Mabillon AA SS I 374. 686. ann I 149), Fontevrauld, Hasnon, Hohenbourg, Niedemunster, Pellemoutier, St-Étienne, Sainte-Vaudru, Notre-Dame de Soissons, Tuffiacum. cod Iustinian I 3 44 (=43) and nouell 133 c 3 and 5 strict separation of the sexes (even in death). So conc Agde A D 506 c 28 (Labbe IV 1388). Varin (in mém prés par div savants à l'acad les inscr sér I tom V (2) Par 1858 pp 165—205) derives these double monasteries from the east, and finds them in Spain, in Gaul circa 550—650, more especially north of the Loire among the Franks during the seventh century, and in Britain. Lingard I 192—6. Pagi 664 24 (end) says of the monastery of Nivelle in his days: 'capitulum utriusque sexus in quo canonicae uirgines nobilissimae digniorem locum obtinent et penes abbatissam eiusdem ciuitatis dominium est'. Capgrave in Alford 683 2.

P **106** 6 QVO LOCI cf *ubique gentium*, *πού γῆς*.

,, 12 MATVTINAE LAVDIS p 41 l 22 n. p 144 l 31. Martene de ant mon rit I c 3. Sharon Turner AS III[7] 16.

,, 13 FRATRVM l 4 n. nouella 133 3 monks not to be buried with nuns.

,, 15 LVX p 34 l 17 n. Baronius 657 26. LINTEVM Agnelli uita Ioannis I (Migne CXI 735[a]) an abbat reviving from a trance, being asked the reason of it, replied: '*si dixero uobis, mors me consumet*'. *tunc palam omnibus eum pontifex interrogauit, eius quae causa accidit tibi. et ille respondens dixit:* 'mortuus est Leonatus statim et uidi animam eius in linteo lucidissimo ab angelo in caelum deferri

alacri uultu'. His word proved true: Leonatus expired at the very instant of the abbat's trance, and he himself died eight days afterwards. LINTEVM MAGNVM the expression is from the Vulgate (Acts x 11) concerning Peter's vision: uas quoddam uelut linteum magnum.

VIII

IN this same monastery a little boy of about three years old was brought up by the sisterhood. This child being seized with the plague, just before his death called out three times the name of Eadgyd one of the sisters. That virgin being attacked the very same day died before the close of it and followed the child who had called her to the kingdom of heaven.

Another sister when stricken with same disease, begged that the lamp which was burning near her should be extinguished, for she felt the house filled with so bright a light, that the other light seemed dim. When her companions did not comply with her request, she again declared that the light of the lamp was not her light. She then told them how a certain man of God, who had died that year, had appeared to her, and told her that on the morrow she should enter into eternal light. And at the break of day she died.

P **107** 2 EODEM p 105 l 19.

,, 5 MEDITARI to learn his lessons. Any mother would resolve Dr Hussey's doubt (who reads *medicari*) 'quales essent *meditationes* trimuli infantis dicant qui meditari scribere uolunt'. Or Chaucer's "litel clergeoun" in the Prioresses Tale, who says of the *Alma redemptoris:*

'Now certes, I wol do my diligence
To conne it al, er Cristemasse is went.'

,, ,, PRAEFATA p 105 l 30 n.

,, 6 CLAMAVIT called.

,, 10 VOCABAT on the prophetic vision ascribed to the dying see 'Two lives of N Ferrar Cambr 1855' 60 61 n. Baronius 657 27 Maximus foretells the day of his own death. Greg dial I 6 Anastasius and others summoned in order by a voice from heaven.

,, 13 PRAEFATO l 5 n.

,, 15 MINISTRABANT care of sick in monasteries Martene de ant mon rit v 9 § § 86—88.

P 107 17 ALIQVIS = quisquam l 23.

,, 20 LVCE p 106 l 15 n. St Peter appears in light Baron 626 41.

,, 29 VERITAS VISIONIS c 29 n.

IX

BUT when the mother of the congregation, Aedilburga, was to die, a wondrous vision was seen by one of the sisters whose name was Torctgyd. This holy woman had been a great help to Aedilburga in the discipline of the younger sisters. But at length she had fallen sick, and had been ill for nine years. On a certain night, when she had gone forth from her chamber, she beheld a human body, shining brighter than the sun, and wrapt in fine linen, being carried up to heaven by cords which seemed brighter than gold. She knew by this that some one of their number was to be taken to heaven for the good works which she had done. And before many days had passed Aedilburga fell sick and died and none can doubt that the entrance into the heavenly country was opened to her at her departure.

When the body of the holy mother was brought into the church to await its burial, one of the nuns, of noble birth and still more noble through holiness of life, having been long bed-ridden and unable to move, asked that she might be brought close to the dead body, and speaking as though to one alive she prayed the mother to obtain for her a speedy release from her pains. Her prayer was heard, and twelve days afterwards she died.

Torctgyd lived three years longer than Aedilburga, and became attenuated and so weak that she could not speak. When she had lain speechless for three days and three nights, she began to converse as if beholding a vision, and asked earnestly that her release from the body might not be delayed beyond the next night. When she was asked by those about her, with whom she had been conversing, she answered "With my dearest mother Aedilburga." They then knew that the mother had come from heaven to tell her of the time of her departure. And when one day and one night had passed, Torctgyd entered into the enjoyment of eternal bliss.

P 108 2 MATER c 6 end.

,, 9 IVXTA APOSTOLVM 2 Cor. xii 9 my strength is made perfect in weakness.

,, 16 SOLE CLARIVS p 34 l 17 n.

P 108 17 .8 DOMO IN QVA SORORES PAVSARE SOLEBANT p 140 l 11.

P 109 1 EODEM p 105 l 19.

,, 6 IN ECCLESIAM DELATVM Benedict and St Maur were carried into the church, that they might die there.

,, ,, So of the body of St Bridget. "It was carryed to the monastery of Seynt Laurence, and a nonne of the sayde monastery which for febleness and great sykeness that she had in her stomake by the space of II yerys kepte her bedde well nere all that tyme, with great peyn rose fro hyr bed and with helpe came to the beer and cessyd not to praye ... and in the mornynge she had more helth of hyr bodye thenne she prayed for." *See* Myroure of oure Ladye pref p LVIII E E T S.

,, 7 ILLO thither, into the church.

,, 8 ILLVD corpus. DVM=cum.

,, 11 ET IPSA likewise.

,, 14 PRAEFATA p 108 l 4.

,, 15 DOMINAE Aedilburgae.

,, 16 PRAEDIXIMVS p 108 l 10.

,, 20 AGERETVR 'went on:' the paralysis continued. VISIONE p 107 l 29.

,, 22 COEPIT LOQVI so of St Kentigern (uita S K c 43) when he was almost too feeble to speak: sanctus autem senex ex uisione et uisitatione angelica confortatus et quasi aetatis et infirmitatis oblitus robustiorque effectus iam instantis beatitudinis quasdam primitias praegustabat, et cum angelo tanquam amicissimo et familiarissimo mutua colloquia conserebat.

,, 23 BENE VENISTI 'vous êtes le bien-venu,' 'welcome to you.'

,, 24 RESPONSVM so the paralytic Seruulus (Greg dial IV 14) knowing that his end was near, sent for the religious strangers whom he entertained, and bade them sing psalms in prospect of his end. He joined their song, but *uoces psallentium repente compescuit cum terrore magni clamoris, dicens: 'tacete,* numquid non auditis quantae resonent laudes in caelo?' *et dum ad easdem laudes quas intus audierat, aurem cordis intenderet, sancta illa anima carne soluta est.*

,, 29 PARVM=l 23 *parumper.* l 27 *modicum.* V 19 (p 208 l 6S) *cum* parum *consedissent.*

,, 32 CVM QVO entirely supersedes *quocum* during the silver age.

P 110 3 NVNTIARE VENISSET p 22 l 19 n.

X

AEDILBURGA was succeeded in her office of abbess by a handmaid of God named Hildilid, and great care was exercised by her for many years in the discharge of all her duties. She determined on account of the want of space near the monastery that the bones of those holy ones who had been buried there should be removed into the church of the blessed Mother of God, and when this was done bright lights appeared from heaven, and a marvellous fragrance was felt, as is told in the work from which Beda makes his extracts. He relates one miracle which took place at that cemetery. The wife of a certain earl who lived near was afflicted with a disease of the eyes and at last became quite blind. Thinking that if she were brought to the monastery of these holy virgins and prayed near the relics of the saint she should recover, she caused her maidens to bring her thither. She was perfectly restored, and walked home by herself as though she had been deprived of temporal light only that her cure might shew what virtue and light belongs to the saints in heaven.

P 110 8 HILDILID to her Aldhelm dedicates the prose edition of his de laudibus uirginitatis. cf Alford 705. A vision related by her to Boniface is repeated by him ep 10 Jaffé. Cuthburga (sister of Ina king of Wessex) was first a nun at Barking under her, and then foundress and first abbess of Wimbourne (Wm Malmesb reg Angl 1 2). cf AA SS 24 Mar. Mabillon AA SS OB saec III (1) 299. Sarum missal and breviary 31 Aug.

„ 11 COMMVNES VSVS perhaps this expression refers to such lessons as those which St Bridget is said to have given when from her 'virgins lerned...to fle much speche and al vanyties, and to discuss with a dylygent premedytacion al their works that they had to do and to examyne them streyghtly in a espirituell balance'. Mirroure of our Lady p lv.

„ 15 TRANSFERRENTVR p 42 l 3 n. p 128 l 25 n. Liborius bp of Mans was translated to Paderbronn 836 (AA SS Iul 23 v 414—425). Translatio s Sebastiani et Greg magni papae 926 (Mabillon AA SS O B IV 1 383—410) AA SS 20 Ian II 278—295.

„ 16 LVMINIS p 34 l 17 n. Baronius 608 11.

„ 17 FLAGRANTIA p 34 l 27 n. When Hesychius stole the body of Hilarion 10 months after death (Hier uita Hil 46) he found it *illaesa tunica cuculla et palliolo et toto corpore quasi adhuc uiueret integro* tan-

tisque fragrante odoribus, ut delibutum unguentis putares. Beda de locis sanctis 20 fragrant oil of the cross. Fragrance of the body of princess Margaret of Hungary virgin 3 months after death Raynaldus 1270 32. AA SS 28 Ian II 900—9. hist miscell XXIV 43 Constantine Copronymos AD 766 sunk in the sea the corpse of Euphemia, *non ferens uidere* unguenti eam ex se super omnem populum suauitatem reddentem. Alcuin uita Willibrordi I 26 the bright light, the songs, the angels carrying the body to heaven. *multi quoque fratrum testati sunt crebro se super lectulum, in quo beatam animam suo creatori reddidit, mirabile uidisse* lumen, suauissimamque odoris dulcissimi sensisse flagrantiam, *ut omnino his signis crederetur caelestes locum frequentasse ciues, in quo sancta anima migrauit ad dominum.* II 26 *inter et exsequias miri* flagrantia odoris| ambrosio ecclesiam perfudit nectare totam, | *perspicue angelicam monstrans uenisse cateruam | ad patris officium laetis concentibus almi.* Greg dial IV 15. Greg Tur glor mart I 31. 63 end. uita s Burchard in Mabillon AA SS O B III 705.

P 111 6 NIHILO TARDIVS forthwith.

,, 7 8 PETITAE LVCIS GRATIAM RECEPIT Germanus heals a blind girl by putting a casket of relics to her eyes I 18.

XI

FROM the same book Beda draws an account of the pious king Sebbi who ruled over the East Saxons. He for a long time desired to leave his kingdom and enter on a monastic life, but his wife refused to be divorced from him. At length when sickness fell on him he gained her consent that they should both devote themselves to the service of God. The king was admitted into a religious order by Valdheri bishop of London, to whom he gave much money to be distributed among the poor. When at length Sebbi perceived his death to be approaching, dreading lest through the pains of death he should say or do anything unworthy of his person, he asked that the bishop Valdheri and two attendants alone might be present at his death. He was however comforted by a heavenly vision; for three men clad in shining robes appeared to him and made known that on the third day after he should die without pain, and with a great splendour of light. Which promise was exactly fulfilled.

When the body was about to be buried it was found that the stone

coffin was too short for it, and in spite of all that they could do by chipping away from the inside it could not be made large enough. But while they pondered what should be done, a miracle was granted, and thereby the coffin was made so long that even a pillow could be put in at the head and there was a space of four fingers breadth at the foot. The bishop Valdheri and Sighard the son of Sebbi and no small company of other men were present when this happened.

P 111 15 IDEM LIBELLVS c 7 pr.

,, 16 SVPRA III 30.

,, 18 VITAM MONACHICAM CVNCTIS REGNI DIVITIIS PRAEFERENS p 52 l 3 n. p 101 l 7 n. v 19 pr.

,, 20 OBSTINATVS CONIVGIS ANIMVS DIVORTIVM NEGARET c 19 pr.

,, 22 EPISCOPVM MAGIS QVAM REGEM in his letter to Ecgberct Beda betrays a statesmanlike alarm at the growth of ecclesiastical property, exempt from military service; here he is conscious that a king needs qualities other than will suffice for a bishop.

,, 23 ANNOS TRIGINTA 665—694 or 695 III 30. Pagi 672 7: martyrol Angl and Rom 29 Aug. AA SS Aug VI 516. 'Stow and Weever speak of his tomb as remaining in their days in St Paul's cathedral' (Stevenson).

,, 29 VALDHERI beginning with this prelate William of Malmesbury gives a list of nineteen bishops of London with the remark, 'adeo sub obscuritatis nubilo iacent *ut non eorum sciantur mausolea*'. de gest pont II p 236.

,, ,, EARCONVALDO c 6. Pagi 693 7 dates his death 693 or at the end of 692, referring to AA SS 30 Apr and monast Angl III 127. 299. In his presence the aged Theodore made his peace with Wilfrid Eddius 42. In the year 693 Beda was ordained deacon according to Flor Vig.

P 112 6 PRAEFATA p 111 l 24.

,, 8 ALIQVID INDIGNVM so St Kentigern just before his death used a linen bandage round his head; *ne mento decidente ex hiatu oris* aliquid indecens *in ipso appareret.* uit S Kent c 42.

,, 10 PRAEFATO Valdheri.

,, 13 and 14 DVM = cum.

,, 15 VISIONEM c 25 n.

,, 17 QVA DIE ESSET HANC VITAM TERMINATVRVS c 29 n.

,, 18 CLARO INDVTOS HABITV p 34 l 6 n.

P **112** 23 LVCIS p 34 l 17 n. p 106 l 15.

,, 24 EXINDE and 26 DEHINC from that time.

,, 28 PRAEPARAVERANT SARCOFAGVM V 5 pr John of Beverley sumnioned by count Addi *ad unum de pueris eius qui acerrima aegritudine premebatur, ita ut deficiente penitus omni membrorum officio iam iamque moriturus esse uideretur.* cui etiam loculus iam tunc erat praeparatus in quo defunctus condi deberet... *intrauit ergo illo episcopus et uidit eum maestis omnibus iam morti proximum positumque* loculum *iuxta eum* in quo sepeliendus poni deberet. The abbat Cudda made Cuthbert a present of a sarcophagus, which he kept (uita Cuthb 37 § 60) *terrae caespite abditum.*

,, 30 LONGIVS SARCOFAGO the very same difficulty, solved in like miraculous fashion, in Alcuin uita Willibrordi I 25 *conditum est uenerabile corpus* in sarcofago *marmoreo,* quod primum toto dei famuli corpori quasi dimidium pedis breuius inuentum est, fratribusque ob hoc ualde contristatis et consilio suspensis quid agerent *et saepius* tractantibus ubi aptum sancto corpori inuenissent locellum,.. *miro modo diuina donante pietate* inuentum est subito sarcofagum tanto dei uiri corpori longius, quanto breuius ante apparuit. ib II 25. An oak, sacred to Iuppiter, falls into four pieces after a few strokes from Boniface (Willibald uita Bonif c 6 p 452 Jaffé). Greg dial III 23 a 'sepulcrum' *prepared* by a presbyter for himself, was first occupied by his abbat, whose corpse turns on its side to make room for the presbyter, when he is brought for burial.

P **113** 5 EPISCOPO Valdheri p III l 29.

,, 11 DOCTORIS GENTIVM St Paul's, where it was shewn till the great fire of 1666.

XII

LEUTHERIUS was the fourth bishop of the West Saxons, his predecessors having been Birinus, Agilberct and Vini. When the king Coinualch was dead the petty kings held the government of the West Saxons among them for ten years. In this time bishop Haeddi succeeded Leutherius. In his episcopate Caedualla conquered the petty kings, and ruled for two years but then left his kingdom and went to Rome, where he died.

In 676 AD Aedilred king of Mercia invaded and ravaged Kent and destroyed the city of Rochester. Bishop Putta, who was then absent, made no effort to return and restore the bishopric, but retired to bishop

Sexwulf and there ended his life, being devoted to church services and singing. Theodore consecrated Cuichelm to be bishop of Rochester in his stead, but he soon retired and Gebmund was put into his place.

In 678 AD a comet appeared in the month of August and continued to be seen for three months. In this same year began the dispute between king Ecgfrid and bishop Wilfrid. Wilfrid was driven from his see and Bosa was made bishop in Deira, and Eata in Bernicia. The seat of the former was at York and of the latter at Hagustald and Lindisfarne. At the same time Eadhaed was made bishop in the province of the Lindisfari which Ecgfrid had lately conquered. After Eadhaed Ediluini was bishop there, then Eadgar, and fourthly Cyniberct who was bishop when Beda wrote. Before the time of Eadhaed, Sexwulf who was at the same time bishop of the Mercians and Middle Angles had also exercised the episcopal office among the Lindisfari. Eadhaed, Bosa and Eata were consecrated at York by archbishop Theodore, who three years after Wilfrid's departure added two more prelates to their number, viz Tunberct at Hagustald and Trumuini among the Picts who were then subject to the Angles. Eadhaed, who withdrew from Lindsey because Aedilred had recovered the province, was placed over the church at Ripon.

P 113 14 OCCIDENTALIVM SAXONVM ANTISTES on the bps of Wessex and king Coinualch see III 7.

,, 16 MORTVVS COINVALCH h a 4 of Benedict Biscop AD 672 *ingressus Brittaniam* ad regem Occidentalium Saxonum nomine Coinualch conferendum putauit, *cuius et ante non semel amicitiis usus et beneficiis erat adiutus. sed* ipso eodem tempore inmatura morte praerepto.

,, 18 SVBREGVLI p 31 l 1 n. The two here alluded to are Escwin and Kentwin. Escwin's great-great-grandfather Ceolwulf had an elder brother named Ceolric whose grandson was Kentwin.

,, 19 DEFVNCTVS Leutherius died 676 chron Sax. Flor Vig.

,, 20 HAEDDI died 705 v 18 pr.

,, 22 CAEDVALLA Eddius 41.

,, 24 RELIQVIT p 101 l 7 n. Resignation of the Spanish king Wamba Baronius 680 56. So Theodosius abdicated and turned monk AD 716.

,, 25 ROMAM AD 688 p 170 l 12. uita Wlmari in Surius 20 July. Paulus Diac VI 15, who calls him Theodoald. On pilgrimages to Rome see V 19. Wilibald, a monk of Waltham, with his father and brother

Wunibald went on a pilgrimage to Rome in 722 (Werner's Bonif 194). Wunibald went a second time and made the acquaintance of Boniface (ib 195). Theudo duke of Bavaria went to Rome to the footsteps of the apostles AD 726 Paul Diac VI 13=44. The Saxon abbess Bugge went to Rome to pray at the holy places (Bonif ep 103 Jaffé. cf ep 14 pp 68—70). Wiethburga found rest at the threshold of St Peter (ib ep 88). Ina was induced to make the pilgrimage by Ethelburga, who accompanied him (Will Malmesb I 2). AD 746 Karloman went to Rome and became a monk (Eginhard in Migne CIV 101 102).

P 113 26 SEQVENTIBVS V 7.

,, 28 AEDILRED p 170 l 1 and 19. A patron of Wilfrid's Eddius 42 end. 44 end.

P 114 1 PVTTA c 2 end. p 101 l 30. Haddan-Stubbs III 130 'although he may for a few years have administered the diocese of Hecana, or Hereford, as the deputy of Sexulf, it does not follow that his presence there constituted it a separate see'.

,, 4 SEXVVLFVM p 104 l 27. Eddius 44 end.

,, 7 SVPRA p 93 l 22.

,, 9 ILLA ECCLESIA Hereford V 23 (p 218 l 23 S) *eis populis qui ultra amnem Sabrinam ad occidentem habitant.* Flor Vig in MHB 621°.

,, 10 CARMINA p 93 l 23.

,, 13 GEBMVNDVM he died 693 and was succeeded by Tobias V 8 end. chron Sax. Flor Vig. Yet he is said to have taken part in the council of Berghamstead 696.

,, 16 ANNVS ECGFRIDI OCTAVVS cf p 101 l 1 and 11.

,, 17 COMETA p 170 l 2 (cf l 30). V 23 p 217 l 45 S. Beda de natura rerum c 24 'de cometis': cometae *sunt stellae flammis crinitae, repente nascentes,* regni mutationem aut pestilentiam aut bella uel uentos aestusue portendentes. Pagi 677 9 seq, who places this comet in 677. Luc I 529 terris mutantem regna cometen. Iuvenal VI 407 instantem regi Armenio Parthoque cometen. Ios bell Iud VI 5 3. Tac XV 47. Serv Aen X 272. ind to Sen and DCass. A comet in 632 portended the invasion of the Saracens (Baronius n 1); another in 673 the murder of Childeric (Pagi n 8 9). The comet of 678 is recorded also by Anastasius (Baronius n 15). The comet of 1066. Balthazar Bekker, the minister of Amsterdam, the famous author of the 'world bewitched' (against the belief in witches) in his 'ondersoek van de betekening der cometen, bij gelegenheid van de-

gene, die in de jaren 1680, 1681 en 1682 geschenen hebben, Leeuwaarden 1683' and Pierre Bayle in 'pensées diverses sur les comètes' overthrew the superstition.

P **114** 21 DISSENSIONE p 170 l 2. Pagi 677 12 seq. Smith append xviii. Thomas Eliensis uita Etheldredae 11 Ecgfrid was irritated against Wilfrid for encouraging Etheldred to desert him, and was further incited (Eddius 24) by his second wife Elmenburga, who envied Wilfrid's wealth. The king and queen bribe Theodore to divide Wilfrid's diocese. Wilfrid pronounces a curse, which is fulfilled exactly a year after, the corpse of king Aelfwin being brought to York; his brother Ecgfrid survived, but never afterwards won a victory.

,, 22 DVO IN LOCVM EIVS SUBSTITVTI EPISCOPI p 103 l 18. Haddan-Stubbs III 125 126. Wilfrid in his petition to the Roman council of 679 (Haddan-Stubbs III 137 from Eddius 29) *quidam mei episcopatus inuasores inlicita praesumtione contra sacrorum canonum normas ac diffinitiones, in conuentu Theodori sanctissimi archiepiscopi Cantuariorum ecclesiae aliorumque tunc temporis aniistitum cum eo conuenientium, sedem, quam per decem et eo amplius annos cum dei clementia dispensabam, raptorum more inuadere atque eripere moliti sunt et in eadem sede subsidere, et* non solum unum sed tres in mea ecclesia sese promouerunt episcopos, *licet canonica non sit eorum promotio.* Lingard I 120 121.

,, 24 HIC Bosa: a metrical martyrology of Bosa, ascribed to Beda, in D'achery spicileg x. AA SS 9 Mar. Eddius 52 p 82. Pagi 705 13. Alcuin sanct Ebor 846—874.

,, 25 ILLE Eata p 77 l 17—25. SIVE 'and' p 151 l 1.

,, 26 DE MONACHORVM COLLEGIO p 138 l 2. Eddius 24 of Theodore tres episcopos aliunde inuentos et non de subiectis illius parrochiae *in absentia pontificis nostri in sua propria loca episcopatus sui nouiter inordinate solus ordinauit.* Bosa was of Whitby, Trumwin contributed to the election of Cuthbert (IV 27. uita Cuthb 6) and when forced to resign his diocese retired to Whitby; Tunberct was almost immediately deposed (IV 28) and succeeded by Cuthbert, who had been educated at Melrose and Lindisfarne, and was Eata's favorite pupil. Even after they had adopted the Roman Easter and tonsure, the three Scottish monasteries 'étaient parvenus à repousser la jurisdiction de l'évêque romain' (Varin V I 220).

,, 28 EADHAED IN PROVINCIA LINDISFARORVM p 81 l 30. Haddan-Stubbs III 125 'in Lindsey, but whether at Stow (Sidenacester) does not appear'.

P 114 29 SVPERATO VVLFHERE Eddius 19 Ecgfrid's victories over the Picts. ib 20 Ecgfrid like David, crushing his enemies, but meek in God's sight, *semper in omnibus deo gratias agebat. nam* Wlfarius rex Merciorum superbo animo et insatiabili corde omnes australes populos aduersum regem nostrum concitans non tam ad bellandum, quam ad redigendum sub tributo seruili animo non regente deo proponebat. Ecgfridus uero rex Deirorum et Berniciorum animo rigido mente fideli consilio senum patriam custodire ecclesias dei defendere episcopo docente in deum confisus, *sicut Barac et Debora*, cum parili manu hostem superbum inuadens deo adiuuante cum paruo exercitu prostrauit et occisis innumeris regem fugauit regnumque eius sub tributo distribuit et eo postea quacumque ex causa moriente plenius aliquod spatium pacifice imperauit. Vulfhere came to the throne late in 658 or early in 659 and reigned 17 years (III 24 end), i e he died in 675 (p 68 l 20 n. so also chron Sax).

,, 30 EADEM Lindsey.

,, 31 PROPRIVM Lindsey had formerly been included in one diocese with the Mercians and Middle Angles p 67 l 19. p 115 l 2. EDELVINI p 39 l 18. p 79 l 23—26.

,, 32 CYNIBERCTVM p 165 l 23. v 23 (p 218 l 30 S) A D 731 prouinciae Lindisfarorum Cyniberct episcopus praeest. On the division of the diocese of Mercia A D 679 see Haddan-Stubbs III 127—130. The legal title of the Lindsey bishopric first appears in the signatures to the council of Clovesho 12 Oct 803 (ib 546 547 'Eadwulf Syddensis ciuitatis episcopus'). The locality of Sidenacester is unknown.

P 115 1 SEXVVLFVM p 114 l 4 n.

,, 2 ETIAM MERCIORVM ET MEDITERRANEORVM ANGLORVM p 114 l 31 n.

,, 3 EXPVLSVS DE LINDISSI Lindsey had been conquered by Ecgfrid p 114 l 28 29; and therefore Sexuulf resigned that portion of his diocese to Eadhaed.

,, 6 POST TRES ABSCESSIONIS VILFRIDI ANNOS i e in 681 (the death of Aelfuini c 22 and 23 and p 170 l 5, which happened in 679, was exactly a year after Wilfrid's flight Eddius 24). For the construction cf p 57 l 29 n.

,, 7 TVNBERCTVM p 155 l 11. HAGVSTALDENSEM Eata held before Hexham with Lindisfarne p 114 l 25.

P 115 8 REMANENTE EATA AD LINDISFARNENSEM p 151 l 8—11. p 155 l 13. uita Cuthb 6 § 11. 7 pr. 16 pr. 25 pr as bp he summons Cuthbert to a conference at Melrose. TRVMVINI p 149 l 28. p 154 l 27. uita Cuthb 1 § 4. 24 § 42. AA SS 10 Febr.

,, 10 SVBIECTA by Osuiu p 29 l 8 n. p 68 l 4 n. p 94 l 3 n. Recovered by the Picts A D 685 III 24. Eddius 21 pr as Ecgfrid's dominion was extended northwards and southwards by conquests, *ita beatae memoriae Wilfrido episcopo ad austrum super Saxones et aquilonem super Britones et Scottos* Pictos*que regnum ecclesiarum multiplicabatur.*

,, 11 AEDILRED king of the Mercians c 21. p 170 l 19. Sax chron 675. HRYPENSI Haddan-Stubbs III 130 'Eadhed in A D 679 retired from Lindsey to Ripon, yet the latter did not become a see for that reason.'

XIII

WHEN Wilfrid was driven from his bishopric he first went to Rome but afterwards returned to Britain and preached among the South Saxons who were ignorant of the divine name and faith. Their king Aedilualch had already been baptised in Mercia, and through Wilfrid's preaching the chiefs and soldiers of the province received baptism. The queen Eabae who was daughter of Eanfrid had been previously baptised in her own province. A monk from the Scottish nation had a very small monastery in the province of the South Saxons at a place called Bosanhamm. Not only was spiritual calamity removed by Wilfrid's preaching, but also an end was put to a drought which had lasted three years. So severe was the famine that the people threw themselves over precipices or into the sea, but on the very day when they were baptised, rain fell and the land became fruitful. The bishop also taught the people to get their living by fishing and so turned their hearts to love him. King Aedilualch gave the bishop a site for a monastery at Selsey, where he lived for five years baptising many people among whom were two hundred and fifty men and women slaves, to whom at baptism he gave their liberty.

V 19. Eddius 24. 40. Alcuin sanct Ebor 577—604.

P 115 14 MVLTA LOCA his enemies expecting that he would cross to Quentavic, won king Theodoric and Ebroin, who seized and stript the exiled bp of Lichfield Wulfrid, misled by the similarity of name (Eddius 25). Meanwhile Wilfrid wintered in Friesland, where the king received him, refusing the reward put on his head by Ebroin (ib 26 27). In the

next spring Daegberth, king of the Franks, who had been an exile in Ireland, and had received supplies from Wilfrid on his return, entertained him hospitably, offered him a bishopric, and on his refusal sent him on his way loaded with presents. He next came to king Berchter of Campania, who also refused the price set on his head, and sent him to Rome (ib 28).

P 115 15 ROMAM Eddius 29—31 (cf Haddan-Stubbs III 136—140) Roman council under Agatho, Wilfrid's petition having been read, decrees his restoration to his see, subject to a division of it among bps of his own choice.

„ 16 INIMICITIAS MEMORATI REGIS p 114 l 20. One of the causes of the quarrel was a dispute about the lands belonging to the see of York Eddius 44.

„ 17 PARROCHIA diocese.

„ 18 DIVERTENS Fuller § 97 '*Theodorus*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, beheld *Wilfride* bishop of *York* (one of great parts and greater passions) with envious eyes; and therefore, to abate his power, he endeavoured that the diocese of *York* might be divided. *Wilfride* offended hereat goes over to Rome to impede the project, and by the way is tossed with a grievous tempest. *It is an ill wind which bloweth no man profit.* He is cast on the shoar of *Freezland* in *Belgia*, where the inhabitants as yet pagans, were by his preaching converted to Christianity. This may be observed in this *Wilfride*, his πάρεργα were better than his ἔργα, his *casuall* and *occasionall* were better then his *intentionall performances*, (which shews plainly, that providence acted more vigourously in him, then his own prudence:) I mean, when at ease in wealth, at home, he busied himself in toyes and trifles of ceremonious controversies; but when (as now, and afterwards) a stranger and little better than an exile, he effectually promoted the honour and glory of God. § 98. And as it is observed of nightingales, that they sing the sweetest, when farthest from their nests: so this *Wilfride* was most diligent in God's service, when at the greatest distance from his own home. For though returning into *England*, he returned not into *York*, but stayed in the pagan kingdom of the *South Saxons*, who also, by God's blessing on his endeavours, were persuaded to embrace the Christian faith.'

„ 19 PROVINCIAM kingdom l 24. II 9 (p 88 l 7 and 11 S) 12 (p 92 l 21) 15 (p 96 l 18).

„ 21 FAMILIARVM p 67 l 1 n. p 94 l 14.

P 115 24 AEDILVACH p 120 l 30. Eddius 40. His conversion is apparently dated 661 by Sax chron, Flor Vig and Hen Hunt MHB 317 (Aethelwald). 531[e] (Aethelwold). 717[d] (Adeluuold).

,, 25 VVLFHERE p 68 l 15. p 86 l 15 seq. He died AD 675 p 169 l 31. His zeal was shewn by the mission of Jaruman to Essex III 30.

,, 26 SVSCEPTVS p 30 l 27. p 62 l 30. Fuller § 103.

,, 28 MEANVARORVM the name remains in East Meon, West Meon, Meon Stoke, all near Bishop's Waltham Hants. Camden adds Meansbrough and Mansbridge. The word (Bosworth AS dict) *ware* used only as a termination, denoting *inhabitants, dwellers*, is found also in Lindisfari (men of Lindsey), Cantuarii (men of Kent), Vihtvara or Vectuarii (men of Wight), Boructuari (v 9), Niduari (men of Nithsdale uita Cuthb II. Hussey).

,, 29 CONCEDENTE IMMO MVLTVM GAVDENTE REGE Eddius 40 Wilfrid went to king Ethelwalch and told him the story of his flight. The king promised to secure him. *sanctus uero homo dei, gauisus in uerbis consolationis gratias agens deo, primum regi et reginae uerbum dei et regni eius beatitudinem et magnitudinem leniter suadens, quasi lac sine dolo dedisset, praedicare coepit: deinde postea* cum consensu regis *deo concedente et ex oratione pontificis sancti nostri* gentes, quibus ante praedicatum non erat et numquam uerbum dei audierant, *congregatae sunt.* Wilfrid preached to them for several months against idolatry and found favour in the sight of the king. paganorum utriusque sexus, quidam uoluntarie, alii uero coacti regis imperio, idololatriam deserentes...baptizati sunt.

,, 31 EAPPA p 118 l 12.

P 116 3 HVICCIORVM p 138 l 15. II 2 pr *in confinio* Huicciorum *et Occidentalium Saxonum.* They were in Mercia and their capital was Worcester Flor Vig MHB 622[e] (Haddan-Stubbs III 128 129).

,, 8 DICVL another of the name p 56 l 30. Stevenson 'this Dicul, or Dicuil, was possibly the Irish monk who wrote "de mensura orbis terrae" (ed Walckenaer 1807, Letronne 1815. Wright biogr Brit lit I 372).'

,, 9 BOSANHAMM Bosham 3½ m WSW of Chichester.

,, 15 TRIBVS ANNIS Fuller § 100 'on that very day wherein he baptized them (as if God from heaven had powred water into the font) he obtained store of rain, which produced great plenty. Observe (though I am not so ill-natured, as to wrangle with all miracles) an

apish imitation of *Elijah* (who carried the key of heaven at his girdle, to lock, or unlock it by his prayer:) only *Elijah* gave rain after three yeares and six moneths, *Wilfride* after bare three yeares; it being good manners to come a little short of his betters.'

P 117 1 ANGVILLAS 1 1 (p 40 l 21 S) of Britain *fluuiis quoque multum piscosis ac fontibus praeclare copiosis et quidem praecipue issicio* (pike) *abundat et* anguilla. Sharon Turner AS III^{7} 19 20.

,, 12 SELÆSEV Eddius 40 end *rex...mitis et pius per dominum factus* uillam suam propriam, in qua manebat, ad episcopalem sedem cum territoriis postea additis LXXXVII mansionum Selæsiae *sancto nouo euangelistae et baptistae, qui sibi suisque cunctis uitae perpetuae uiam aperuit, concedit: ibique fratribus suis* congregatis coenobium ad requiem fundauit, quod usque hodie subiecti eius possident. After Aldhelm's death in 709 the see of Selsey was established V 18 (Matt Westm gives the date 711). transferred to Chichester A D 1075. Lingard 1 c 6 'donations to the church.'

,, 18 MONASTERIVM p 118 l 11.

,, 21 AD MORTEM ECGFRIDI 20 May 685 p 149 l 15. p 170 l 10. But V 19 *secundo anno* (ie 686) *Alfridi, qui post Ecgfridum regnauit sedem suam et episcopatum rege ipso inuitante recepit.* And so Eddius 43 (Hussey).

,, 22 ET VERBO ET OPERE p 27 l 2 n.

,, 24 HOMINIBVS Sharon Turner AS III^{7} 77—81.

,, 27 A SERVITVTE DAEMONICA cf glossary *abrenuntio.*

,, 28 LIBERTATE DONANDO Lingard 1 62. Kemble Saxons in England 1 c 8 and app C. In Domesday no slave is registered in York and few in the neighbouring counties. At the council of Celchyth 27 July 816 (Haddan-Stubbs III 583) c 10 bishops were directed to set at liberty at their death all bondmen of English descent whom the church had acquired during their administration. Ransom of captives Eddius 11 end.

XIIII

IN the monastery of Selsey some miracles were wrought, one of which Beda relates on the authority of bishop Acca. There was a great mortality in Britain and many of the brethren of the monastery died. In their trouble the monks began to observe a fast of three days; on the second day of which fast the blessed chiefs of the apostles appeared

to a little boy who was lying sick and told him that they were about to conduct him to the celestial kingdom. They bade him call Eappa the presbyter and say that the Lord had heard their prayers and accepted their fasting and no more of them should die. The messengers also said that the divine pity was shewn to them through the intercession of Oswald, formerly king of Northumbria, who as on that day had been slain and received into heaven. They also bade that masses should be celebrated in all the oratories of the monastery. The boy described the heavenly visitors as bright and shining and more beautiful than he had ever seen. One was shorn like a cleric, the other had a long beard, and they told him that they were Peter and Paul. After search it was found that king Oswald was slain on this day, therefore the boy's story was believed, and on that very day he died, but all the rest recovered. This vision increased the reverence for fasts and in many places king Oswald's day was observed with yearly masses.

P 118 2 QVO p 117 l 18.

,, 5 ACCA p 24 l 13 same words. p 205 l 9 and 26. p 206 l 4. v 19. 20. 23. h a 15. fifth bp of Hexham (709—732), where he succeeded Wilfrid (v 20. DCB). He and Tatbert required of Eddius (pref) a life of Wilfrid. Eddius 22 end. 54.

,, 8 TEMPORE A D 681. PROVINCIA Sussex c 13.

,, 9 MORTALITAS p 79 l 4 n.

,, 10 PRAEFATVM p 117 l 18.

,, 12 EAPPA p 115 l 31.

,, 26 SECVNDA about 8 am.

,, 28 PRINCIPES p 119 l 1 n. APPARERE p 108 l 23. p 109 l 20. p 112 l 18.

P 119 1 HODIERNA DIE p 110 l 3. p 112 l 23. c 29 n. So Nursinus the presbyter when at the point of death (Greg dial IV 11) '*bene ueniant domini mei, bene ueniant domini mei: quid ad tantillum seruulum uestrum estis dignati conuenire? uenio, uenio. gratias ago*'. when this was repeated, his friends asked to whom he was speaking. he replied in amazement: '*numquid hic conuenisse sanctos apostolos non uidetis? beatum* Petrum et Paulum primos apostolorum non aspicitis?' *ad quos iterum conuersus dicebat:* '*ecce uenio, ecce uenio*', *atque inter haec uerba animam reddidit .... quod plerumque contingit iustis,* ut in morte sua sanctorum praecedentium uisiones aspiciant, *ne ipsam mortis suae poenalem sententiam pertimescant.* St Peter appeared in like manner to the nun Galla three days before her death ib 13.

P 119 3 HABES glossary. VIATICO p 139 l 32. p 144 l 29.

,, 5 CLAMA call.

,, 6 EAPPAN p 118 l 12.

,, 7 IEIVNIA p 118 l 16.

,, 8 ALIQVIS=quisquam. so 10 ALICVBI=usquam.

,, 15 OSVALDI III 1—13.

,, 18 HAC DIE 5 Aug p 35 l 30. INFIDELIBVS Penda and his Mercians.

,, 21 CODICIBVS IN QVIBVS DEFVNCTORVM EST ADNOTATA DEPOSITIO p 120 l 11. see liber uitae eccl Dunelm (Surtees soc 1841) containing the names of all the benefactors of St Cuthbert's church from its foundation. The original (MS Cotton Dom VII) lay constantly on the altar for more than six centuries and contains a prayer that the benefactors' names may be written in the book of life cf Lingard II 58. 352—7 'Anglo-Saxon calendars'. Rock church of our fathers II 339—352. uita Cuthb praef (addressed to bp Eadfrid and the brethren of Lindisfarne) begs them to pray for him living, *sed et me defuncto pro redemtione animae meae, quasi familiaris et uernaculi uestri, orare et missas facere et* nomen meum inter uestra scribere dignemini. *nam et tu, sanctissime antistes, hoc te mihi promisisse iam retines, in cuius etiam testimonium futurae conscriptionis religioso fratri uestro Gudfrido mansionario praecepisti ut* in albo uestrae sanctae congregationis meum nunc quoque nomen apponeret. Martene de ant eccl rit I 145 (ed 1738). DCA 'calendar'. For *depositio* cf p 158 l 12. V 8 pr *deposita.* 11 pr *depositis.*

,, 25 IN MEMORIÀM OSVALDI V 14 *sine uiatico salutis obiit et corpus eius in ultimis est monasterii locis humatum, neque aliquis pro eo uel missas facere uel psalmos cantare uel saltem orare praesumebat.* Alcuin ep 11 Jaffé *ne quaeso obliuiscaris in tuis sanctis orationibus nomen amici tui Albini; sed in aliquo memoriae gazophylacio reconde illud, et profer eo tempore oportuno, quo panem et uinum in substantiam corporis et sanguinis Christi consecraueris.*

P 120 4 ALIQVOS=ullos.

,, 6 ATTONSVS VT CLERICVS St Peter p 90 l 27 and 28 n.

,, 7 PETRVS p 119 l 1 n.

,, 11 ANNALE p 119 l 21 n.

,, 14 DE EODEM SACRIFICIO PARTICVLAM DEFERRI p 144 l 18—22. Scudamore notitia eucharistica index 'eucharist' ('reservation' of elements allowed in the first prayer-book of Edw VI). Lingard I 299.

II 42. 43. 422. Rock church of our fathers I 16. 17. 132. Rheinwald die kirchl Archäologie Berl 1830 cites on the communion of the dying Eus h e VI 44. conc Nic c 13. conc Araus I c 3. stat eccl ant c 76—78. As the administration of wine to the sick might be difficult conc Turon I (Mansi VII 950) requires every presbyter to have the *uiaticum* in a pyx, and to dip the sacred oblation in wine; but this 'intinction' is forbidden in conc Bracar III A D 675 c 2. J A Gleich de eucharistia moribundorum et mortuorum (Viteb 1690 4to).

P 120 19 NEMO PRAETER IPSVM p 119 l 8—11.

,, 22 IEIVNIORVM p 118 l 16.

,, 26 NATALICIVS DIES p 119 l 18 n.

[XV]

AN active young man of the royal race of the Geuissi named Caedualla slew king Aedilualch and wasted his province, but was soon driven out by the king's leaders Bercthun and Andhun. The former of these was afterwards slain by Caedualla, and the province of the South Saxons was held in slavery by him and Ini who reigned after him, so that province had no bishop of their own but were subject to the bishop of the Geuissi.

P 120 28 CAEDVALLA son of Cenbyrht (†661), son of Ceadda, son of Cuthwine, son of Ceawlin, son of Cynric, son of Cerdic (see Sax chron 685, and pedigree of kings of Wessex in Lappenberg-Thorpe I 286). In his banishment Caedualla was befriended by Wilfrid; when he became king of Wessex, he sent for Wilfrid, made him his chief counsellor and endowed him with large estates Eddius 41. Hen Hunt 685. In 688 Caedualla resigned his crown and went to Rome, where he was baptised 10 Apr 689, took the name of Peter, and was buried on the 20th of that month, being then 30 years old more or less (V 7), so that now, in 685, he might well be iuuenis *strenuissimus*. DCB 'Caedwalla' (2).

,, 30 AEDILVALCH p 115 l 24. PROVINCIAM ILLAM Sussex.

P 121 2 REGIS Aediluach. ANDHVNO Aethelhumo Flor Vig in MHB 537b.

,, 3 POSTEA A D 686 Caedualla and his brother Mul devastated Kent and Wight Sax chron.

,, 5 INI son of Cenred; son of Ceolwald, son of Cynegils, son of Cuthwine, son of Ceaulin, son of Cynric, son of Cerdic, king of Wessex

688—725, when he resigned and went to Rome v 7. Sax chron 688. cf pedigree in Lappenberg-Thorpe I 286.

P 121 6 PROVINCIAM ILLAM Sussex.

,, 9 REVOCATO DOMVM VILFRIDO Theodore, after his reconciliation with Wilfrid, wrote to Alfrid king of Northumbria, to the abbess Aelfled and to Ethelred king of the Mercians, to intercede for him Eddius 42. In the 2nd year of his reign (A D 686) Alfrid recalled Wilfrid and restored him first to Hexham (for a year), then to York and Ripon ib 43. cf Beda v 19 p 207 l 19 S. Haddan-Stubbs III 169—172, who point out that the diocese of York as held by Wilfrid after his return, had been deprived of Lindsey, Abercorn, Lindisfarne, Hexham.

,, 10 EPISCOPO GEVISSORVM Haedde bp of Winchester 676—703 p 31 l 6. p 113 l 20. v 18 pr. Sax chron 676 and 703. Haddan-Stubbs III 126. 164. 203 n 21.

[XVI]

WHEN Caedualla obtained the kingdom of the Geuissi, that is the West Saxons, he took also the island of Vecta which had been given up to idolatry. He exterminated all the natives and brought in men of his own provinces. He gave the fourth part of the island to bishop Wilfrid, who transferred it to one of his own clergy named Bernuin and appointed as his companion a presbyter named Hiddila. Beda relates how two boys, sons of Aruald king of Vecta, fled on the approach of the enemy into the neighbouring province of the Iutes to a place called Ad Lapidem, but afterwards were betrayed and ordered to be killed. The abbat of the monastery of Hreutford, Cyniberct, begged that he might instruct them first in the Christian faith. Having done this he baptised them and they then gladly underwent temporal death. When Vecta thus became Christian, there was no bishop at first, but afterwards Danihel was appointed bishop, who when Beda wrote was bishop of the West Saxons. Vecta is situated opposite the South Saxons and the Geuissi, separated by a sea three miles in width, in which the two tides of the ocean daily meet.

P 121 14 VECTAM c 13.

,, 17 VOTO cf the promise of Edwin that he would become a Christian, if he should recover the throne of his ancestors II 12. NECDVM REGENERATVS he was baptised in Rome a few days before his death p 120 l 28 n.

,, 20 VILFRIDO on Caedualla's gifts to Wilfrid cf Eddius 41 end.

P 121 23 FAMILIARVM p 94 l 14. cf the endowment of Canterbury and Rochester II 3. VNDE out of which 1200 Wilfrid received (l 18) a fourth part.

,, 26 FILIVS SORORIS the classical term, for which Beda elsewhere uses *nepos*.

P 122 4 IVTORVM I 15 *de* Iutarum *origine sunt Cantuarii et Victuarii, hoc est ea gens quae Vectam tenet insulam, et* ea quae hodie in prouincia occidentalium Saxonum Iutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam.

,, 6 AD LAPIDEM Stoneham near Southampton. On the form cf p 59 l 5 n *Ad Murum*. p 94 l 15 *Adbaruæ*. p 154 l 20 *Adtuifyrdi*. h a 12 *Ad Villam Sambuce*.

,, 9 HREVTFORD Redbridge (Camden 138). In the calendar of Durham William of Redeford was commemorated 31 March (Smith).

,, 22 DANIHELEM bp Winch 705—744; he supplied Beda with information respecting Wessex, Sussex and Wight p 165 l 7—11. v 18 bis. 23 p 218 l 21 and 31 S. Haddan-Stubbs III 302. 304—6. 337. 343—9. Jaffé monum Mogunt ind. 'Under him the West-Saxon diocese was divided, Aldhelm receiving the south-western portion, with his see at Sherborne, in 705, and Sussex, with its see at Selsey, being apportioned in 709 to bp Eadbert...Daniel visited Rome in 721; in 731 he assisted at the consecration of abp Tatwin; in 744 he resigned his see, and in 745 he died. His episcopate, which covers the reign of Ini, was the period of the great development and missionary exertion of the West-Saxon church' (W Stubbs in DCB 'Daniel' no 16). Baronius 719 I 2. 724 5 and 13. 726 49 seq. 54 seq. Pagi 724 2.

,, ,, NVNC AD 731 p 170 l 32.

,, 29 HOMELEA Hamble to the east of Winchester Camden 144 (Hussey).

,, 30 IVTORVM l 4 n.

[XVII]

AT this time archbishop Theodore summoned a council of priests and doctors that he might enquire into the belief of the churches of the Angles, and finding an agreement of all in the catholic faith he recorded it for the instruction of posterity. This synod was held at Haethfelth, at which the assembled fathers declared their adherence to the decrees of the councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, as

well as to those of the second council of Constantinople and the synod of Rome in the time of pope Martin. The declaration was signed by the archbishop and the whole assembly.

P **123** 4 HIS TEMPORIBVS A D 680. CONSTANTINOPOLI on the 6th general council and the preparations for it, see Hefele Conciliengesch bk XVI c 2 (III[2] 249—313).

,, 5 EVTYCHETIS on the founder of the monophysite heresy see Hefele II ind.

,, 16 ANNO DECIMO REGNI EIVS SVB DIE XV KAL OCT 17 Sept 680 p 169 l 27.

,, 17 INDICTIONE OCTAVA Haddan-Stubbs III 144 the 'year of the 8th indiction was either from 24 Sept 679 to 24 Sept 680, or from 25 Dec 679 to 25 Dec 680 and in both cases includes 17 Sept 680.' Pagi 618 13. 679 6. AEDILREDO ANNO SEXTO his reign began AD 675 p 169 l 32; if before 17 Sept, this date tallies.

,, 18 ALDVVLFO ANNO XVII p 136 l 24. Beda cites his testimony II 15. Flor Vig AD 664 (MHB 532[d]) *rege East-Anglorum Aethelwaldo defuncto successit* Aldulfus, *cuius mater Hereswitha soror sanctae Hildae abbatissae: quarum pater Hereric, cuius pater Eadfrith, cuius pater Edwine.*

,, 19 HLOTHARIO ANNO SEPTIMO p 169 l 28. His 7th year was complete, for his brother Ecgberct died in July p 104 l 10—12. No king of Wessex is named, for it 'was at this time (AD 676—685) divided among its under-kings (IV 12) or at the best in a very disturbed state' (Haddan-Stubbs III 144).

,, 23 EVANGELIIS from the council of Ephesus to that of Bâle an open copy of the gospels was ordinarily placed on the midst on a throne covered with rich stuffs (A W Haddan in DCA I 478 a).

,, 24 HAETHFELTH Bishop's Hatfield, Herts.

,, 27 SANCTORVM PATRVM SYMBOLVM as the general councils are immediately mentioned, it seems as though the allusion were here to the Apostles' Creed, of which the tradition given in Rufinus is that each apostle contributed one article and so it was compiled. See Heurtley *de fide et symbolo* p 102.

P **124** 4—6 TRINITATEM IN VNITATE CONSVBSTANTIALEM ET VNITATEM IN TRINITATE, HOC EST VNVM DEVM IN TRIBVS SVBSISTENTIIS ... CONSVBSTANTIALIBVS conc Later 649 c 1 trinitatem in unitate et unitatem in trinitate, hoc est unum deum in tribus subsistentiis consubstantialibus.

P 124 II NICAEA A D 325 Beda de sex aetatibus 688 (II 199 Stev) *prima .. uniuersalis synodus* in Nicaea congregata est contra Arium CCCXVIII patrum *temporibus Iulii papae sub Constantino principe; secunda in* Constantinopoli CL patrum contra Macedonium et Eudoxium *temporibus Damasi papae et Gratiani principis ...; tertia* in Epheso DCC patrum contra Nestorium Augustae urbis episcopum, *sub Theodosio magno principe et papa Caelestino; quarta* in Chalcedone patrum DCXXX *sub Leone papa temporibus Martiani principis* contra Eutychem nefandissimorum praesulem monachorum; *quinta item* in Constantinopoli *temporibus Vigilii papae sub Iustiniano principe* contra Theodorum et omnes haereticos. Greg I to the patriarchs ep I 25 (a profession of faith of returning schismatics II 515^{b-d} cf Pagi 602 3 4) *sicut sancti euangelii quattuor libros*, sic quattuor concilia suscipere *et uenerari me fateor:* Nicenum *scilicet*, in quo peruersum Arii dogma destruitur; Constantinopolitanum *quoque*, in quo *Eunonii et* Macedonii error conuincitur; Ephesinum *etiam* primum, in quo Nestorii impietas iudicatur; Chalcedonense uero, in quo Eutychis Dioscorique prauitas reprobatur; *tota deuotione complector* ..... quintum *quoque* concilium *pariter ueneror*, in quo et epistula quae Ibae dicitur, erroris plena, reprobatur, Theodorus personam mediatoris dei et hominum in duabus subsistentiis separans ad impietatis perfidiam cecidisse conuincitur, scripta quoque Theodoriti, per quae beati Cyrilli fides reprehenditur, *ausu dementiae prolata refutantur*. Cf ind Greg vol II 'conciliorum' end. 'concilium.' Baronius 604 3 end. 657 14. On all these councils see Isid etym VI 16, Willibald uita Bonif 8, the church histories and the histories and expositions of the creeds by Pearson, Waterland, Harvey, Swainson, Lumby. On the Nicene council see the works of Kaye and Stanley.

,, 13 CONSTANTINOPOLI A D 381.

,, 14 EFESO A D 431.

,, 16 CALCEDONE A D 451.

,, 17 ITERVM IN CONSTANTINOPOLI A D 553.

,, 19 THEODORVM ET THEODORETI ET IBAE EPISTVLAS conc quinisext or Trull A D 692 c 1 (Bruns 1 35) 'Theodore of Mopsuestia (†428), the teacher of Nestorius, ... and what Theodoret wrote against the right faith and against blessed Cyril's twelve chapters and the so-called letter of Ibas they (the fathers of Constantinople A D 553) synodically ana-

thematised'. cf conc Constantinop II A D 553 c 12—14 (Hefele Conciliengesch II² 899—902). Ibas bp of Edessa, an adherent of Theod Mops, whose letter to the Persian Maris (cf Mansi VII 227—247. Harduin II 522—527. Assemani biblioth Clem Vat I 199—204) was in substance read at the council of Chalcedon, which acquitted him. Hefele 800 'where we meet the expression *τρία κεφάλαια* or *tria capitula* in the later imperial edicts, in the protocols of the fifth oecumenical council, in papal and other documents, we are to understand thereby 1) the person and writings of Theod Mops; 2) the writings of Theodoret for Nestorius and against Cyril and the council of Ephesus; 3) the letter of Ibas'. Theod Mops rejected the term 'incarnation', for which he used *ἐνοίκησις*; and so 'separated the one Christ into *two*, the temple and the indwelling God'. Theodoret bp of Cyrus in Syria (†457), a pupil of Theod Mops, charged Cyril with confusing the two natures in Christ, and was himself repeatedly charged with Nestorianism, until at last he consented to anathematise Nestorius. The letter of Ibas charged Cyril and the council of Ephesus with Apollinarianism; it also rejected the *communicatio idiomatum*. Hefele book XIV. It was usual at provincial synods to subscribe the decrees of general synods (Hefele III² 322 323).

P **124** 21 IN VRBE ROMA IN TEMPORE MARTINI the Lateran synod 5—31 Oct 649 of 105 bps Hefele bk XV c 1 § 307 (III² 212—229). Haddan-Stubbs III 145—151. additur haec synodus quia directe celebrata est contra eos qui unam in Christo operationem et uoluntatem praedicabant (Smith). One of the motives of the mission of John the archchanter was to ascertain that the church of England was free from taint of this monothelite heresy, infra p 126 l 16. MARTINI Martin I pope 649—655.

,, 22 CONSTANTINO so in the acts of the council (Mansi X 863) for *Constante*. Constans II or Constantinus IV emperor 641—688, father of Constantinus Pogonatus.

,, 23 SVSCEPIMVS in maiorem cautelam *suscipiuntur* omnes synodi generales contra omnes haereses sicut moris fuit. huiusmodi confessionum formas ab episcopis in suo accessu factas uide Lib diurn Rom pont pp 26 ad 52 (Smith).

,, 27 SINE INITIO *ἄναρκτον*.

[XVIII]

AT the synod of Hatfield was present John the chief precentor of St Peter's at Rome, whom pope Agatho had lately sent to Britain in the company of Benedict Biscop. This Benedict was the founder of a monastery in Britain near the mouth of the river Wear. The precentor John was sent to Britain that he might teach the course of church singing according to the use of St Peter's at Rome. He instructed the dwellers in the above-named monastery and many others who thronged to learn, in reading as well as chanting. He also enquired into the belief held in the church of the Angles and reported thereon to pope Agatho, who desired to preserve the church free from prevailing heresies. This John, returning to Rome, fell ill and died on the way and was buried at Tours, at which place he had been entertained when he was coming to Britain. A report of the catholic faith of the Angles was however conveyed to the pope.

P 125 3 FIRMABAT by virtue of his appointment as the pope's legate. See Smith app xv.

,, ,, IOHANNES ARCHICANTATOR l 20 n. p 92 l 26 n. p 170 l 8. h a 14 (p 301 l 14 S) Huætberct is chosen abbat, *qui a primis pueritiae temporibus eodem in monasterio non solum regularis obseruantia disciplinae institutus, sed et scribendi* cantandi *legendi ac docendi fuerat non parua exercitatus industria.* Beda hom II 17 (XCIV 227[a] Migne). Pagi 679 8. Haddan-Stubbs III 134.

,, 4 ECCLESIAE...MONASTERII at Rome.

,, 5 NVPER AD 679 h a 6.

,, 6 BISCOPO COGNOMINE BENEDICTO pp 2. 7. 8. p 58 l 2 n. His name was Biscop Baducing Eddius 3. W Stubbs in DCB I 308. Pagi 673 13. 674 18. 703 4. Beda's homily II 17 (XCIV 224—228 Migne), though headed 'in natale sancti Benedicti *episcopi*,' relates to our Benedict. See Hardy's catalogue I (1) 366—368.

,, 7 SVPRA ie in h a 1—11. esp 4 after the early death AD 672 of Coinualch king of Wessex, Benedict *tandem ad patriam gentem solumque in quo natus est pedem conuertens Ecgfridum Transhumbranae regionis regem adiit; cuncta quae egisset ex quo patriam adulescens deseruit replicauit; quo religionis desiderio arderet non celauit; quid ecclesiasticae, quid monachicae institutionis Romae uel circumquaque didicisset, quot diuina uolumina, quantas beatorum apostolorum siue martyrum Christi reliquias attulisset, patefecit; tantamque apud regem gratiam familiaritatis inuenit,*

ut confestim ei terram septuaginta familiarum de suo largitus monasterium inibi primo pastori ecclesiae facere praeciperet. quod factum est . . . ad ostium fluminis Viri ad aquilonem anno ab incarnatione domini sexcentesimo septuagesimo quarto. In the catalogue of his writings (p 173 l 8—12) Beda places the 'history of the abbats of this monastery' immediately before the h e.

P 125 9 VIVRI Wear.

,, 11 CEOLFRIDO p 185 l 14. v 21. de sex aetatibus A D 720 (II 203 27 Stev). h a 7. 9. 10. 14—19. 21—23. anonym uita Ceolfridi in Beda II 318—334 Stevenson. Haddan-Stubbs III 248—250. DCB.

,, 12 QVOD refers to *Romam uenit.*

,, ,, ANTE SAEPIVS it was his fourth journey.

,, 13 AGATHONE pope 678—682.

,, 15 EPISTVLAM PRIVILEGII h a p 295 l 22 S *Benedictus non uile munus attulit, epistulam priuilegii a uenerabili papa Agathone cum licentia consensu desiderio et hortatu Ecgfridi regis acceptam, qua monasterium quod fecit ab omni prorsus extrinseca irruptione tutum perpetuo redderetur ac liberum.* ibid p 300 l 9. Privileges of pope Agatho to St Augustin's (Haddan-Stubbs III 124 125 doubtful); to Hexham and Ripon (Eddius 45. 49).

,, 20 CVRSVM CANENDI p 69 l 19 n. p 92 l 26 n. Smith app XII.

,, 21 AD SANCTVM PETRVM ROMAE l 4.

,, 24 CANTORES EDOCENDO p 114 l 10. p 171 l 14. v 20 end. DCA 'cantor.' Lingard II 175.

,, 26 LITTERIS MANDANDO h a p 295 l 29 John, on arriving at Wearmouth, *non solum uiua uoce quae Romae didicit ecclesiastica discentibus tradidit, sed et* non pauca etiam litteris mandata reliquit, quae hactenus in eiusdem monasterii bibliotheca memoriae gratia seruantur.

,, 28 TRANSSCRIPTA p 163 l 4.

,, 30 PROVINCIAE Northumbria.

P 126 3 EXCEPTO 'not reckoning,' 'over and above.'

,, 4 5 CVIVS ESSET FIDEI Hadrian in like manner was commissioned to have an eye upon abp Theodore p 90 l 23.

,, 6 SYNODVM 'decision of the synod.'

,, ,, SYNODVM PAPAE MARTINI see the canons of the Lateran council of 649 in Haddan-Stubbs III 145—151.

,, 7 NON MVLTO ANTE 30 years before.

,, 8 VNAM IN CHRISTO OPERATIONEM ET VOLVNTATEM conc Lat

649 praef (p 145 end Haddan-Stubbs) *unum et eundem filium unigenitum, deum uerbum, dominum Iesum Christum, et duas eiusdem sicuti naturas unitas inconfuse indiuise, ita et* duas naturales uoluntates diuinam et humanam et duas naturales operationes diuinam et humanam. Canons 10—16 affirm in detail the two wills and two operations, divine and human, in the one person of Christ. The Roman council of 679, at which Wilfrid was present, denounced the monothelite opinions (Beda v 19 p 207 5 sq S). cf Haddan-Stubbs III 140. They were definitively condemned by the 6th general council held at Constantinople in 680 (Hefele Conciliengesch bk XVI III² 121—313). Walch Hist der Ketzereien IX (Leipz 1780). Beda de sex aetatibus AD 642—688 (II 196—198 Stev) gives some account of the controversy. See any church history of the 7th century. conc Trull c 1 (Bruns I 35 end). conc Tolet XIV 684 c 3. 4 which shews the relation of national synods to the bp of Rome: *placuit porro illo tunc tempore apologeticae defensionis nostrae responsis satisfacientes Romano pontifici ea ipsa gesta firmare nostraeque fidei sensum purissima uerborum enodatione depromere. et quia illic de hac* gemina uoluntate et operatione Iesu Christi *filii dei copiose et dilucide insigniuntur quae uera sunt, quae iam utique Romanis partibus per legatos Hispaniae destinata sunt.* Baronius 622 2. 628 5 6. 629. 633. 645 esp 19. 646 11. 17. 18. 649 25 seq. 31 (great violence of pope Martin). 37. 38. esp 56. 656. 657 15. 16. 30—35. 680 2. esp 12. 18 end. 19. 681 3. 6. 9. 35. 39. 53. Pagi 626 11. 12. 628 7. 629. 639 4. 649 3. 5. the Greek disputatio Maximi cum Pyrrho (printed in Baronius after AD 679). The handful of Maronites in Lebanon alone represent the monothelite party in our day.

P 126 10 ADTVLIT he brought with him (l 6) *synodum*, i e the decrees of the council. cf v 19 (p 207 l 29 S) *cum..*synodus*...legeretur* (Hussey). PRAEFATO p 125 l 9.

„ 11 TRANSSCRIBENDAM p 125 l 28 n.

„ 16 CASTVS glossary.

„ 19 DIXIMVS c 17. Agatho had expected that Theodore and other divines from England would attend the Roman council Baronius 680 2. Lingard I 111.

„ 27 ILLO thither, to Tours.

[XIX]

KING Ecgfrid took to wife Aedilthryda daughter of Anna king of the East Angles. She had formerly been the wife of Tondberct duke of the South Gyruii. She lived with Ecgfrid twelve years, but in both marriages she remained glorious in the integrity of her virginity. Hence it was that after her death her body remained uncorrupted. She long entreated to be allowed to retire into a monastery, and at last entered that which was presided over by the abbess Aebba at Coludi Urbs (Coldingham). But within about a year she was herself made abbess at Elge (Ely) where she built a monastery. She never wore linen after her entry on the monastic life, and seldom used warm baths. She spent much time in prayer, and was able to foretell a pestilence of which she herself was to die, and also to declare how many of the inhabitants of that monastery should die of the same plague. She was buried in a wooden coffin at first, but her sister Sexburga, who succeeded her as abbess, caused her body to be taken up, after it had been buried for sixteen years, and then it was found to be free from corruption, and those who were sent forth to seek a stone for a new coffin, found a coffin of marble and a lid of the same marvellously put in readiness for them near the walls of the city of Grantchester. The physician Cynefrid tells how on examination of the body, the wound, which he had made by lancing a tumour on the neck of the abbess shortly before she died, was found to be healed up. Her garments also were fresh as new. The pain of her tumour Aedilthryda counted as a punishment for the needless weight of necklaces she had worn when young and as a sign that God by this chastisement absolved her from the guilt of idle levity. By the touch of her garments demons were put to flight and diseases cured. Blind people recovered sight by praying at the wooden coffin. The marble coffin was exactly fitted to the body of the virgin. Elge is in the province of East Anglia, and is so called from the number of eels that are caught in the marshes there.

Beda de sex aetatibus 688 (II 199 Stev). Alcuin sanct Ebor 750—779. Pagi 660 12 13. St Osith also became a nun in much the same way Baronius 653 10. Pagi 653 5. Eddius 19 Ecgfridus *rex religiosus cum beatissima* regina Adelreda, cuius corpus uiuens ante impollutum, post mortem incorruptum manens adhuc demonstratur, *simul in unum Wilfrido episcopo in omnibus obedientes facti, pax et gaudium in populis, anni frugiferi uictoriaeque in hostes deo adiuuante subsecutae sunt ... Ecgfrido rege in concordia pontificis*

nostri uiuente secundum testimonium multorum regnum per undique uictorias triumphales augebatur. discordia uero inter eos posita et regina supradicta ab eo separata et deo dedicata, *triumphare in diebus regis desiuit.* cf Pagi 671 4. 672 8 9.

P 127 2 ECGFRID his second wife Elmenburga also became a nun, when left a widow Eddius 24. Beda uita Cuthb 28.

„ 3 ANNA he died A D 654 (Pagi 654 14).

„ 4 SAEPIVS III 7 8. 18 19. 22. 24.

„ 7 TONDBERCT she had been married to him two years before the death of her father consequently in 652 A D. Tondberct died in 655 A D. The interval between his death and her marriage with Ecgfrid had been spent at Ely.

„ 10 VIRGINITATIS on ecclesiastical regulation of cohabitation see I 27 interrogatio 8. conc apost 6=5 excommunication of bp priest or deacon who puts away his wife *προφάσει εὐλαβείας.* conc Turon II 567 c 12 'ut episcopus coniugem habeat ut sororem,' cf 13. 19 'de archipresbyteris et aliis clericis coniugatis, qua cautela segregati ab uxoribus uiuere debeant.' conc Autissiod 578 c 21 'ut clerici coniugati ab uxoribus abstineant.' conc Matiscon I 581 c 11. conc Lugd III 583 c 1. Tert ad uxorem I 6 *quot item, qui* consensu pari inter se matrimonii debitum tollunt, uoluntarii spadones pro cupiditate regni caelestis! quod si saluo matrimonio abstinentia toleratur, *quanto magis adempto!* Here (as by St Paul 1 Cor 7 2 and 4) the consent of both parties is required. So by Aug ep 127=45 where he urges Argentarius and his wife Paulina to keep the vow of continence. Hier ep 71 3 7. 75 2. Continence at certain seasons (exod 19 15, cf the *castum Cereris* etc of the heathen) was enjoined by the church (Hefele Beiträge zur Kirchengesch etc Tübingen 1864 II 364. Greg dial I 10 col 193 with note d). Many examples are collected by O Zöckler Gesch d Askese (Fr a M 1863) 233 234. Bingham VII 3 § 3. XVIII 2 §§ 6—8. Epiphan haer 59 4. Gregoria when betrothed fled to a nunnery (Greg dial III 14). Nursinus a presbyter would not allow his wife to approach him even on his death-bed, exclaiming: *recede a me, mulier: adhuc igniculus uiuit, paleam tolle* (ibid IV 11). Iudicium Clementis (i e Willibrordi) in Haddan-Stubbs III 227 c 15 *non licet legitimo coniugio separari,* nisi amborum consensus fuerit, ut innupti maneant. conc Vermer 753 (al 756) c 4 'if a woman have taken the veil without her husband's consent, it is at his option to reclaim her or not' (Hefele

Conciliengesch III[2] 574). Druthmar expos in Matt xi (Migne CVI 1310°) *si uero* in monasterium abire uoluerint, neuter alium potest dimittere, nisi ambo uoluerint, *et neuter habebit socium, quandiu ambo uiuunt.* ib c 62 (1413°) qui saeculum gestiunt relinquere, debent exspectare ut et coniuges earum se queant continere, *quia non debet unus in monasterium abire et alius foris parem sortiri.* Pope Zacharias in Jaffé's Bonif ep 43 p 118 end (1 Apr 743) blames some *quia post susceptum sacerdotium se abstinere nolunt ab una uxore.* Boniface to Aethilbald king of the Mercians (ep 59 p 170) *si hoc causa castitatis et abstinentiae facere uoluisti, ut* ab uxoris coniunctione pro timore et amore dei abstinuisses, *et hoc uerum et impletum pro deo comprobaueris et in hoc gaudemus;* quia non est reprehensibile sed magis laudabile. For the legend respecting Edward the confessor and Eadgyth see Freeman's Norman conquest II append B end. Pagi 655 9 and 10 Kineburga or Cyniburga. Baronius 665 13 Wandregisil and his wife.

P **127** 16 ILLO than Wilfrid.

„ 21 CARO CORRVMPI NON POTVIT p 129 l 4.

„ 25 VIX INPETRAVIT Sebbi had like difficulty with his wife p 111 l 27.

„ 26 AEBBÆ dau of Ethelfrid, sister of Oswi and Oswald, urged Etheldreda to take the veil (Tho Elien uita Etheldr 10). She died 25 Aug 683 (Pagi 683 17). Beda uita Cuthb 10 when Cuthbert was at Melrose and his fame was spread abroad, *erat sanctimonialis femina et mater ancillarum Christi, nomine Aebbe, regens monasterium quod situm est in loco quem* Coludi Urbem *nominant, religione pariter et nobilitate cunctis honorabilis, namque erat soror uterina regis Osuiu.* At her request Cuthbert spent some days in her monastery preaching and giving an example of holy living. Eddius 38 king Ecgfrid and his wife in a pompous progress *quodam tempore ad coenobium, quod* Colodesburg *dicitur, peruenerunt, cui praesidebat sanctissima materfamilias, nomine* Aebbe, *soror Oswini* [sic] *regis sapientissima.* On a sudden the queen was possessed by a demon, and at the point of death. Aebbe explained that the possession was sent as a judgement; if Wilfrid were restored to liberty, and the relics which he bore slung from his neck were restored to him, the queen would recover. And so it fell out. Ebchester on the Derwent, where she first settled, and St Abb's Head are named from her (cf martyrol Angl 25 Aug. AA SS Aug v 194).

P 127 27 COLVDI VRBEM Coldingham in Berwickshire c 25. See correspondence, inventories, account rolls and law proceedings of the priory of Coldingham Surtees Soc no 12 1841.

„ 28 VELAMINE SANCTIMONIALIS HABITVS A PRAEFATO ANTISTITE VILFRIDO p 137 l 5. Pope Zacharias 1 May 748 (Bonif ep 68 p 197 Jaffé) *oportet ut, si* ... sanctimonialis femina ... ibi constituitur praeesse, ut ab episcopo ciuitatis consecretur ... abbatissa. 30 Apr 871 (ib 333) Liutbert abp of Maintz to Adrian II *feminas ipsas* ... *Constantiensis episcopus* sua manu ad propositum uirginitatis consecrauit et ipse eis uelamina benedixit; et eo prasente regularem uitam professae sunt.

„ 30 ELGE p 130 l 20—24.

P 128 3 NVMQVAM LINEIS SED SOLVM LANEIS VESTIMENTIS uita Cuthb 16 (end) Cuthbert always wore common clothes; hence at Lindisfarne after his example *obseruatur, nequis uarii aut pretiosi coloris habeat indumentum, sed* ea maxime uestium specie sint contenti, quam naturalis ouium lana ministrat. Ferreoli regula 558 c 31 (Migne LXVI 970b). Pope Zacharias in Migne LXXXIX 932bc (a singularly audacious interpretation) *monachi* ... lanea indumenta *iuxta normam et regulam monasticae disciplinae atque traditionem sanctorum probabilium patrum sine intermissione utantur* ... *apostolis quippe diuinum datum est mandatum duas tunicas non habendi; tunicas dixit Christus, utique* laneas non lineas. conc Tribur 859 c 56 (Harduin VI 1 455) by way of penance 'no linen except about the hips'. Bp Fisher's English works (1876) 1 181 'truly it was a more glorious sight to se saynt Poule whiche gate his lyuynge by his owne grete labour in hungre, thurst, watchynge, in colde, *goynge wolward* and beryng about the gospell and law of cryst bothe vpon the see and on the londe, than to beholde now tharchebysshoppes and bysshoppes in theyr apparayle be it neuer so ryche'. Love's labour lost v 2 'I have no shirt: *I go woolward for penance*'. Nares glossary 'woolward'. Burton's anatomy of melancholy pt III s 4 m 1 subs 2 (ed 1676 396 col 1) 'now when they are truly possessed with blind zeal and nusled with superstitition, he hath many other baits to inveagle and infatuate them farther yet, to make them quite mortified and mad, and that under colour of perfection, to merit by penance, *going wolward*, whipping, alms, fastings'. ibid subs 3 (p 407 col 1) 'what mulct, what penance soever is enjoyned, they dare not but do it, tumble with St *Francis* in the mire amongst hogs, if they be appointed, *go woolward*, whip themselves, build hospi-

tals, abbies etc. go to the East or West *Indies*, kill a king, or run upon a sword point: they perform all, without any muttering or hesitation, believe all'. Lingard I 211—213. Soames AS church 284—5. Maria of Agreda († 1658) authoress of the 'spiritual city of God', famous for her visions, by wearing a cilicium of rough wool covered her body with sores (Zöckler Gesch d Askese Fr a M 1863 p 87, where is more on hair shirts, such as Wolsey More lady Margaret wore, and iron belts, such as we find in Bonif ep p 60 end, Jaffé). So in the life of St Bridget prefixed to the "Myroure of oure Ladye" (EETS) p lii, 'she never used any lynen cloth, though it were in time of sycknes, but ooonly upon hir hed, and next hir skyn she weer ever rough and sharpe wolen cloth.' For other examples of the expression *to go woolward* the reader may see Christ's own Complaint l 502 (EETS vol 15) 'to faste and goo wolle warde', also the same words are found in Hampole's Prick of Conscience l 3514. Palsgrave defines it '*Wolwarde* without any lynen next one's body. *Sans chemyse.*' The expression is found in Pierce the Ploughman's Crede l 788, 'werchen and wolward gon', but the explanation of the last syllable is, I think, to be referred to the word *wear*, and not as Mr Skeat suggests, with the wool *towards* the skin, an explanation which would only suit with a clothing made of the fleece as it came from the sheep's back. Ward is *wered* the part of *werian* = to wear, and *woolward* means "woolclad," just as in Beowulf 606 *sweglwered* means "clad in brightness." *scirwered* and *ealdawered* may be cited as other examples of this participle in composition. It has fared with *woolward*, when it became a solitary instance of this compound, as it did with *rightwise* under similar circumstances. The love for uniform orthography made this latter word into *righteous*, and *woolwered* into *woolward* to conform to the shape of *forward* and such like words. The use of *go* is the same as in the expressions "to go bare, naked, cold &c." We can find no evidence that sheepskins with wool on were ever worn in England or elsewhere for penance.

P 128 4 RARO IN CALIDIS BALNEIS a common penance (Judith 10 3. 2 Sam 12 20. 14 2. 19 24). Hier ep 14 ad Heliodor 10 *scabra* sine balneis *attrahitur cutis? sed qui in Christo semel lotus est*, non illi necesse est iterum lauare. ibid 107 ad Laetam 11 *mihi omnino in adulta uirgine* lauacra displicent, *quae se ipsam debet erubescere et nudam uidere non posse... si* appetitis sordibus *turpare festinat naturalem pulchritudinem, cur e contrario* balnearum fomentis *sopitos ignes suscitat?* ibid 125 ad Rusticum 7 *tu uero si monachus esse*

uis non uideri, ... sordidae uestes candidae mentis indicia sint . . . . balnearum fomenta non quaerat, *qui calorem corporis ieiuniorum cupit frigore extinguere.* ibid 108 ad Eustochium 15 (in commendation of Paulla) balneas nisi periclitans non adiit. Zöckler Gesch d Askese (Fr a M 1863 p 91) 'the utmost practicable restriction of the *usus lauacrorum seu balneorum* as of a luxury specially requisite only for the sick, is required also by the rules for nuns given by Augustine c 12, Caesarius c 29, Leander c 10'. Baronius 608 6 St Theodore blames those who bathe after receiving the communion. Cuthbert only washed his feet once in several months, sometimes only once in the year uita Cuthb 18 § 32 he had so withdrawn his thoughts from concern for the body *ut semel calceatus tibracis, quas pelliceas habere solebat, sic menses perduraret integros. aliquando etiam* calceatus in pascha non nisi post annum, redeunte paschae tempore, propter lauationem pedum, *quae in cena domini fieri solet,* se discalceare dicatur.

128 4 PRAETER=praeterquam or nisi.

,, 5 SOLLEMNIIS MAIORIBVS ep ad Ecgb 9 even the more religious laity only communicate at Christmas, Epiphany, Easter.

,, 7 8 LOTIS PRIVS CETERIS FAMVLIS CHRISTI Sharon Turner AS III[7] 50. 103. uita Cuthb 7 Cuthbert finds in the guest chamber of Ripon monastery an angel *quendam sedentem iuuenem, quem hominem aestimans solito mox humanitatis more suscepit. nam lauandis manibus aquam dedit,* pedes ipse abluit, *fouendos humiliter manibus suo in sinu composuit.* ibid 18 § 32 when he first became a solitary, when visited by the brethren, he left his cell and ministered to them. quorum dum pedes aqua calida deuotus lauaret, *coactus est aliquoties ab eis etiam se discalceare* suosque pedes illis ad abluendum praebere. ibid 29 on a visitation of his diocese he came to a count's mansion, who received him hospitably. lotis more hospitalitatis manibus ac pedibus. Aldhelm (in Bonif ep 1 p 28 Jaffé) complains of the inhospitality of the Britons: nec manibus lomentum aut latex cum manutergio exhibetur neque pedibus ad lauacrum peluis adponitur, *cum saluator sindone praecinctus discipulorum pedes abluens normam nobis tradiderit imitandi dicens:* 'sicut ego feci uobis, ita et uos facite aliis'. ibid ep 61 end p 180 Boniface sends to abp Ecgberct *uillosam unam* ad tergendos pedes, cum laueris, seruorum dei. ibid ep 80 p 223 (end) pope Zacharias to Boniface 4 Nov 754 *nam et hoc inquisiuit fraternitas*

tua: si liceat sanctimoniales feminas, quemadmodum uiri, sibi inuicem pedes abluere *tam in cena domini quamque in aliis diebus. hoc dominicum praeceptum est, quod qui per fidem impleuerit, habebit ex eo laudem.* The monks of Fulda entreat Charles the Great (Migne CV 420[c] n 14) *quod peregrinorum susceptio et* lauatio *in eis* pedum *non neglegatur, sed secundum regulam et secundum priorum nostrorum consuetudinem, quandocumque uenerint, misericorditer suscipiantur et* ab omnibus fratribus lauatio pedum eis exhibeatur. conc Tolet XVII 694 c 3 (Bruns I 386).

P **128** 11 MATVTINAE SYNAXEOS p 106 l 12 n. Greg dial III 22 10 (II 330[d]) *facto autem mane expletisque laudibus dei.*

,, 14 MORITVRA she died AD 679 chron Sax. PRAEDIXERIT c 29 n.

,, 17 POST ANNOS SEPTEM therefore she became abbess 672, and took the veil at Coldingham (p 127 l 27—29) in 671.

,, 19 IVXTA ORDINEM so of St Columba's burial (Adamn uit c 15 24) *illis exequiarum diebus more peractis ecclesiastico,* after which follows at some length an account of the order observed.

,, ,, LIGNEO Stevenson 'this burial in a wooden coffin was a deviation from the usual custom, which gave the preference to stone [Beda c 11 end.] Mabillon AA SS O B I 341 § 25. II 146 § 23. 567 § 12.' 20

,, 21 SEXBVRG p 33 l 24 n. AA SS Iul II 346. monast Angl I 88 (Stevenson). Pagi 664 12.

,, 23 SEDECIM ANNIS AD 695.

,, 25 ECCLESIAM p 35 l 3 n. TRANSFERRI on translations see p 110 l 15 n. Pagi 614 4 and 5. Lingard II 51. Rock church of our 25 fathers III 482—493.

,, ,, FRATRIBVS on double monasteries see p 106 l 4 n. p 129 l 17.

,, 26 IN HOC for this purpose, as a tomb for Aedilthryda.

,, 27 ELGE this orthography compared with the present writing of the word Ely affords an interesting instance of the softening of the g, 30 as it occurs in such words as *go, gone,* and the derived adverb *yonder.*

,, ,, Pagi 660 12. 675 7.

,, 30 GRANTACAESTIR Grantchester.

,, 31 in the recent alterations of the church at Grantchester it was found that a great part of the stonework of the wall which was taken 35 down on the south side was composed of fragments of stone coffins of a very early date. This could only be discovered when the stones were dislodged but then it was very evident.

P **129** 4 INCORRVPTVM p 29 l 27 n. p 35 l 12 n. p 132 l 13. Eddius

19. Lingard II 51. Greg dial III 13 (end) bp Herculanus had been beheaded, and a strip of skin stript from crown to sole of his body: yet no trace of a wound was found on his corpse.

P 129 6 PRAEFATVS p 127 l 12 and 28.

,, 10 INCIDERE beyond blood-letting it is very rare to find any allusion to what may be called surgery in the records of the Anglo-Saxon times. The use of charms and magic prevailed strongly between 500 AD and 1000 AD. See Cockayne's Leechdoms vol 1 pref p XXIX.

,, 11 DVM=cum.

,, 12 LEVIVS HABERE to be relieved, to be better.

,, 16 TOT 16 p 128 l 23.

,, 17 PAPILIONE tent, pavilion. FRATRVM p 128 l 25 n.

,, 21 CLAMAVERVNT called.

,, 24 DORMIENTIS SIMILE p 158 l 15 n. and so of Columba (Adamn uit III c 24) 'facies non quasi mortui sed dormientis uideretur uiuentis.'

,, 25 26 VVLNVS CVRATVM Greg dial I 7 Nonnosus, when washing glass lamps, broke one; fearing his abbat's wrath, he laid the 'innumerable' fragments on the altar and prayed: on raising his head *sanam lampadem repperit.* cf II 1 pr. 11 Benedict by prayer heals a boy crushed by a falling wall. III 13 (cited on l 4). IV 27 col 416e.

,, 28 LINTEAMINA p 158 l 16 n.

,, 31 PRAEFATO l 9.

P 130 2 3 SVPERVACVA MONILIORVM PONDERA Boniface in his letter to Cuthbert abp of Canterbury (ep 70 p 209 Jaffé, written after May 748) superuacuam *et deo odibilem* uestimentorum superstitionem omni intentione prohibere stude. *quia illa ornamenta uestium —ut illis uidetur, quod ab aliis turpitudo dicitur— ... aduentum antichristi ... praecurrunt ... haec indumenta, nuditatem animae significantia, signa in se ostendunt arrogantiae et superbiae et luxuriae et uanitatis.* Baronius 665 11 a courtier is directed repeatedly by an apparition of St Eligius to charge queen Bathildis to lay aside her trinkets. He fears to do so and is struck down with fever. The queen learns the cause and makes a cross and shrine for the bones of Eligius; and the rest of the produce of her jewels she gives in alms. Lingard I 210—213.

,, 7 INDVMENTORVM p 160 l 29. DAEMONIA p 39 l 31 n. p 132 l 16 17. Greg dial IV 6 (end) *ad extincta namque eorum corpora uiuentes aegri ueniunt et sanantur; periuri ueniunt et daemonio uexan-*

tur; daemoniaci ueniunt et liberantur. Rufin h e XI 4 (end) cure of a demoniac girl by Egyptian saints.

P 130 9 LOCVLVM p 128 l 20. The bed of Domninus after his death healed diseases Pallad hist Laus 83.

,, 12 13 LAVERVNT CORPVS NOVIS INDVTVM VESTIBVS p 35 l 14. Greg dial III 17 pr *quem ex more* lotum, uestimentis indutum *et sabano constrictum superueniente uespere sepelire nequiuerunt.* IV 1 (end) *cum . . . corpus eius ex more mortuorum* ad lauandum *esset nudatum.* ibid 27 col 416[B]. Baronius 632 6.

,, 14 QVOD (cf 16 SARCOFAGVM) neuter also c 11 where is a like miracle in *fitting* the body to the coffin. Lingard II 46 n 2.

,, ,, ADLATVM from Grantchester.

,, 21 FAMILIARVM p 67 l 1 n. see further on the *familia* Kemble's Saxons in England bk 1 c 4.

,, 23 ANGVILLARVM p 117 l 1 n. For notices of the abundance of fish of every kind in the marshes round Ely see Cooper's annals of Cambridge I 267.

,, 26 PRAEFATI p 127 l 3.

[XX]

BEDA here inserts a hymn in praise of virginity and especially of Aedilthryda, which he composed in elegiac metre many years before. He thus imitates Holy Scripture, the historical parts of which are varied by the insertion of compositions in metre and verse.

P 130 28 this chapter is omitted in the Saxon version.

Alcuin sanct Ebor 780—4 *istius ergo sacrae praedictus Beda puellae | in laudem fecit praeclaris uersibus hymnum; | quapropter tetigi parcis haec pauca libellis, | utpote commemorans ueteris prouerbia dicti:* | 'tu ne forte feras in siluam ligna uiator' (cf Hor s I 10 34). B ten Brink Gesch d engl Litteratur (Berl 1877 I 42 end) 'At a time when the laws of classical versification had become strange to the Italian clergy, English monks and bishops wrote, English nuns read, Latin poems, compared with which the verses elsewhere composed at that time, seemed almost as barbarous as they themselves appeared by the side of the lines of Vergil or Horace'.

,, 30 VIRGINITATIS on the same theme Aldhelm (V 18) wrote in prose and verse.

P 131 1 ET IDEO . . . CHRISTI cf Greg III 31 345[d] cited p 34 l 14 n.

,, SPONSAE the same expression is put into the mouth of Christ on his appearance to St Bridget (Myroure of our Ladye p 57) 'henceforthe thou shalte be reputyd to be my espouse'.

,, ELEGIACO METRO p 173 l 18 n. Verses, with an epanalepsis or recurrence of this kind, in which the first 2½ feet of the hexameter are identical with the last half of the pentameter, are called *echoici* or *serpentini* cf p 14 l 5 n. Chr D Iani artis poët Lat libri IV (Halae 1774) who cites Ov f IV 365 366. amor I 9 1 2. Mart VIII 21 1 2. Burman anth Lat I 558 559 gives many other exx, esp Mart IX 97 where six distichs begin and end with *rumpitur inuidia*. Riese anth Lat n 38—81. Sedulius hymn I (and Beda notes V 18 that Aldhelm imitated Sedulius). Paulus diac c 3 and 4 (Migne XCV 1593—7). So in Alcuin, Fortunatus e g misc VIII 2, Eugenius opusc pt 1 c 4 end. 7 end. 8 all distichs but last, 18 last distich but one (Migne LXXXVII 360[b]. 361[be]. 365[c]). There are several false quantities in this poem, esp in proper names.

,, 7 cf Greg Tur glor mart (prooem) Jerome says that he was taken before the bar of the supreme Judge and severely flogged for reading the subtleties of Cicero or deceits of *Virgil* . . . Therefore we must write and speak what may edify the church of God . . . *non ego Saturni fugam non Iunonis iram non Iouis stupra non Neptuni iniuriam non Aeoli sceptra* non Aeneadum bella *naufragia uel regna commemoro* cet.

,, 10 LVBRICIS same quantity in Aldhelm in Migne LXXXIX 195[a] *et pulchre digitis* lubricum *comprendere corpus*.

,, 17 TONANTIS glossary. So Eadburga to Boniface (Baronius 725 24) *ille superi rector* Olympi.

,, 21 AGATHE Iacobus a Vorag leg aur 39 pp 170—173 Grässe. A W Haddan in DCB. Aldhelm de laud uirginitatis 41 42 (Migne LXXXIX 142). id de laud uirginum (ibid 268[d]—270[c]). The same quantity in the epitaph on pope Agatho (Baronius 682 1).

,, 22 EVLALIA Greg Tur glor mart 1 91. with Tecla in Aldhelm (Migne 193[c]).

,, 23 TECLA Iacob a Vorag 208 = 204 p 905.

,, 24 EVFEMIA ibid 139 = 133 pp 620—2.

,, 25 AGNES ibid 23 pp 113—7. A W Haddan in DCB.

,, 26 CAECILIA Iacob a Vorag 169 = 164 pp 771—7. Aldhelm in Migne 268. DCB.

,, 31 PATRE p 127 l 3.

P 132 1 DOMINO qu '*than* her lord,' her first husband Tondberct? cf *inde* l 2.

,, 2 REGINAE p 127 l 2.

,, 5 SPONSVS p 130 l 31.

,, 8 BIS SEX ANNIS p 127 l 9 ie 659—671; according to Flor Vig 660—672 (MHB 531d. 533d).

,, 9 MONASTERIO p 127 l 25—30.

,, 12 BIS OCTO NOVEMBRES i e 16 years p 128 l 23 *cum* sedecim annis *esset sepulta.*

,, 13 NEC PVTET CARO p 127 l 21. p 128 l 23.

,, 14 15 VESTIS INVIOLATA p 129 l 28—30.

,, 16 17 YDROS ET ATER ABIT SACRAE PRO VESTIS HONORE, MORBI DIFFVGIVNT p 130 l 7 8. *hydros* (*ὕδρος*) is properly a water-snake; but is used like *chelydrus* (Beda mirac Cuthb c 11 6. c 13 24. c 45 4. Eugen Tolet opusc pt 1 c 4 1 in Migne LXXXVII 360b; other exx in Ducange) for the serpent of genesis 3, which was early (wisd 2 24. 4 Macc 18 8. apoc 12 9 Schöttgen, 20 2. Eisenmenger entdecktes Judenthum 1 822 seq) identified with the devil. Prud hamartigen 613—4 *tunc praegnas letale genus concepta maligni | fert opera ingenii de semine complicis* hydri. Beda mirac Cuth 13 ult (tit 'qualiter *daemonium* ab uxore cuiusdam necdum aduenientis eiecerit') *eius ad aduentum fugiens ut cesserit* hydros. So in a letter from 'quidam' to 'quaedam' begging for her prayers, as the world's end is near (Bonif ep 139 p 307 Jaffé) hydram *quoque semper nouis hiantem sibilis.* See journal of philology VII (1877) 314—5. Ducange HIDROS diabolus, seruus (serpens?). ATER V 13 the black book of sins brought by demons to the dying. mirac Cuthb 13 10 11 (II 17 25 26 Stev) daemonis atri | *saeuitiam miserae diris incumbere poenis.* 14 (ib 19 4) *hostis et* atra *crucis rutilo fugat arma tropaeo.* 15 2 Cuthbert in the isle of Farne *indigenas patria fugat impiger* atros. ibid 39 9 10 (37 28 29 of the miracles at Cuthbert's tomb) morborum fugiunt labes, furor impius atri | daemonis absistit. Greg dial IV 18 a blasphemous boy, five years of age, being at the point of death, resting on his father's lap, cried '*obsta, pater, obsta, pater,*' and hid his face. Being asked what he saw, he said: 'Mauri *homines uenerunt, qui me tollere uolunt*', and with a curse yielded up the ghost. Gregory avers that this happened in Rome, three years before the date of his writing. Adamnan uita Columbae III 12 (Migne LXXXVIII 763d) *uidet contra se tetram et* nigerrimam *daemonum cum ferreis ucrubus aciem proeliari.* Corippus Iohannidos 1 243—253 *tristis imago |*

ductoris stetit ante pedes. cognata tenebris | Maura *uidebatur facies* nigroque colore | horrida.. | .. *malignus* | *angelus ille fuit claro de.ectus Olympo.* When the temple of Zeus at Apamea was burnt under the authority of Theodosius (Thdt h e v 21 § 11) δαίμων τις μέλας stayed the fire; the deacon chased him away with holy water, which acted on the fire like oil. Aug ciu dei XXII 8 § 5. Barth on Stat Th IV 440.

P 132 26 AGNI no verse of scripture was more familiar to the fathers and the middle age than apoc 14 4.

„ 27 QVAM AFFECTV elision in same place in the epitaph on Gregory (II 1 verse 6) *qui innumeris.* mirac Cuthb 32 6 *quam imperiti.* 35 6 *qui obsequio.* uita Cuthb 42 § 72 *qui ignibus* and next line *ne Hebraeum.* Alcuin sanct Ebor 907 *quo ad latam.* cf Verg ecl 3 48. Hor s I 1 51 56. 2 96. 3 120. II 3 183. Pers v 127.

XXI

IN the ninth year of king Ecgfrid a battle was fought near the river Trent between him and Aedilred king of Mercia. There a brother of king Ecgfrid was slain, named Aelfuin. The war seemed likely to grow fiercer, but through the exhortations of archbishop Theodore the two kings and people were appeased and no man's life taken for the king's brother who had been slain, only his wergyld paid to king Ecgfrid.

P 132 28 NONO AD 679 p 169 l 27. p 170 l 5.

„ 30 OCCISVS EST AELFVINI his corpse was brought back to York, as Wilfrid had foretold, exactly a year after the expulsion of Wilfrid (v 19 p 206 30. Eddius 24) *eo die anniuersario* Elfwin *regis occisi cadauer in Eboricam delatum est, omnes populi amare lacrimantes uestimenta et capitis comam lacerabant, et frater eius superstes usque ad mortem sine uictoria regnabat.*

„ 30 TREANTA because in Will Malmsb the name of the prince killed in this battle is given as Aeduinus, Smith inclines to place the battle-field in Yorkshire near Hatfield, but there seems to be greater probability in the suggestion of Elford (i e Aelfwin's ford) on Trent as the scene of the battle, and Gibson in his additions to Camden col 537 describes a tumulus which may perhaps have been erected to commemorate this event.

P 133 1 VTRIQVE PROVINCIAE to the Mercians as well as to the Northumbrians.

P 133 2 SOROREM EIVS OSTHRYD p 170 l 15. MHB ind 'Osthryd.' Eddius 38 after Wilfrid's release from prison Ethelred's brother's son Beorthvald gave him an estate. *deinde uigilante antiqui hostis inuidia* Ethelredus rex et regina sua soror Ecgfridi regis, *audientes hominem dei de patria expulsum et illic manentem et modicum quiscentem, . . . Beorthvaldo in sua salute interdicunt, ut sub eo unius diei spatium esset, pro adulatione Ecgfridi regis.*

,, 4 POPVLOS l 1 n.

,, 7 ALTERVTRVM adv=inter se p 156 l 18.

,, 9 MVLTA PECVNIAE Kemble Saxons in England bk 1 c 10 p 276. Among the Saxons the wer-gyld or life-price was the basis upon which all peaceful settlement of feud was established. A sum paid either in kind or in money, where money existed, was placed upon the life of every free man according to his rank in the state, his birth or his office. A corresponding sum was settled for every wound that could be inflicted upon his person, for nearly every injury that could be done to his civil rights, his honour or his domestic peace; and further fines were appointed according to the peculiar adventitious circumstances that might appear to aggravate or extenuate the offence. From the operation of this principle no one was exempt, and the king as well as the peasant was protected by the wer-gyld payable to his kinsmen and his people. The difference of the wer-gyld is the principal distinction between different classes: it defined the value of each man's oath, his protection, the amount of his fines or exactions and it regulated the equivalent for his value.

,, ,, REGI Ecgfrid.

XXII

IN the aforesaid battle a remarkable occurrence took place. A soldier named Imma was struck down and left for dead. He however revived and was departing from the battle field, when he was discovered and carried a prisoner to one of king Aedilred's earls. He concealed that he was a soldier and pretended to be a rustic. At nights the earl caused him to be bound but his bonds were always marvellously loosed, for he had a brother Tunna abbot of a monastery at Tunnacaestir, who thinking him dead had masses said for his soul at the celebration of which his bonds were straightway loosed. The earl thought he had some charm and questioned him, whereupon he related that his brother by his masses procured his release. He

also revealed his real condition, and the earl, who had promised not to kill him, sold him for a slave, but in that condition his bonds always fell off. At last he gave his oath to his master that he would pay his ransom or return, and so was allowed to go home. His relation of all that had happened to him encouraged those who heard it in the use of masses. Some who had seen this very man Imma narrated the story to Beda.

Alcuin sanct Ebor 785—834 (II 250 Froben). Greg dial IV 57 'de quodam ab hostibus capto, cuius uincula oblationis hora soluebantur; et de Baraca nauta per salutarem hostiam a naufragio liberato'. id in euang hom 37 8 (I 1631[bc] Bened). Aelfric II 357 Thorpe. A similar story in uita Ioannis eleemosynarii § 49 (AA SS 23 Jan III 139[a] ed nou, ex metaphraste). Greg dial II 31 a look of Benedict's loosens the bonds of an innocent man. Eddius 37 no chains could be made to bind Wilfrid. Baronius 603 12 when George the Cappadocian received the chalice, the chains fell from his hands. ibid 612 6 the chains of prisoners, whom Columban designed to baptise, crumbled like rotten wood. Ov met III 699 700 *sponte sua patuisse fores* lapsasque lacertis | sponte sua fama est nullo soluente catenas. DCass LX 35 § 1 *ἡ αὐτόματος τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἀνοιξις*. cf Ioseph b I VI 5 § 3 (p 292 41 Dindorf). Greg Tur gl mart I 184.

P 133 13 PRAEFATO C 21. REX AELFVINI so he is called by Eddius cited on p 132 l 30.

P 134 1 MOX VT = simul ac.

,, 2 VINCVLA SOLVTA a like effect is related concerning a prisoner who prayed to St Godehard (uit SG p 72 Brower) ex trunco magnae molis et fortitudinis quo conclusus fuerat integro remanente quasi ex liquida re sine laesione pedes reduxit. And in the 'Myroure of our Ladye' (EETS) p 292 we are told in an account of the mass that "whyle Saynte Basyle said *Kyrieleyson* the church dores, that were locked ageynste him, opened."

,, 4 HACTENVS to A D 731.

,, 5 TVNNACAESTIR perhaps the Tovecester of the Domes day book 'a city and fortified place on the river Tove' on the north side of which are the ruins of a Saxon tower. The letter *n* and *u* are frequently confounded by the decipherers of old MSS (Giles). Now Towcester in Northamptonshire.

,, 6 VENIT QVAERERE inf of purpose p 22 l 19 n.

,, 9 PRO ABSOLVTIONE ANIMAE EIVS MISSAS p 120 l 26. p 135

l 23. v 16 *crypta...*, *in qua* super altare pro defunctis honoratis sacrificium solet offerri. Greg dial IV 55 with Bened n. In 762 a benefit club was formed by 44 Frankish prelates at Attigny; when a member died, each of the other members engaged to say in person 30 masses, and procure 100 masses to be said for his soul (Werner Bonif 453). Bugga to Boniface (Bonif ep 16 p 75 end Jaffé) *deposco ut* sanctarum missarum oblationes offerre digneris pro anima mei propinqui, *qui mihi prae ceteris carus erat, cuius nomen erat N.* ib ep 112 p 274 (from a vision of the other world) *omnes animas in puteis quandoque solubiles esse, uel in die iudicii aut ante. et narrabat* unam feminam redemptam de aliquo puteo missarum sollemnitatibus. *et hoc maximum bonum animabus egredientibus de corpore dixit.* ibid ep 10 p 59 a dying monk leaves a request to his brother to emancipate a slave-woman, their joint property, *pro anima eius.* Greg III to Boniface cir 732 (ib ep 28 p 93) pro obeuntibus *quippe consuluisse dinosceris*, si liceat oblationes offerre. *sancta sic tenet ecclesia*, ut quisque pro suis mortuis uere Christianis offerat oblationes atque presbyter eorum faciat memoriam. Rock church of our fathers I 71—76. Theodore's penitential II c 5 'de missa defunctorum' (Haddan-Stubbs III 194—195). Some offered such masses for their living enemies, as a fatal spell conc Tolet XVII c 5 *ut is, pro quo id ipsum offertur sacrificium, ipsius sacrosancti libaminis interuentu mortis ac perditionis incurrat periculum.*

P 134 14 LITTERAS SOLVTORIAS cf p 151 l 26. Suidas Ἐφέσια γράμματα 'when an Ephesian and Milesian were wrestling, they say that the Milesian was unable to wrestle, because the other had tied "Ephesian letters" about his ancle. When these were untied, the Ephesian is said to have been thrown thirty times' (Smith).

,, 17 MEA PROVINCIA Northumbria p 133 l 17.

,, 23 DIXERAT p 133 l 26. NOBILIBVS the *miles* (p 133 l 25) was not a private V 11 (end) *uiro illustri et ad saeculum quoque* nobili, *qui de* milite *factus fuerat monachus* (Hussey). Sharon Turner AS bk VII c 12.

,, 26 DVM = cum.

,, 27 MINISTRVM thane II 9 (p 88 l 20 S) *Lilla* minister regi *amicissimus* is presently called *miles*. Sharon Turner AS III[7] 168—174. 185. 202—6.

,, 28 RVSTICVS p 133 l 25.

P 135 8 SORORIS Sexburg wife of Earconberct p 33 l 24. p 128 l 21.

,, 9 SVPRA c 19 20.

,, 10 MINISTER p 134 l 27 n.

,, 13 PATRIAM p 134 l 17 n. FRATREM p 134 l 3 and 16.

,, 16 ILLIS TEMPORIBVS at 9 a m l 5.

,, 19 OBLATIONEM HOSTIAE SALVTARIS l 23. V 10 (p 192 l 32 S) *cotidie* sacrificium deo uictimae salutaris offerebant. h a 16 of Ceolfrid *cotidie missa cantata* salutaris hostiae *deo munus* offerret. cf homil 10 (Migne XCIV 55ª). Rock church of our fathers 1 15—17.

,, 23 24 PRO ERREPTIONE SVORVM QVI DE SAECVLO MIGRAVERANT p 134 l 9 n.

,, 27 HANC HISTORIAM this story forms the substance of a sermon on the efficacy of the holy mass in Aelfric's homilies II 357. There are one or two renderings that are worth recording. The *litterae solutoriae* are translated 'witchcraft or runes', and *Fresus* 'a Frisian'; and *miles* is throughout rendered 'a thane' see p 133 l 25 n.

[XXIII]

IN the year 680 A D died Hild abbess of Strenaeshalch, at the age of sixty-six, the latter half of which she had spent in monastic life. She was a daughter of Hereric, nephew of king Eduin, and was baptised through the preaching of bishop Paulinus. She first retired to East Anglia, intending to go into the monastery of Cale in Gaul, where her sister Heresuid was already living. Bishop Aidan recalled her to her own country and she for one year lived the monastic life on the north bank of the Wear. After this she was made abbess at Heruteu and no long time after took up her abode at the city of Calcaria where she brought the monastery into strict order and great fame. After this she undertook to set in order a monastery at Strenaeshalch which work she accomplished. She was famed for prudence, so that kings and princes sought her counsel. She made those who were of her monastery spend much of their time in reading the holy scriptures, and from the training of that monastery came forth five holy bishops, Bosa who was made bishop of York, Aetla who was ordained to the bishopric of Dorchester, Oftfor, John and Wilfrid. Of the last two John was made bishop of Hagustald (Hexham)

and Wilfrid of the church of York, Oftfor went into Kent to archbishop Theodore, and afterwards to Rome. On his return to Britain he was elected bishop of the Huiccii and ordained by bishop Wilfrid. For Bosel the prelate of the Huiccii was too infirm to discharge his episcopal duties. Tatfrid, also from Hild's monastery, had been elected bishop in that province before Bosel, but died before consecration.

The fame of Hild's piety extended to a distance, for her mother Bregusuid had dreamed while Hild was young and her husband Hereric in exile that he was suddenly taken from her and while seeking for him she discovered under her robe a most precious necklace which appeared to shine with a light that filled all the limits of Britain. This dream was fulfilled in her daughter. This abbess Hild was sick with violent fever for six years, yet she never omitted her thanks to her Maker or the public and private teaching of her flock. In the seventh year of her sickness she came to her end, and before her death exhorted the handmaids of Christ to keep peace with one another. On the night of her death God sent a vision indicative thereof to a holy woman named Begu, who lived in another monastery at Hacanos (Hackness), for Begu when resting in the dormitory heard suddenly the sound of the bell which was wont to be rung when one of them died. The roof of the house appeared also to be uncovered and a great light to shine from above. She saw also the soul of Hild borne to heaven by angels. She told her vision at once and said that Hild the mother of them all had just departed from the world. The deputy-abbess who heard this roused all the sisters to prayer and at dawn there came messengers announcing Hild's death. To them they related the account of this vision. Hacanos is thirteen miles distant from Strenaeshalch. It is also said that Hild appeared in a vision on the same night to one of the women of her own monastery, who, judging that the abbess was dead, called on those who were with her to pray for her soul. Hier vit Malchi 7 f.

P 136 2 POST HVNC after the year of the battle on the Trent c 21 22.

,, 5 SVPRA p 67 l 6. p 71 l 4.

,, 7 XV KAL DEC 17 Nov 680.

,, 11 NEPOTIS p 30 l 6 n.

,, 12 CVM QVO REGE II 14.

,, 17 RELICTO HABITV SAECVLARI A D 647 33 years before her death l 8.

P 136 19 PROPINQVA REGIS ILLIVS Aedilheri, brother and successor (654—20 Sept 655) of Anna king of East Anglia, married Hilda's sister Heresuid l 24. cf p 66 l 17. Flor Vig in MHB 636°. 639°.

,, 21 CALE p 33 l 13 n. Chelles must have been restored, not originally founded, by Balthildis, if Bede is correct: Pagi 680 14—21 (cf 705 18—20) rejects his evidence. Mabillon AA SS OB III 25. The studies pursued in these nunneries may be inferred from the example of St Radegunde, queen of France, foundress of Holy Cross convent at Poitiers, who there read Greg Naz Bas Athan Hil Ambr Jerome Aug Sedulius Orosius (mém de l'inst inscr et belles-lettres XXVIII 1874 I 83 84, Jourdain l'éducation des femmes au moyen âge). See also, on Cale and Hild, the anonymous life of Bathildis, Migne LXXXVII 667 seqq. where the foundation of Chelles is ascribed to that princess more than once.

,, 27 PRAEFATA l 18.

,, 29 VIVRI Wear.

P 137 2 HERVTEV p 67 l 3 n. Lingard I 193. Mabillon ann OSB I 435.

,, 3 HEIV Leland and others call this woman Bega and make her first to have settled at the place which is now called St Bees, then to have removed to the banks of the Wear, after that to Heruteu, then to Calcaria and last to Hacanos (Hackness) where she died. Of all this Smith says *hanc opinionem inueniemus nullo, nisi nominis similitudine, fundamento innixam.*

,, 4 PROPOSITVM VOW p 143 l 18.

,, 5 VESTEM SANCTIMONIALIS HABITVS CONSECRANTE AIDANO p 127 l 28.

,, 8 KÆLCACAESTIR Camden suggests *Tadcaster*, Dodsworth and Gale, *Newton Kyme*, the Ingleby MS *Abberforth*. The first is t'ıe most likely. See Camd Brit col 714.

,, 12 QVIQVE=quicumque.

,, 15 ALIQVOT ANNOS Streaneshalch (Whitby) was founded AD 657 or 658 two years after the battle at the river Vinvaed (at the end of 655) p 66 l 20. p 67 l 5. p 169 l 21.

,, 24 OMNIBVS ESSENT OMNIA COMMVNIA Greg dial IV 55 (II 465^{b-d}) Gregory troubled to find that a monk skilled in medicine, Iustus, had concealed 3 gold pieces: *quippe quia eiusdem nostri monasterii semper regula fuerat, ut* cuncti fratres ita communiter uiuerent, quatenus eis singulis nulla habere propria liceret. Gregory

forbad the monks to visit him on his death-bed and ordered his corpse to be buried in a dunghill. Mabillon ann OSB I 448 privilege granted (657 or 658) to S Columba's monastery by Emmo bp of Sens: as you are inflamed by such a heavenly fervour, *ut secundum patrum regulam et euangelicam auctoritatem atque apostolicam traditionem uiuere disponatis, ita ut iuxta normam apostolicorum actuum* nullus sibi monachus ullo umquam tempore peculiare in rebus maximis uel minimis appetat aut uindicet nec suum proprium dicere praesumat, sed sint illis in cunctis omnia communia. Mém de l'inst inscr XXVIII (1876) pt 2 253 where Hauréau cites Iacobus de Vitriaco (of Vitri, biblioth nat ms lat 17509 fol 43 v°) *si inueniatur sub tunica monachi uel alibi* aliquid proprium quod retinuerit, *non in coemeterio sed asini sepultura debet sepeliri.* ibid *monachus unum obolum habens non ualet unam pictauinam* (a poitevine = ½ obol). anon ms lat 15963 (1) fol 121 proprium est monacho non habere proprium, quod si habuit, iam non est monachus, quia non habet suum proprium, sicut non est homo qui non est risibilis. Hauréau adds an anecdote, which appears under different forms. A monk shortly after death appears to a brother monk and complains of his sufferings in purgatory. When new shoes were given out, instead of returning the old ones to the vestry, he hid them under his bed, intending to give them to his father. The shoes are found and deposited in the vestry. After a few days the spirit again appears and thanks his friend for releasing him from pain. Odo Cluniac (Eudes of Cluni) collat III c 21 (cited by Hauréau 254) the devil appears by the deathbed of a nun. She remembers that she has, without permission, a needle, which she gives up. Still the enemy does not budge. She ransacks her memory and cries: 'Yes, and I have a thread of silk.' It is found and restitution made; the nun dies with a smile.

P 137 29 LECTIONI Ch Jourdain 'sur l'éducation des femmes au moyen âge' in mém de l'inst inscr XXVIII (1) 1874 79—133.

P 138 2 BOSA V 3 pr. Acca was brought up under him V 20 end. W Stubbs in DCB. Dixon-Raine fasti Eborac I 83 84. AETLA I 4. W Stubbs in DCB 'probably the same as Haeddi, who was bp of the West Saxons 676—705; but Flor Vig (MHB 622) supposes him to have been the bp of a new see established for the South Angles in 679, in consequence of the decree of the synod of Hertford. Dorchester however was still a part of Wessex, nor was the see finally fixed at Winchester until the translation of S Birinus by Haeddi... before 693.

Perhaps Aetla may have been a diminutive of Haeddi'. OFTFOR l 8—26. Flor Vig dates his consecration 691 (MHB 538e) and his death 692 (539a. cf Anglia sacra I 470). Kemble cod dipl no 35. Smith app 21. IOHANNES 'of Beverley' bp of Hexham l 6. He had the signal honour of ordaining Beda p 171 l 19. Pagi 687 12. 693 8. 721 6. Eddius 57. His life by Folcard a monk of Canterbury AA SS 7 May. Alcuin de sanctis Ebor 1083—1214. Chron sax 685. 721. Stubbs dates his consecration 25 Aug 687, his translation to York 705, his resignation 718, his death 7 May 721. Dixon-Raine I 84—92. MHB ind.

P 138 3 VILFRID l 7. p 174 l 3. Dixon-Raine I 92—94, to be distinguished from the great champion of Rome, bp successively of York Leicester and Hexham († 12 Oct 709 Dixon-Raine I 55—83), and from the bp of Worcester (Beda v 23. Flor Vig 717) who died 743 or 745. Wilfrid II or iunior, a pupil of John, who resigned in his favour 718, resigned 732, and died 29 April 744 or 745.

„ „ SVPRA p 124 l 24 n. l 26 n.

„ 6 INFRA v 2—6 of John. v 6 (end) of Wilfrid.

„ 8 MEDIO i e of the third, Oftfor, in the middle of the five.

„ „ VTROQVE p 137 l 2 and 18.

„ 9 LECTIONI p 137 l 29 n.

„ 10 PERFECTIORA Hild was (p 71 l 11) *in parte Scottorum.*

„ 12 LECTIONIBVS on the school of Theodore see c 2.

„ 12 13 ROMAM ADIRE EO TEMPORE MAGNAE VIRTVTIS AESTIMABATVR p 101 l 7 n. v 11 pr Willibrord, shortly after commencing his Frisian mission, went to Rome for the pope's licence and blessing and for relics. Beda de sex aetatibus A D 720 (II 203 23 Stev) *his temporibus* multi Anglorum gentis nobiles et ignobiles uiri et feminae duces et priuati diuini amoris instinctu Romam uenire consueuerant. Aelffled, abbess of Streaneshalch, introduces to a Frankish princess, abbess near Trèves, an English abbess (Bonif ep 8 Jaffé p 49 cf p 50) *pro Christi caritate et pro honore sanctorum apostolorum, Petri uidelicet et Pauli,* ad ipsorum sancta limina ire cupientem. The abbess Eangyth and her daughter Heaburg write to Boniface (ep 14 p 68) *alii patria litora reliquerunt et aequoreis campis se crediderunt et* sanctorum petiuere apostolorum limina Petri et Pauli. (ib pp 69 70) *multum temporis fluxit, ex quo desiderium habuimus, sicut plurimi ex necessariis nostris et cognatis siue alienis,* dominam quondam orbis Romam peteremus et ibi peccatorum nostrorum ueniam impetremus, *sicut alii multi fecerunt*

et adhuc faciunt . . . sed quia scimus, quod multi sunt, qui hanc uoluntatem uituperant et hunc amorem derogant, on the ground that the canons require those who are under vows to remain in the place where they took the vows, we ask your advice. In his famous letter (A D 748 after May) to abp Cuthbert Boniface reports that pilgrimages led to great scandal (ep 70 p 208) *bonum esset et honestas et pudicitia uestrae ecclesiae et aliquod uelamentum turpitudinis,* si prohiberet synodus et principes uestri mulieribus et uelatis feminis illud iter et frequentiam quam ad Romanam ciuitatem ueniendo et redeundo faciunt. *quia magna ex parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris. perpaucae enim sunt ciuitates in Longobardia uel in Francia aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera uel meretrix gentis Anglorum. quod scandalum est et turpitudo totius ecclesiae uestrae.* ib 88 p 236 Boniface recommends delay till danger from the Saracens is over. Wiethburga had found rest *iuxta limina sancti Petri.* ib ep 103 p 254 king Aethilbert of Kent (748—755) to Boniface, the abbess Bugge's visit to Rome. cf ib 53 p 155 end. One of the offences of 'the false prophet' Aldeberct (ib 50 p 139 before Oct 745) was his asking, *quid uoluissent homines* uisitando limina sanctorum apostolorum. Prudent perist II 520 *ipsa et senatus lumina,* | *quondam luperci aut flamines,* | apostolorum et martyrum | exosculantur limina. Claudius of Turin (cent IX) wrote against these pilgrimages (bibl patr max XIV 198^{efh}, also against images). Dungal (ib 210^{h} 211 seq) attributes his objections to trade rivalry: *quod autem ille sanctorum omnium basilicas maximeque sancti Petri orandi causa visitati abhorret, dum eam numerosior populus quam alias appetit ecclesias, . . . inuidiae ut arbitror et cupiditatis stimulis agitatus hoc facit, quod uotiua illuc plurima confluunt donaria. nam si ad Taurinensium ecclesiam ita deferrentur, certe crediderim quod non minus isti consuetudini fauendo et eam laudando desudasset, quam nunc blasphemando et dehortando laborat.* ib 219^{e} *blasphemator quasi alter immanior Tartareus Cerberus.* Ethelric in Kemble cod dipl II 227 when I sought St Peter and St Paul for the healing of my soul. See glossary 'limen'. Lingard II 98. 106. 114 115. Baronius 650 3.

P 138 15 HVICCIORVM p 116 l 3n. OSRIC Kemble cod dipl n 12. AA SS 13 Febr (II 673 n 2).

,, 16 VERBVM ET EXEMPLVM p 27 l 2 n.

,, 18 BOSEL bp Worcester 689 (Flor Vig MHB 536^{b}), resigned 691 (ib 538^{c}).

P 138 22 AEDILREDO on his friendship for Wilfrid 1 see Eddius 41 end. 43 end.

,, 23 MEDITERRANEORVM ANGLORVM l 3 n. bp Leicester 692—705. cf Dixon-Raine I 72 n *a*. Eddius 44 in Haddan-Stubbs III 219.

,, 25 THEODORVS DEFVNCTVS he died 19 Sept 690 aet 88, his successor Berctuald was elected 1 July 692, consecrated 29 June 693 v 8.

,, 29 MONASTERIO p 137 l 18. ELECTVS Eddius 29 (end) Wilfrid in his petition to the papal court suggested that if the number of bps should be augmented, the bps assembled in council should choose the new bps from among the clergy.

,, 31 CHRISTI ANCILLA conc Rom 721 (in Baronius n 3) *si quis* monacham, quam dei ancillam appellamus, *in coniugium duxerit, anathema sit.*

P 139 6 HERERIC p 136 l 12.

,, 12 FVLGORE Eddius 1 when Wilfrid's mother was in labour, the men about the house saw flames rising from the house. Hurrying to put them out and to save the inmates, they learnt from the women present at the birth that a child was born.

,, 32 VIATICO p 144 l 29 n.

P 140 3 MORTEM VIDIT 17 Nov 680 Flor Vig MHB 536[c].

,, 7 HACANOS Hackness near Scarborough monast Angl I 72. REVELARE c 29 n.

,, 11 IN DORMITORIO PAVSANS p 118 l 17 18. uita Cuthb 16 § 27 *neque extra* dormitorium *fratrum locum aliquem, in quo* pausare *posset, haberet.*

,, 12 NOTVM CAMPANAE SONUM uita Cuthb 45 (end) *uti consuetum in monasterio* nocturnae orationis signum *insonuit.* Eddius 23 *statimque* signo *facto tota familia simul in unum conueniens.* 61 pr *pulsato* signo *tota familia HRyporum simul in unum congregata est.* Greg Tur glor mart I 11 col 734[d] *donec surgeres ad commouendum* signum. ib 76 col 806[b] *donec* signum *ad consurgendum commoueatur a monachis.* Baronius 615 14 (from the acts of S Lupus 1 Sept) *Clotharius rex ubi comperit* signum uel campanam *S Stephani sonum edere gratissimum, iussit eam Parisios transferri, ut eius tinnitu saepius delectaretur. displicuit ea res beato episcopo. itaque, mox ut ablata est a Senonibus, omnem soni gratiam amisit. id rex intellegens, ocius iubet suo illam loco restitui. ubi autem ad pontem Sencnicum uentum est, rediit illi pristinus sonus et ob sancti uiri merita septimo miliario auditus est.* Adamn uita Columbae III 31 just before the

saint's death: *media nocte pulsata personante* clocca *festinus surgens ad ecclesiam pergit citiorque ceteris currens solus introgressus iuxta altare flexis in oratione genibus recumbit. Diormitius minister tardius prosecutus eodem momento eminus totam intrinsecus ecclesiam* angelica luce *erga sanctum repleri uidet.* Bened Anian concord regularum c 29 § 3 (CIII 966[a] Migne) *ideo uestitos ac cinctos dormire diximus fratres ut, cum hora operis dei aduenerit et* oratorii index insonuerit noctu, *mox parati consurgant.* Cumin uita Columb 22. 25. Lingard II 43. 346. DCA 'bells'. 'campanarius'. Eulog memoriale sanct I 12 (in Baronius 716 15) *cum forte competens tempus psallendi* signum *fidelibus dare compulerit et imminens hora obsecrationis indicium populis facere consuetum poposcerit, mox ut illectum superstitione mendaci uulgus* clangorem tinnientis metalli *aure captauerit, in omnem maledictionem et spurcitiam linguam admouere non differt.* gloccum (Germ *Glocke*, our 'clock' is the same word, though different in meaning) Bonif p 468 Jaffé. *clocca* ibid 181. *cloca* ibid 301. Alcuin c 108 'ad campanam' (Migne CI 754[c]) *semper in aeternum faciat haec* clocula *tantum* | *carmina, sed resonet nobis bona* clocca *cocorum.* Stevenson 'inmates of the monastery summoned by a bell to pray for the soul of the parting sister or brother, in the life of Columbanus (Mabillon ann OSB II 14 § 29). Bertilla abbess of Chelles (ib III pt 1 p 19 § 3), and Sturmius (ib pt 2 p 257 § 24)'. The last cited (Migne CV 443[b]) is *currere citius ad ecclesiam iubet, omnes* gloggas *pariter moueri imperauit et fratribus congregatis obitum suum cito adfuturum nuntiare praecepit et pro se enixius orare postulauit.* cf Aub Miraeus in Migne ibid 983[d] 984[ab], who points out that tocsin is derived from *signum.*

P 140 12 AD ORATIONES EXCITARI Alcuin c 211 'ad nocturnas laudes.' 212 'adhortatio ad excutiendum somnum' (CI 776[cd]).

,, 15 LVCEM p 32 l 17 n. p 106 l 15. cf V 12 end. A bright light was seen about Columba in his life time Adamnan III 21—23.

,, 18 ANGELIS l 26. p 34 l 14 n. p 141 l 12. Visions of saints to the dying Greg dial IV 11. 12. 19 at the death of Stephen *cum lecto illius hi qui conuenerant omnes assisterent, alii ingredientes* angelos *uiderunt, alii omnino nihil uiderunt: sed omnes qui aderant, ita uehementissimus timor perculit, ut nullus egrediente illa sancta anima illic stare potuisset.* Adamnan uita Columbae III 20. 26. 27. 31.

,, 25 SE ASPECTANTE Greg dial II 34 of Benedict *in cella consistens eleuatis in aera oculis* uidit eiusdem sororis suae animam de

eius corpore egressam *in columbae specie caeli secreta penetrare.* ibid 35 uidit *Germani Capuani episcopi* animam in sphaera ignea ab angelis in caelum ferri.

P **140** 31 FRATRES p 106 l 4 n.

P **141** 2 EADEM HORA l 13. Greg dial IV 35 John, a monk, foretold his own death and at the moment of his departure cried '*Urse, ueni.*' The monks could not understand what was meant, till four days after, having occasion to send to a distant monastery, they found the brethren in great trouble for the death of Ursus, the mainstay of their society. It was found that he died at the very instant that John called him. Another like story ibid.

,, 3 VISIONEM Greg Tur glor mart I 34 col 760[d].

,, 12 CVM ANGELIS p 140 l 18 n.

,, 13 IPSA HORA l 2 n.

,, 20 PROBARI Stevenson 'the novices were separated from the professed; that, if they should return to the world, they should not be able to reveal the secrets of the monastery regula Bened LXV.'

XXIV

IN the monastery over which abbess Hild presided was a brother specially marked out by divine grace, and gifted with heavenly powers of song. None ever could equal him afterwards in composing religious poems. He was divinely instructed. For till an advanced age he knew nothing of singing, and often retired from entertainments as he saw the harp approaching him. He had done so on one occasion and had retired to the stables. There he lay down to sleep, and in a dream one appeared to him, calling and saying, 'Caedmon, sing me something.' He pleaded his inability but was still bidden to make the attempt and to sing the beginning of things created. He immediately began, and Beda records a translation of the commencement of his poem. When he had risen from sleep he retained a recollection of what he had sung, and added thereto. When he told about the gift which he had received he was brought to the abbess, and in the presence of many learned men related his dream and repeated his song. He was afterwards able to turn into most sweet song whatever was interpreted to him, and so he sang of the creation, the return from Egypt, Christ's life, the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the teaching of

the apostles. He took monastic vows and became subject to regular discipline. When the time of his death drew near, he was ill fourteen days and was removed into a cottage where those who seemed likely to die were wont to be placed. After midnight he asked for the eucharist, and enquiring if all there were at peace with him, he received the heavenly viaticum, and asking how near it was to the time of lauds said, It is well, and reclining slept a little time and thus died. The tongue which had composed so many holy words of praise uttered its last words in praise. He seems from his action to have been forewarned of his departure from the world.

epist Mogunt 10 p 328 Jaffé Otfrid monk and presbyter (of Weissenburg) to Liutbert abp of Maintz: urged by some holy men, and esp by the venerable matron Judith whose ears were offended by *laicorum cantus obscenus*, to write for them a part of the gospels in German (*Theotisce*), ut *aliquantulum huius cantus lectionis ludum saecularium uocum deleret et, in euangeliorum propria lingua occupati dulcedine, sonum inutilium rerum nouerint declinare.* Pagan poets, Virgil Lucan Ovid, flood the world with the praises of their heroes, Christian poets, Iuuencus Arator Prudentius, have set forth the sayings and deeds of Christ and of the saints in their own tongue: *nos uero, quamuis eadem fide eademque gratia instructi diuinorum uerborum splendorem clarissimum proferre propria lingua, dicebant pigrescere. hoc dum eorum caritati importune mihi instanti negare nequiui, feci, non quasi peritus sed fraterna petitione coactus. scripsi namque eorum precum fultus iuuamine, euangeliorum partem Franzisce compositam.* cf Sharon Turner AS bk IX. Lingard II 139 140. DCB 'Caedmon.' B ten Brink Gesch d engl Lit I (1877) 49—58, who thinks that the 'Genesis' may be substantially the work of Caedmon.

P 141 24 HVIVS Hild. MONASTERIO p 137 l 18. FRATER p 106 l 4 n.

P 142 1 POEMATA p 177 l 3.

,, 2 NON AB HOMINIBVS NEQVE PER HOMINEM p 143 l 12. a poet, as St Paul (Gal I 1) an apostle, 'von Gottes Gnade.' For *poeta nascitur, non fit.*

,, 9 IN CONVIVIO Sharon Turner AS III[7] 52.

,, 11 CITHARAM Cuthbert abbat of Wearmouth and Jarrow to Lull (Jaffé's Bonif ep 134 p 302) *delectat me quoque* citharistam *habere, qui possit* citharizare in cithara, *quam nos appellamus rottae; quia* citharum *habeo, et artificem non habeo. si graue non sit, et istum quoque*

meae dispositioni mitte. obsecro, ut hanc meam rogationem ne despicias et risioni non deputes.

P 142 14 DVM = cum.

,, 16 CVSTODIA p 57 l 4 n.

,, 22 HABES glossary; the following question shews that it = debes.

,, 25 VERSVS Lingard II 371. Beowulf also introduces a poet singing of creation (Sharon Turner AS III^{r} 256).

,, 26 NVNC LAVDARE for this Latin passage the Saxon version has the following: Nu we sceolan herigean heofon rices weard. metodes mihte and his mod geþanc. [weorc] wuldor fæder. swa he wuldres gehwæs ece Drihten ord onstealde. he ærest gescop eorþan bearnum heofon to rofe halig scyppend. ða middan geard mon cynnes weard ece Drihten æfter teode firum foldan frea ælmihtig.

This goes a little beyond the Latin text of Beda and seems to have formed part of some poem in his day known as Caedmon's first song, but it differs greatly from the introduction of Caedmon's Genesis which has come down to us, though it is like it in subject. In his note to the Saxon version Smith gives a copy of the above lines from Bp Moore's MS with some various readings of interest, the needful word *weorc* being there given, though not in Alfred's text as edited by Smith. Caedmon died about 680 A D. For this version and a glossary of the words contained in it see Addit Notes pp 431*, 479.

P 143 7 VILICVM on the economy of, and the servants employed in, monastic establishments, see Dr Reeves' introduction to the life of St Columbæ p CXIX § 3.

,, 12 CAELESTEM p 142 l 4.

,, 18 PROPOSITVM p 137 l 4.

,, 20 FRATRVM p 106 l 4 n.

,, 22 QVASI MVNDVM ANIMAL RVMINANDO levit xi 3—7. 26. deut xiv 6—8.

,, 24 CANEBAT the works which have come down to us under the name of Caedmon are Genesis, which consists, after the account of the creation the fall and the flood, mainly of the history of Abraham, very little being said of the latter part of the book of Genesis; the story of Exodus, which is carried down to the departure from Egypt; and that portion of the book of Daniel which relates the story of the three Hebrew children and the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Of the other works enumerated in Beda's text we have no trace, nor are all these which have been preserved to be considered the productions of the time of Caedmon.

P **144** 10 CASA IN QVA INFIRMIORES INDVCI SOLEBANT h a 7 (end) Easteruini slept when abbat in the common dormitory, and so continued two days after he had received a warning of his approaching end: *nam quinque reliquos usque ad exitus horam, dies in secretiori se aede locabat.* Greg dial III 35 in infirmorum domo.

„ 20 MORI HABES p 142 l 22 n. On the presentiment of death l 10 n. c 29 n. p 145 l 9.

„ 22 ACCEPTA IN MANV afterwards forbidden, the priest placing the bread in the receiver's mouth Bingham XV 5 § 6. Scudamore notitia euchar c 9 s 8. Hefele Conciliengesch III[3] 97 (2). Stevenson 'Mabillon AA SS O B III praef § 76. Larroque hist de l'euchar (Amst 1673) p 283.' De hoc ritu eucharistiae accipiendae manu a uiris, linteamine mundo a feminis, agit *Baron* in annot ad *Martyr* 15 Aug lit c ostenditque in occidente aeque ac Oriente diu in usu fuisse etiam cessante persecutione. (Smith.)

„ 29 MVNIENS p 97 l 7. VIATICO p 119 l 3. V 14. h a 11 of Benedict *euangelium tota nocte pro doloris leuamine, quod et aliis noctibus fieri consueuerat, a presbytero legitur; dominici corporis et sacramentum hora exitus instante pro* uiatico *datur.* ἐφόδιον in liturg Marci p 29, lit Iacobi p 75 Neale. conc Nic c 13. conc Agath c 15. conc Araus I c 3. Hefele Conciliengesch II[2] ind (also under 'benedictio uiatica'). III[3] 75 (9). 352 n 1. mirac Cuthb c 36. uita Cuthb c 39. Greg dial II 37. IV 15 end (with note b ed Bened). 35. Greg III in Bonif p 93 (end) Jaffé *de his uero dicimus, qui patrem matrem fratrem aut sororem occiderint, ut toto uitae suae tempore corpus non suscipiat dominicum, nisi sui temporis exitu pro* uiatico. Rock church of our fathers I 130—135.

„ 31 LAVDES NOCTVRNAS p 106 l 12 n. Sharon Turner AS III[7] 16.

P **145** 1 SIGNO SANCTAE CRVCIS Thegani uita Ludouici 7 (Migne CVI 410[a]) the day before his death Charles the Great received the communion from Hildibald. Immediately before his death *extensa manu dextera uirtute qua poterat* signum sanctae crucis fronti inprimens *et super pectus et omne corpus consignauit. nouissime autem colligens pedes suos extendens bracchia et manus super corpus clausit oculos suos, psallens hunc uersum leniter:* 'in manus tuas, domine, commendo spiritum meum'; and so passed away.

„ 9 PRAESCIVS SVI OBITVS p 144 l 20 n.

[XXV]

AT this time the monastery called Coludi Urbs was consumed by fire for the wickedness of those who dwelt in it. These like the Ninevites had been previously warned. For Adamnan, a Scottish monk of great strictness of life, foretold the coming fire. This man in his youth had committed some great wickedness. He went to a priest and confessed, and by the direction of the confessor he was ordered to be instant in fasting and psalms and prayers. His great grief made him anxious to submit to more penance and he proposed to his confessor to spend the whole night in prayer, standing, or to pass the whole week in abstinence. The priest imposed a somewhat lighter penance and departing to Ireland there died. Adamnan continued regularly the penance which had been imposed, so that he took food only on the fifth day of the week and on the Lord's day. When he had diligently pursued this course of life for a long time, he went for some distance from the monastery, accompanied by one of the brethren. As they were returning, Adamnan foretold to his companion that the whole building would soon be reduced to ashes. For, said he, I lately saw while occupied in my vigils a vision of one who told me that I did well, but that none of the other members of the monastery were occupied with care for their souls. The cells, said he, are made into places for revelling and drinking and other allurements, and the nuns whenever they have leisure spend their time in weaving fine garments for their adornment. Wherefore this place shall be burnt with raging flames. When asked by the abbess why he had so long kept silence, he said, I feared to speak lest you should be too much troubled, but the stroke shall not fall in your days. Some little reform followed the publication of this vision, but when the abbess died they again returned to their old way of life. Therefore while they spake of peace, sudden destruction came upon them. Beda relates this on the authority of Aedgils, a fellow presbyter, to admonish people how terrible the Lord is in his counsels concerning the sons of men.

cf pp 5, 208. v 19 p 208 S. Greg dial II 17 Benedict foresaw the destruction of his monastery by the Lombards. III 1 Paulinus foretells the death of the king of the Vandals. Vision of Charles the Fat in Will Malmesb II § 111 (p 160 Hardy). For the picture of dissolute manners cf Bonif ep 59 Jaffé. ib 111 p 273. 126 where Lull excommunicates an abbess for allowing two nuns to travel abroad.

P **145** 13 SVPRA p 127 l 27 n.

,, 21 ADAMNANVS not the famous author 9th abbat of Iona v 15. 21. The monk of Coldingham is 'commemorated in the English martyrology of Wilson and in Colgan (Act SS Hib p 224) 31 Jan cf Bolland Jan vol III. Mabillon ann Bened I 510.' DCB.

,, 23 QVINTA SABBATI p 146 l 25. Thursday p 27 l 26 n. DCA 'fasting'.

P **146** 2 CONFESSVS Lingard I 303.

,, 19 MENSVRA PAENITENDI see the penitentials of Theodore, Beda and Ecgberct (Haddan-Stubbs III 173—204. 326—334. 413—431. Wasserschleben die Bussordnungen der abendländ Kirche, Halle 1851).

,, 25 PRAEDIXI p 145 l 23.

P **147** 5 VVLTV INDICE Curt VIII 6 § 22 uultus *haud sane securi animi* index.

,, 10 AEBBÆ p 127 l 26. uita Cuthb 10. It was a mixed monastery l 28. p 106 l 4 n.

,, 29—31 DOMVNCVLAE, QVAE AD ORANDVM VEL LEGENDVM FACTAE ERANT, NVNC IN COMESATIONVM POTATIONVM FABVLATIONVM ET CETERARVM SINT INLECEBRARVM CVBILIA CONVERSAE conc Clovesho 747 c 20 (Haddan-Stubbs III 369) *ut prouideant uigilanti perspectione episcopi in suis parochiis ut sint monasteria iuxta uocabulum nominis sui, id est honesta silentium quietorum atque pro deo laborantium habitacula, et non sint ludicrarum artium receptacula hoc est poetarum citharistarum musicorum scurrorum; sed orantium legentium deumque laudantium habitationes, et ut non habeant saeculares quique uagandi licentiam per inconuenientia sibi loca uel discursus per interiora monasterii domuncula, ne materiam aliquando reprehendendi inde sumant si aliquid intra claustra monasterii aliter quam decet uideant uel audiant. nam satis nociua atque uitiosa consuetudo est illa laicorum familiaritas, et maxime in nunnorum minus regulariter conuersantium monasteriis: quia ob hoc saepius diuersorum siue nefandorum suspicionum causae non solum oriuntur sed et perpetrantur ac diffamantur ad infamiam professionis nostrae. unde* [*non*] *sint* sanctimonialium domicilia turpium confabulationum commessationum ebrietatum luxuriantiumque cubilia, *sed continentium sobriique uiuentium ac* legentium psallentiumque habitacula magisque legendis libris uel canendis psalmis quam texendis et plectendis uario colore inanis gloriae uestibus stu-

deant operam dare. Beda uita Cuthb 16 § 27 *usque hodie in eodem monasterio* [Lindisfarne] *exemplo eius obseruatur*, ne quis uarii aut pretiosi coloris habeat indumentum *sed ea maxima uestium specie sint contenti, quam naturalis ouium lana ministrat.* Sharon Turner AS III[7] 98 99.

Boniface to abp Cuthbert ep 70 Jaffé p 209 (748 after May) *fertur quoque in parrochiis uestris* ebrietatis *malum nimis adsuetum esse, ut non solum episcopi quidam non prohibeant, sed etiam ipsi nimis bibentes inebrientur et alios porrectis poculis maioribus cogant ut inebrientur.*

P 148 I SVBTILIORIBVS INDVMENTIS p 147 l 29 n. Boniface l c *superuacuam et deo odibilem* uestimentorum *superstitionem omni intentione prohibere stude quia illa ornamenta uestium, ... latissimis clauis uermium marginibus* (al imaginibus) *clauata aduentum antichristi ab illo transmissa praecurrunt; illius calliditate per ministros suos* introducere intra claustra monasteriorum fornicationem et luxuriam clauatorum iuuenum et foeda consortia et taedium lectionis et orationis et perditionem animarum.

„ 15 PRAEFATAE p 145 l 14.

„ 19 NOSTRO p 2.

„ 21 ADMONEREMVS p 163 l 11.

[XXVI]

IN 684 AD king Ecgfrid sent his general Berct with an army to ravage Ireland. That people had been hitherto most friendly to the Angles, but now they resisted the unprovoked attack and called on Heaven to avenge them, and it is believed that their prayer was answered. For king Ecgfrid in the next year, contrary to the advice of his friends, led an army into the province of the Picts, and when the enemy pretended to flee before him he was drawn into the mountainous defiles and there killed along with a large part of his army. In both wars he had gone against the counsel of his friends, first attacking the inoffensive and then marching to his own destruction. The kingdom of the Angles now began to decline. The Picts recovered their land and the Scots their liberty. At this time Triumuini, that most reverend man of God, retired with his people from the monastery of Aebbercurnig which was in the region of the Angles and came to the monastery of Streanæshalch, and there with a few of his people lived many years, and dying, was buried in the church of St Peter. Over this

monastery Aelbfled then presided, to whom the arrival of the bishop was a great help. Ecgfrid was succeeded in his kingdom by Aldfrid, a man learned in the Scriptures. In 685 AD died Hlotheri, king of the Cantuarii. He had been wounded in battle, fighting against the South Saxons. The kingdom underwent many vicissitudes under kings of doubtful title until the accession of Victred the lawful king.

Alcuin sanct Ebor 835—845.

P 148 29 ECGFRID Eddius 42 43.

,, 30 HIBERNIAM Tigernach an 685 "Saxones campum Bregiae (*East Meath* Usser antiq XVII 441) uastant et ecclesias plurimas in mense Iunii."

,, 31 BERCTO p 170 l 17 Berctred. Sax chron 684 Briht. Eddius 19 (end) mentions Bernhaeth Ecgfrid's general in his war with the Picts.

,, ,, GENTEM INNOXIAM p 23 l 13 n. Eddius 28 Daegberth king of the Franks had lived as an exile in Ireland.

P 149 5 INPRECATIONIBVS II 2 Aedilfrid slew the monks of Bancor crying: *quamuis arma non ferant, contra nos pugnant, qui aduersis nos* inprecationibus *persequuntur.*

,, 7 DOMINO VINDICE so II 2 of the slaughter of the British monks: *sicque* completum est praesagium sancti pontificis Augustini, ... ut etiam temporalis interitus ultione sentirent perfidi, *quod oblata sibi perpetuae salutis consilia spreuerant.*

,, 8 PROXIMO A D 685 p 170 l 10.

,, 11 CVDBERCTO mirac Cuthb 29 (heading) 'quod interitum Ecgfridi regis et militiae ipsius, quem praedixerat futurum, in spiritu uidit absentem'. He foretold to Ecgfrid's sister Aelffleda that the king had but a year to live, and that he himself would be made bp, but allowed to retire after two years uita Cuthb 24. 27.

,, 14 EXTINCTVS Eddius 19 end. 43 *miserrimae cladis ruinam* Ecgfrido Ultra-Umbrensium rege occiso et cum omni optimo exercitus sui agmine a gente Pictorum oppresso. and Sim Dunelm p 51 says "extinctum regem apud Nechtanesmere quod est stagnum Nectani eiusque corpus in Hii insula sepultum". Nechtanesmere is supposed to be Dunnichen near Forfar. Burton hist of Scotland I 312.

,, 15 REGNI XV p 169 l 27. XIII KAL IVN 20 May.

,, 17 ANNO PRAECEDENTE p 148 l 30.

,, 18 ECGBERCTVM who had himself lived in Ireland (called here *Scottia*) III 27. NIL SE LAEDENTEM p 148 l 31 *innoxiam.*

P 149 21 EX QVO TEMPORE the war commenced in the early part of the reign of Ecgfrid who became king 670 AD, when according to Eddius (uit Wilf 19—21) 'populi bestiales Pictorum feroci animo subiectionem Saxonum despiciebant'. At that time Ecgfrid reduced them to subjection. He also defeated Wulfhere king of the Mercians (c XII) and according to the account of Eddius was always prosperous as long as he had the friendship of Wilfrid.

,, 21 22 SPES FLVERE AC RETRO SVBLAPSA REFERRI Verg Aen II 169 170.

,, 25 HACTENVS PER ANNOS XLVI 46+685=731 p 170 l 32. ¶ 23 end. Varin V (1) 189 190.

,, 27 SERVITIO ADDICTOS p 134 l 32.

,, 28 TRIVMVINI p 115 l 8 n. This is the orthography of the MS but is no doubt an error of the scribe for Trumuini.

,, 30 AEBBERCVRNIG Abercorn on the Carron co Linlithgow: 'Aber-Carron-Ey' i e isle of the mouth of the Carron (Hussey). I 12 (p 50 l 16 S) of the wall *incipit autem duorum fere milium spatio a monasterio Aebbercurnig.*

,, 31 FRETI QVOD ANGLORVM TERRAS PICTORVMQVE DISTERMINAT I 1 (end) *est autem sinus maris permaximus, qui antiquitus* gentem Brittonum a Pictis secernebat, *ubi est ciuitas Brittonum munitissima usque hodie quae uocatur Alcluith.* On the friths of Forth and Clyde see also I 12. Varin V (1) 167. 220 221. 234 235. 255. 259—262.

P 150 1 SAEPE DICTO III 24 25. IV 23. cf p 170 l 9. Varin V (1) 226. FAMVLORVM FAMVLARVMQVE DEI p 106 l 4 n.

,, 7 CONDITVS Will Malmesb gest pont III p 154 b says that shortly before the date of his writing Trumuini's body was discovered and enshrined.

,, 8 AELBFLED or Aelffled (p 66 l 25) cured by Cuthbert's girdle mirac Cuthb 21 note (Stevenson). 31. uita Cuthb 23. To her Cuthbert foretells Ecgfrid's death ibid 24. 34 § 54. Eddius 42. She was present at the Northumbrian synod on the Nidd A D 705, which restored Wilfrid to the abbey of Ripon ibid 58 (Haddan-Stubbs III 265), where she is called *semper totius prouinciae consolatrix optimaque consiliatrix.* A letter of hers, introducing a sister abbess, a pilgrim to Rome, in Bonif ep 8 Jaffé. EANFLEDE p 47 l 10 n. p 67 l 11 and 28.

,, 11 12 SVCCESSIT ECGFRIDO ALDFRID V 1 end. 18 pr. uita Cuthb 24 § 41 when Aelffleda asked Cuthbert, who would succeed Ecgfrid, he replied: 'do you see this sea, so full of islands? it is easy for God from

one of them to supply a ruler for England'. she understood that he spoke of Aldfrid, *qui ferebatur filius fuisse patris illius et tunc in insulis Scottorum* ob studium litterarum *exsulabat.* Eddius 43 after Ecgfrid Alfridus rex sapientissimus *regnauit.* 44—46. 49. 56—58. W Stubbs in DCB 'Aldfrith'. VIR IN SCRIPTVRIS DOCTISSIMVS v 12 (p 197 25 S) *narrabat autem uisiones suas etiam* regi Alfrido uiro undecumque doctissimo, *et tam libenter tamque studiose ab illo auditus est, ut eius rogatu monasterio supra memorato inditus ac monachica sit tonsura coronatus atque ad eum audiendum saepissime, cum in illas partes deuenisset, accederet.* uita Cuthb 24 (end) *Ecgfridus post annum Pictorum gladio trucidatur et* Aldfridus in regnum frater eius nothus substituitur, qui non paucis antea temporibus in regionibus Scottorum lectioni operam dabat, ipse ob amorem sapientiae spontaneum passus exsilium. Pagi 670 3. 705 7 8. W Stubbs 'in 687 he was visited [v 15] by Adamnan abbat of Iona, who came to ransom some Irish captives, and presented his book on the holy places to him. Aldhelm also, the abbat of Malmesbury, who had been a fellow-student with him, probably in Wessex, dedicated his work on metres to Aldfrith, under the name of Acircius. He was a friend and benefactor also of Benedict Biscop, and was himself very learned in the scriptures, and such a lover of books that on one occasion he gave eight hides of land for a copy of the *cosmographi*'.

P 150 13 DICEBATVR implies what *nothus* (uita Cuthb just cited) expresses distinctly.

,, 17 HLOTHERI p 104 l 11 n.

,, 18 VIIII ANNIS p 89 l 7 n. p 169 l 22 and 28. XII ANNIS July 673—6 Febr (VIII IDVS) 685. Hence (says Pagi 685 11) it appears that Beda begins the year neither with Easter as the Gauls, nor with Ladyday as some others, but with Christmas, else February would belong not to the beginning, but to the end of the year.

,, 23 according to the Saxon chron Kent was invaded in 686 AD by Caedualla and his brother Mul. In the next year they repeated the invasion, but in their retreat Mul, with twelve others, was burnt by the Kentish men in a house where they had taken refuge. In 694 AD Ina made peace with the Kentish men who paid him 30000 marks in gold. The reading (XXX manna) given in mon hist Brit which makes the payment thirty men is probably an oversight, the text had XXX m̄, which abbreviation has been misrendered.

P **150** 25 VICTRED v 8 1 July 692 Victred and Suæbhard were reigning in Kent. He died 22 Apr 725 after a reign of 34½ years ib 23 pr; i e he began to reign Oct 690 Pagi 692 22. ID EST explains *legitimus*.

,, 26 EXTRANEA l 20.

[XXVII]

IN the year in which king Ecgfrid died Cudberct was ordained bishop of Lindisfarne. For several years he had lived a monastic life in the little island of Farne. This man from his earliest youth had a desire for the religious life and first entered the monastery of Mailros, over which a priest of great virtue and prophetic powers named Boisil was then provost under abbat Eata. At Boisil's death Cudberct succeeded him as provost and laboured much to convert the common people from their evil works. For many of them led foolish lives and in a time of plague had recourse to idolatrous remedies as though they could obtain health through incantations or spells. Cudberct laboured hard against this error and had great influence both through his skill in speaking and because of the grace of his countenance. He feared not to travel in the most inaccessible districts and frequently tarried away from the monastery two or three weeks, dwelling among the mountaineers and teaching them both by word and work. After many years Cudberct was removed to Lindisfarne where from old times had resided a bishop with his clergy and an abbat with his monks. This institution had existed since the time of bishop Aidan who in the beginning thereof had followed the instructions received from pope Gregory by Augustine.

P **150** 29 FINEM VITAE p 149 l 14.

,, 30 DIXIMVS p 149 l 11. LINDISFARNENSIVM charters in Raine's N Durham append dcxcvi—dccxxv. uita Cuthb 17.

P **151** 1 FARNE p 48 l 20. the Fern or Farne islands, 17 islands and rocks lying from 1½ to 5 m off the coast opposite Bamborough; famous for the rescue of nine persons from the 'Forfarshire' in 1838 by Grace Darling and her father the lighthouse keeper. uita Cuthb 17 Farne dicitur insula medio in mari posita...aliquot milibus passuum ab hac [Lindisfarnensium] semiinsula ad eurum secreta *et hinc altissimo et inde infinito clauditur oceano* [observe the pentameter].

,, 5 PVERITIAE a boy of three rebuked him for joining in boyish sports, saying by divine inspiration uita Cuthb 1 § 4 *quid haec, sanctissime*

antistes et presbyter Cudbercte, et naturae tuae et gradui tuo contraria geris? From that time forth he lived a staid and sober life.

P 151 7 MAILROS p 77 l 18 n. uita Cuthb 6 *fama praeuentus Boisili sublimium uirtutum monachi et sacerdotis* Mailros *petere maluit.* This was in 651, and the resolution to enter a monastery was formed one night, when, as he watched his flock, he saw Aedan's soul ascend to heaven (ibid 4). The Bannatyne club issued chronica de Mailros 1835; liber sancte Marie de Melros 1837.

,, 11 SVPRA p 77 l 17 n. BOISIL l 7 n. mirac Cuthb 20 end. W Stubbs in DCB.

,, 13 SCIENTIAM ET EXEMPLA l 18 p 27 l 2 n. uita Cuthb 8 *diligentissime iuxta quod et ante facere consueuerat,* beati Boisili dictis pariter auscultabat et actis.

,, 15 MIGRAVIT W Stubbs in DCB I 323 b 'the exact date of Boisil's death is uncertain; it was after the expulsion of the Scottish monks from Ripon (cir 662) and some years before Cuthbert's promotion to Lindisfarne, possibly in the great sickness of 664, which he is said to have foretold'. EIDEM l 7. v 9.

,, 18 MONITA ET EXEMPLA l 13 n.

,, 23 MORTALITATIS p 79 l 4 n.

,, 25—26 INCANTATIONES VEL FYLACTERIA VEL ALIA QVAELIBET DAEMONIACAE ARTIS ARCANA p 134 l 14 n. uita Cuthb c 9 (from which this whole passage, from line 15 to p 152 l 19 is taken almost word for word) has *alligaturas* for *fylacteria.* Greg dial I 10 (col I 193[c]) a Christian woman was possessed by the devil: *cumque hanc antiquus hostis uexatione continua uehementer attereret, propinqui sui eam carnaliter amantes et amando persequentes ad obtinendum salutis remedium* maleficis *tradiderunt, ut eius animam funditus extinguerent, cuius carni* magicis artibus *ad tempus prodesse conarentur. ducta est itaque ad fluuium atque in aquam mersa; ibique diutius* incantationibus agere malefici moliebantur, *ut is qui eam inuaserat diabolus exiret.* Instead of one fiend a legion invades her; she is taken to bp Fortunatus, who restores her by earnest prayer continued through many days and nights. Cf Baronius 713 7 and 9. Crosses worn about the neck were called *phylacteria* by Gregory (Baronius 604 4. Ruinart on Greg Tur glor mart I 11 end, where such a cross, fortified with relics, stays a conflagration cf Baronius 711 7). Pope Gregory III writes to the Germans (about 737—739 in Jaffé's Bonif ep 36 p 102) *uos autem, karissimi, qui in nomine Christi baptizati estis, Christum induistis, abstinete et pro-*

hibete uosmetipsos ab omni cultu paganorum . . diuinos uel sortilegos sacrificia mortuorum seu lucorum uel fontium auguria uel filacteria et incantatores et ueneficos, id est maleficos, et obseruationes sacrilegas, quae in uestris finibus fieri solebant, *omnino respuentes atque abicientes tota mentis intentione ad deum conuertimini.* ib ep 42 p 115 (Boniface to pope Zachary) Franks and Bavarians and Alamanni defend the usages which we condemn by the pagan ceremonies seen at Rome on 1 Jan. *dicunt quoque* se uidisse ibi mulieres pagano ritu filacteria et ligaturas et in bracchiis et in cruribus ligatas habere et publice ad uendendum uenales ad comparandum aliis offerre. Zachary replies ib 43 p 120 end (1 Apr 743) *de kalendis uero Ianuariis uel ceteris* auguriis filacteriis et incantationibus *uel aliis diuersis obseruationibus, quae gentili more obseruari dixisti apud beatum Petrum apostolum uel in urbe Roma, . . . ilico omnia haec amputauimus.* ib 47 p 128 (in a council held 21 Apr 742) every bp must take heed *ut populus dei* paganias *non faciat, sed ut omnes spurcitias gentilitatis abiciat et respuat. siue sacrificia mortuorum* siue sortilegos uel diuinos siue filacteria et auguria siue incantationes siue hostias immolaticias.....*siue illos sacrilegos ignes, quos niedfeor uocant, siue omnes, quaecumque sunt,* paganorum obseruationes *diligenter prohibeant.* ib 70 p 202 (748 after May, Boniface to abp Cuthbert) *statuimus ut singulis annis unusquisque episcopus parrochiam suam sollicite circumeat, populum confirmare et plebes docere et* inuestigare et prohibere paganas obseruationes diuinos uel sortilegos auguria filacteria incantationes uel omnes spurcitias gentilium. cf Willibald uita Bonif 6 (p 452 Jaffé, Boniface cutting down the 'robur Iouis'). Bonif serm 6 (Migne LXXXIX 855) enumerates *auguria* and *phylacteria* among sacrileges. Aug Werner Bonifacius (Leipz 1875) 169. 224. 239. 260. 431 (end). conc Trull 692 c 61 (Bruns I 55. Hefele Conciliengesch III[2] 338) condemns those who lead about bears or other creatures [whose hair was sold as medicine or amulets] also the so-called νεφοδιώκτας καὶ γοητευτὰς καὶ φυλακτηρίους καὶ μάντεις. Haddan-Stubbs III 385 n 5. 424 Ecgberct's penitential 7 6 *mulier si diuinationes fecerit uel* incantationes diabolicas, *unum annum uel iii quadragesimas uel quadraginta dies iuxta qualitatem culpae.* chapter 8 is 'de auguriis uel diuinationibus' and sect 4 is directed against *diuinos* praecantatores, filactéria *etiam* diabolica. Roskoff Gesch des Teufels (Leipz 1869) 293. 298 (where he cites Caroli Magni capitular

AD 769 c 7. AD 789 c 4). 299 Agobard abp of Lyon †841 'liber contra insulsam uulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis c II.' Siegel Handb d kirchl Alterthümer (Leipz 1836) 'Amulete'. DCA 'amulets'. Relapse into idolatry in time of trouble Beda h e III 30. so in Tertullian's time and later all public calamities were set down to the Christians. Sharon Turner AS bk VII c 13.

P 151 27 VTRORVMQVE l 21 *multi.* l 22 *aliqui.*

,, 28 DE MONASTERIO EGRESSVS p 49 l 6. Lingard I 142.

,, 29 PEDES p 27 l 7 n.

,, 31 ERAT MORIS a classical construction. For the reverence paid to missionaries cf p 78 l 12. uita Cuthb 16 § 25 *circumquaque morantem uulgi multitudinem more suo crebra uisitatione ad caelestia quaerenda et promouenda succendebat.*

P 152 2 3 AVDIRENT OPERANDO SEQVERENTVR p 27 l 2 n.

,, 7 CONFITENDO Lingard I 303.

,, 9 POENITENTIAE pp 347—349.

,, 11 IN ARDVIS ASPERISQVE MONTIBVS in his ep ad Ecgb 4 pr Beda laments the decay of missionary zeal *attende quid grauissimi sceleris illi commiserint qui et terrena ab auditoribus suis lucra diligentissime requirere et pro eorum salute aeterna nihil omnino praedicando uel exhortando uel increpando laboris inpendere contendunt. sollicite atque intentione curiosa, antistes dilectissime, perpende. audiuimus enim, et fama est, quia* multae uillae ac uiculi nostrae gentis in montibus sint inaccessis ac saltibus dumosis positi, ubi numquam multis transeuntibus annis sit uisus antistes, qui ibidem aliquid ministerii aut gratiae caelestis exhibuerit. *quorum tamen nec unus quidem a tributis antistiti reddendis esse possit immunis;* nec solum talibus locis desit antistes qui manus inpositione baptizatos confirmet, uerum etiam omnis doctor qui eos uel fidei ueritatem uel discretionem bonae ac malae actionis edoceat absit. uita Cuthb 32 pr *quodam quoque tempore dum sanctissimus gregis dominici pastor sua lustrando circuiret ouilia,* deuenit in montana et agrestia loca, ubi multi erant de circumpositis late uillulis congregati, quibus manus erat inponenda. *nec tamen in montibus ecclesia uel locus inueniri potuit aptus qui pontificem cum suo comitatu susciperet. tetenderunt ergo ei tentoria in uia et caesis de uicina silua ramusculis sibi quique tabernacula ad manendum, qualia potuere, fixerunt. ubi dum confluentibus ad se turbis uir dei uerbum biduo praedicaret ac spiritus sancti gratiam nuper regeneratis*

in Christo per manus impositionem ministraret, he healed a dying youth.

P 152 18 19 VERBO ET OPERE p 27 l 2 n.

,, 20 from this point to the end of the chapter is in substance from uita Cuthb 16.

,, 22 EATA p 151 l 8 n. Cuthberct became provost of Lindisfarne in 664.

,, 27 28 EPISCOPVS CVM CLERO ET ABBAS CVM MONACHIS p 25 l 21—26. cf p 149 l 29.

,, 32 AVGVSTINVS he and Gregory were invoked together in the litany conc Clovesho A D 747 c 17 (Haddan-Stubbs III 368).

P 153 2 GREGORIO Gregory I 'the great'. SVPRA I 27 (p 62 l 30 —34 S).

,, 8 COMMVNIA p 137 l 24 n.

[XXVIII]

CUDBERCT entered on the life of an anchorite. Beda does not dwell on this portion of the history, because he has written about it before. It was Cudberct's resolve to live in his retirement if he could support himself by his own labour. The place was without water, corn or trees, and was the haunt of evil spirits. But by his prayers these spirits fled and the saint built himself a small dwelling, in which work the brethren helped him. A spring of water was found when they had dug into the hard and stony earth. At first he sowed some wheat but this did not grow; afterwards however some barley, though sown long after the due time, produced a plentiful crop. He had a mound round his dwelling so high that he could only see heaven, and there he lived many years. When the synod of Adtuifyrdi was assembled, he was unanimously elected bishop of Lindisfarne, but declined to quit his monastery. At last king Ecgfrid and bishop Trumuini and many other influential people went to the island and entreated him to undertake the office. When at last he consented, he was ordained at York in the presence of the king, seven bishops being gathered at the solemnity. At first it was proposed that he should be bishop of Hagustald, but in deference to his wish bishop Eata went to Hagustald and Cudberct was made bishop of Lindisfarne. By precept and example he taught love to both God and man. He was remarkable for his frequent fastings and

in the holy service often wept. After a two years' episcopate he was warned that his death was near, of which event he spake to many openly and to some in words rather obscure but which afterwards became intelligible.

P 153 10 EXIN AD 676 Flor Vig in MHB 535[c].

,, 11 ANCHORETICAE cf the lives of Arnulf, Condedus, Dubricius, Guthlac, Iodocus. Digby mores catholici III 343—370. Eddius 61 Wilfrid announces to the Ripon monks the retirement of their provost Celinus: *nunc ad pristinum statum conuersationis atque* ad deserta loca reuertere et contemplatiuam uitam, *sicut olim*, exercere et soli deo seruire concupiscit. Grimlaci regula solitariorum in Migne CIII 573—664.

,, 12 13 DE VITA ILLIVS ET VIRTVTIBVS pp 8 9. Almost all the rest of this book is taken from Beda's prose life of Cudberct.

,, 15 INSVLAM Farne p 151 l 1.

,, 16 DICENS uita Cuthb 19 he first sowed wheat which did not spring up; he then asked for seed barley: *quod si nec illi deus incrementum dare uoluerit*, satius est me ad coenobium reuerti, quam alieno hic labore sustentari.

,, 19 AQVAE INOPS uita Cuthb 19 '*cernitis*' *inquit* '*quia* fontis inops *sit mansio quam adii?*'

,, 20 SPIRITVVM MALIGNORVM uita Cuthb 17 *nullus hanc facile ante famulum domini Cudberctum solus ualebat inhabitare colonus, propter uidelicet demorantium ibi phantasias* daemonum. mirac Cuthb 15.

,, 24 MANSIONEM ANGVSTAM uita Cuthb 17 *est autem aedificium paene rotundum* a muro usque ad murum mensura quattuor ferme siue quinque perticarum distentum; the wall outside was of the height of a man; within much higher, because he had excavated the solid rock. The wall was of rough stones and turf, without mortar. Some large stones, a burden for four men, he carried alone, with angelic help. The oratory and *habitaculum* were of 'natural' earth, the roof of rough logs thatched with hay.

,, 25 AGGERE p 154 l 16.

,, 28 FOVEAM uita Cuthb 18. mirac Cuthb 16. A like miracle (compared by Beda himself Cuthb uita 19 end) wrought by Benedict Greg dial II 5. cf Willibald uita Bonif (end). Alcuin uita Willibrordi I 16. II 16.

P 154 1 ALIO = altero, 'next'.

P 154 2 HANC DIEM AD 731 p 170 l 32.

,, 3 ILLO thither.

,, 4 FRVMENTO = Fr 'froment' wheat (in uita Cuthb 19 'triticum').

,, 5 TEMPORE CONGRVO uita Cuthb 19 *uerno tempore.*

,, 11 DVM = cum.

,, 13 PROPRII LABORIS p 153 l 16 n.

,, 15 MVLTIS ANNIS A D 676—684.

,, 16 AGGERIS p 153 l 25.

,, 17 CAELVM mirac Cuthb 15. uita Cuthb 17 § 30 *nam intrinsecus uiuam caedendo rupem multo illum* [murum] *fecit altiorem, quatenus ad cohibendam oculorum simul et cogitatuum lasciuiam, ad erigendam in superna desideria totam mentis intentionem, pius incola* nil de sua mansione praeter caelum posset intueri.

,, 18 CONGREGATA to p 155 l 2 *compellitur* from uita Cuthb 24 § 42. SYNODO Haddan-Stubbs III 165 166.

,, 19 REGIS uita Cuthb § 42 *piissimi ac deo dilecti regis.* so Osuiu was present and pronounced sentence at Whitby III 25. ALNE the northern limit of Hexham diocese Ric Hagustald 5 in Twysden col 292 l 59. Varin v (1) 223—230.

,, 20 ADTVIFYRDI cf p 94 l 15 n. Smith looks upon the synod held here (Twyford in Northumberland) as a proof of the episcopal jurisdiction of Theodore over the whole island, according to the statement of William of Malmesbury de pont lib i. But on the authority to be attached to that statement see p 92 l 5 n. The Saxon chronicle places the synod 684 A D.

,, 21 THEODORVS PRAESIDEBAT as at Hertford p 101 l 12, and Hatfield p 123 l 20; but here Theodore is in the northern province; so in c 2 his visitation embraced all England.

,, 24 MONASTERIO hermitage.

,, 26 TRVMVINE p 115 l 8 n.

,, 27 INSVLA Farne.

,, 29 LACRIMAS Will Malmesb I § 51 one of the two good deeds of Ecgfrid: *quod beatum Cudberctum* lacrimis *religiosa assentatione profusis in episcopatum promouerit.*

,, 31 DVM = cum.

P 155 3 BOISIL p 151 l 31 n. uita Cuthb 8 he foretold that Cuthbert would recover of the plague and that he himself would die in a week: (II 66 11 Stevenson) *ferunt illum his septem diebus omnia*

Cudbercto, quae ei futura restabant, exposuisse; propheticus namque, ut dixi, et mirae sanctitatis erat homo . . . . sed et Cudbercto inter alia quia episcopus esset ordinandus *insinuauit. unde idem Cudberctus postmodum in secessu anachoreseos positus dicere quidem nulli uolebat, quia* episcopum eum praedixerit futurum. ib 22 end. mirac Cuthb 20 end. 21.

P 155 7 PASCHALI 26 Mar 685. EBORACI Sim Dunelm hist Dunelm eccl 9 (in Twysden p 5 a 48) king Ecgfrid and Theodore gave him the land from the wall of St Peter's to the great gate westward, and from the wall of the church to the city wall southward.

,, 11 TVNBERCTO p 114 l 7.

,, 12 DEPOSITVS causa huius depositionis ignoratur, sed ipsa depositio praesentiam Theodori arguit sub cuius auspiciis ecclesiastica disciplina tunc temporis uigebat (Smith).

,, ,, IPSE Cuthbert.

,, 13 EATA p 114 l 7 8 n.

,, 17—22 SVSCEPTVM . . . PRAEMONSTRABAT from uita Cuthb 26. cf mirac Cuthb 22 'quomodo in episcopatu monachicam non relinquit uitam'.

,, 21 22 QVAE AGENDA DOCEBAT, IPSE PRIVS AGENDO PRAEMONSTRABAT p 27 l 2 n.

,, 24 AFFABILIS uita Cuthb 11 (II 71 18 Stevenson) *tunc ille socios blando, ut iucundus atque* affabilis *erat, sermone alloquitur.* ibid 19 (88 7) he reports his successful remonstrance with the birds who stole his crops: *solebat enim saepe, quia laeti uultus et* affabilis *erat, ad confirmandam fidem audientium aliqua etiam de eis, quae ipse credendo obtinuerit, in medium proferre.*

,, 25 CONSOLATIONIS uita Cuthb 22 *nullus ab eo sine gaudio* consolationis *abibat, nullum dolor animi, quem illo attulerat, redeuntem comitatus est.*

P 156 1 DVOBVS ANNIS he returned to Farne shortly after Christmas 686; the two years are reckoned from his election. uita Cuthb 36. mirac Cuthb 32. In bishop Moore's MS chapter XXIX commences here.

,, 2 INSVLAM AC MONASTERIVM SVVM uita Cuthb 24 § 41 end. So Burchard bp of Würzburg († 754), Ceadda, Daniel bp of Winchester retired.

,, 3 ORACVLO c 29 n. cf p 34 l 4. uita Cuthb 34.

,, 5 VERBIS OBSCVRIORIBVS uita Cuthb 7 *aliquando autem* uelate, *quasi sub persona alterius, id facere curabat.* ib 10 end.

[XXIX]

THERE was a presbyter named Hereberct who was a friend of bishop Cudberct. This man led a solitary life on an island, in a lake from which the river Derwent flows. Hearing that Cudberct was come to the city of Lugubalia he came to meet him and in that visit Cudberct spake of his approaching death. Hereberct entreated the holy man to pray that they might pass away together, and after earnest prayer he was assured by Cudberct that his request would be granted, and so it came to pass. But Hereberct was first chastened by a long sickness, that through suffering here, he might be received into the same abode of bliss as the holy bishop. Cudberct died in the island of Farne but was carried to Lindisfarne and buried in the church. Wilfrid held that bishopric for one year till Eadberct was ordained as successor to Cudberct. This man was learned in the scriptures and most noteworthy for his many almsdeeds.

The substance of this chapter in mirac Cuthb 30; it is borrowed (to p 157 l 18) with slight changes from uita Cuthb 28.

On presentiments of death see judges 6 22 23. Xen Cyrop VIII 7 § 2 in a dream *κρεῖττων τις ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον* appeared to Cyrus, saying: 'Make ready, Cyrus; for presently thou shalt go hence to the gods'. Jo Donne serm 47 (Lond 1640 fol p 473[c]) 'we have a story in an author of s *Hieromes* time, *Palladius*, that in a monastery of s *Isidors*, every monk that dyed in that house was able, and ever did tell all the society, that at such a time he should die'. Beda p 34 l 4. p 96 l 16. p 97 l 2. p 107. p 159 l 3. v 8 pr Theodore had been informed in a dream and often foretold that he would live to 88 years of age (cf Eddius 42). Greg dial II 37 Benedict foretold to some of his disciples the day of his death, charging them to keep it secret. ibid III 23. IV 17. 26 'quibus modis morientes aliqua praedicunt'. 35. 47. St Michael announced the death of Wilfrid Beda v 19 (p 208 l 10 S). Eddius 54. 59. 62. Adamnan uita Columbae III 27—29 (Migne LXXXVIII 770[c]. 771[c]. 772[ab]). Willibald uita Bonif 8 p 462 Jaffé. Baronius 636 7 end (of Isidore). Pagi 660 3 (of Maximus). Boisil foretold his own death, the promotion of Cuthbert etc uita Cuthb 8. Cuthbert foretold king Ecgfrid's death ibid 27. On the prophetic vision of the dying see generally Two lives of N Ferrar Cambr 1855 pp 59—61 n.

P 156 10 HEREBERCT AA SS Mart III 142.

,, 12 INSVLA the island is still called St Herbert's. Thomas

Appleby, bishop of Carlisle, 1374 AD granted an indulgence of forty days to pilgrims who visited it.

P 156 12 STAGNI Derwentwater or Keswick lake: the Derwent rises in Borrowdale, flows N through Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite-water, thence WSW past Cockermouth into the Irish sea at Workington.

,, 16 LVGVBALIAM Carlisle uita Cuthb 27 Lugubaliam *ciuitatem, quae a populis Anglorum corrupte Luel uocatur.* anon uita Cuthb § 37 (Beda II p 279 22 Stev). Sim Dunelm de Dunelm eccl I 9 (p 5 a 57) king Ecgfrid gave to Cuthbert Lugubaliam *quae Luel uocatur in circuitu quindecim miliaria habentem.* A copy of the charter conveying this city to Cuthbert is given by Smith app XXII.

,, 18 ALTERVTRVM adverbial 'mutually' p 133 l 7.

,, 22 CARNIS OBTVTIBVS uita Cuthb 28 *carneis oculis.* so l 25 VESTIGIIS for the simpler *pedibus.*

,, 26 NE ME DESERAS Greg dial IV 13 (col 392[d]) St Peter appearing to the nun Galla, she asked: '*quid est, domine mi, dimissa sunt mihi peccata mea?*' *cui ille, benignissimi ut est uultus, inclinato capite annuit dicens:* '*dimissa, ueni.*' She begs that her friend Benedicta may come with her. He replies: '*non, sed illa talis ueniat tecum; haec uero, quam petis, die erit trigesimo secutura.*' Alcuin sanct Ebor 1601—1628.

P 157 4 GAVDIO GAVDE cognate abl or 'etymological figure' Benecke on Iustin XXXVII 4 § 5. Lobeck paralipom 523—527. Winer-Moulton grammar of NT pp 283. 584.

,, 9 XIII KAL APR 20 March 687. On an island in Derwentwater a church of St Hereberct was built and received privileges 1374 by a charter of Thomas Appleby bp of Carlisle, who appoints 13 Apr (by mistake) for the commemoration of Cuthbert and his friend.

,, 14 MINVS A 'less than,' glossary '*a.*'

,, 18 MERVISSET uita Cuthb 28 (end) more correctly *mereretur.* The plup subj is often used for the imperf in low Latin.

,, 19 FARNE p 158 l 26.

,, 20 DEPRECATVS Herefrid abbat of Lindisfarne reports (in uita Cuthb 37 § 63 pr) *interea rediens domum narrabam fratribus, quia uenerabilis pater* in sua se insula [Farne] sepeliri iuberet. '*et uidetur*' *inquam* '*mihi iustius esse multo et dignius impetrare ab eo,* quatenus huc [to Lindisfarne] transferri corpus suum et iuxta honorem congruum in ecclesia condi permittat.'

P 157 22 ASSENSVM uita Cuthb 37 end.

„ 23 IN ECCLESIA p 35 l 3 n. Bingham XXIII 1 §§ 4—9. Greg dial II 23 (II 253[a]) two nuns, threatened with excommunication by Benedict for their violent language, were buried in a church. When mass was next celebrated, and the deacon according to custom cried 'if any one does not communicate, let him give place', their nurse saw them rise from their graves and go forth. The Benedictine editor cites ib IV 50 seq. Ambr de Abr I 9 § 80. Stevenson adds Frantzenius de funeribus uet Christ IV 2 § 2 Helm 1709. Hefele Conciliengesch III[2] 19. 45. 105. 752. 763 cites canons of councils prohibiting burial in a church or baptistery.

„ 27 POST HAEC i e after the year during which Wilfrid had acted as bp of Lindisfarne, in succession to Cuthbert who died 20 March 687. EADBERCT p 69 l 4. p 158 l 11. p 159 l 11. mirac Cuthb 37 (II 36 18 Stev). 39. uita Cuthb 40 (II 126 7—10) post annum ordinato in episcopatum Eadbercto magnarum uirtutum uiro et in scripturis nobiliter erudito maximeque eleemosynarum operibus dedito. Alcuin carm 280 (Migne CI 809[a] and note).

„ 30 DECIMAM Lingard I 248. The same proportion was devoted to charitable uses by Hammond and many others Autobiogr of Matt Robinson Cambr 1856 55 n 1. 112. 184.

[XXX]

AFTER Cudberct's body had been buried eleven years it was taken up to be placed in a new coffin. Bishop Eadberct charged that this should be done on the day of the anniversary of his burial. The body was found all entire, more like one asleep than one dead. The vestments too, in which the body was wrapt, were of wonderful freshness. News of this was brought to bishop Eadberct in a solitude to which he had retired for devotion. They brought him also some of the vestments, which he kissed with affection, and commanded them to put new vestments on the body, saying that the place of Cudberct's burial would not be long empty. They did as he had bidden, and laid the new coffin on the pavement of the sanctuary. Soon after Eadberct fell sick, and when he died was laid in the grave of St Cudberct, and over it was placed the new coffin of the saint. At that place many miracles were wrought.

cf Cuthb mirac 38. uita Cuthb 42 and 43 from which this chapter is

taken almost word for word. Beda de sex aetatibus AD 701 end *reuerentissimus ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis in Brittania ex anachorita antistes Cuthberctus totam ab infantia usque ad senium uitam miraculorum signis inclitam duxit;* cuius dum XI annos maneret corpus humatum, incorruptum post haec, quasi eadem hora defuncti, simul cum ueste qua tegebatur inuentum est; sicut in libro de eius uita et uirtutibus et prosa nuper et hexametris uersibus scripto ante aliquot annos ipsi signauimus. Lingard II 51.

P 158 5 SEPVLTVRAE EIVS ANNIS XI p 57 l 29 n. AD 698.

,, 6 INMISIT IN ANIMO p 53 l 32 n.

,, 8 INVENIENDA = inuentum iri.

,, 9 LOCVLO p 128 l 24. p 130 l 14.

,, 11 ANTISTITI SVO uita Cuthb 42 adds *medio ferme quadragesimae tempore.* EADBERCTO c 29 end.

,, 12 DIE DEPOSITIONIS EIVS ibid *quae est tertia decima kalendarum Aprilium.* ie 20 March 698, the Wednesday after the 4 S in Lent.

,, 14 INTEGRVM p 57 l 17 n. p 110 l 17 n. p 161 l 17.

,, 15 FLEXILIBVS uita Cuthb 42 *flexibilibus.* DORMIENTI p 129 l 24.

,, 16 VESTIMENTA p 129 l 28.

,, 19 TIMORE uita Cuthb 42 adds *sunt et tremore perculsi, adeo ut uix aliquid loqui, uix auderent intueri miraculum quod patebat, uix ipsi quid agerent nossent, extremam autem indumentorum eius partem pro ostendendo incorruptionis signo tollentes,—nam quae carni illius proxima aderant prorsus tangere timebant,—festinarunt* cet.

,, 25 PRAEDECESSOR uita Cuthb 42 *praecessor.*

,, 26 SECRETVS p 48 l 22 n.

,, 27 INDVMENTORVM p 160 l 29 n. Ecclesiastical vestments imported by Benedict Beda h a 5. Lingard II 66—73 on the opening of Cuthbert's tomb in 1104, when the body and cerecloth were still incorrupt, and again on 17 May 1827. The linen cloth in which the body was wrapt had been sent to him by the abbess Verca, and reserved by him for that use (uita Cuthb c 37 § 60, where Stevenson quotes I E Franzenius de funeribus uet Christianorum, Helm 1709, p 85). Eddius 63. Boniface (Willibald uita Bonif 8 p 463 Jaffé) charged Lull *sed et* linteum, quo meum decrepitum inuoluatur corpus, *in theca librorum meorum repone.*

P 159 3 SCIO c 29 n.

P 159 11—17 DEO DILECTVS....LOCAVERANT from uita Cuthb 43. cf mirac Cuthb 39.

,, 13 PRIDIE NONAS MAIAS 6 May 698.

,, 14 DOMINVM uita Cuthb 43 adds: *impetrato ab eo munere quod diligentissime petierat, uidelicet ut non repentina morte sed longa excoctus aegritudine transiret e corpore.*

,, 17 SANITATVM III 2. 9—13.

,, 18 ALIQVA Beda preface to the presbyter John (before his mirac Cuthb) *scire autem debes, quod* nequaquam omnia gesta illius exponere potui; quotidie namque et noua per reliquias eius aguntur et uetera nouiter ab his qui scire poterant indicantur. ex quibus unum est quod in me ipso, sicut iam tibi dixi, per linguae curationem, dum miracula eius canerem, expertus sum. uita Cuthb pref to bp Eanfrid and the brethren of Lindisfarne: when I spent two days in reading this book to you, you found nothing to change, nothing which might not be lent to any who wished to take a copy. sed et alia multa nec minora his quae scripsimus *praesentibus nobis ad inuicem conferentes superintulistis, quae prorsus memoriae digna uidebantur, si non deliberato ac perfecto operi noua interserere uel* superadicere *minus congruum atque indecorum esse constaret.*

,, 19 LIBRO VITAE ILLIVS pp 8 9.

[XXXI]

IN the same monastery dwelt a brother named Badudegn, whose duty was to attend on the guests. One day as he returned from the sea where he had been washing the robes he kept in the guest-chamber, he was smitten down with paralysis and with difficulty reached home. When his disorder increased he went to the tomb of the most reverend father Cudberct, and there praying it seemed as though he had fallen into a sleep, during which he felt a large broad hand touch his head and the parts of his body affected by disease. When he awoke he rose up perfectly well and returned with great joy. The garments in which Cudberct's body had been wrapped either in life or death were not destitute of healing powers, as may be learnt from the story of his life and virtues.

P 159 23 EODEM Lindisfarne c 27 end.

,, 29 LENAS laenas χλαίνας. HOSPITALE guestchamber.

P 160 4 PARALYSIS a palsy healed by Cuthbert's shoes uita Cuthb 45. mirac 43. Greg dial III 25 St Peter appeared to a paralytic girl and charged her to apply to Acontius, by whom she was healed.

,, 18 PRECABATVR p 109 l 9. Lingard II 88.

,, 29 INDVMENTA l 4 n. cf p 99 l 14 n. p 158 l 27 n. Like virtues ascribed to his handkerchief (*orarium*) mirac 42; to his girdle mirac 21. uita 23; to the skin used to keep out wind and rain mirac 44. uita 46. Greg dial I 2 a boot (*caligula*) of Honoratus laid on the breast of a dead boy restores him to life. III 15 (end) the shirt of Eutychius, carried in procession during droughts, brings down rain. IV 40 (cf 41) a demoniac healed by touching the dalmatic on the bier of Paschasius. conc Rom 595 c 4 (Greg opp II 1289[d] Bened) when a pope died, the people covered his body with dalmatics, which they afterwards tore up and kept in reverence of his sanctity; Gregory forbids this flattery: *cum adsint multa* a sacris corporibus apostolorum martyrumque uelamina, a peccatorum corpore sumitur, quod pro magna reuerentia reseruatur. *de qua re praesenti decreto constituo, ut feretrum, quo Romani pontificis corpus ad sepeliendum ducitur, nullo tegmine ueletur.* Eddius 63 end.

,, 29—31 SED ET . . . VACARVNT nearly the same words uita Cuthb 43 end.

[XXXII]

BEDA will not omit another miracle wrought by the relics of St Cudberct, for he learnt it from the very brother on whom it was wrought. When Suidberct was abbat of the monastery of Dacore, a youth there had an unsightly tumour on one eyelid. Many remedies were tried, but to no purpose, until one of the presbyters named Thruidred, who is now abbat of the monastery, gave to the young man a part of St Cudberct's hair that he might place it in the repository of relics, out of which it had been taken that a part might be sent elsewhere. By a salutary impulse the youth applied the relic to his diseased eyelid before he restored it to its place. This was at the second hour of the day and at the approach of the sixth hour in accordance with his faith he found on touching his eye that the eyelid was as sound as though there had never been a tumour upon it.

P 161 2 ANTE TRIENNIVM AD 728 (cf p 170 l 32).

P 161 5 DACORE amnis cadens in fluuium Amyot (Eumont) qui paulo superius erumpit e lacu *Ulleswater* et comitatus Westmeriae et Cumbriae dividit. adhuc traditio est de antiquo monasterio ad huius amnis ripas posito, a quo etiam amne uiculus ipse nomen retinet (Smith). The modern orthography of the name is Dacre.

„ 6 SVIDBERCT not the same as the missionary of that name v 11.

„ 7 TVMOR a swelling healed by the prayers of John of Beverley v 3. Fregeld the anchorite cured of a swelling in the face mirac Cuthb 46. uita Cuthb 46.

„ 17 POST MVLTOS SEPVLTVRAE ANNOS p 57 l 29 n. INCORRVPTVM p 158 l 14 n. p 159 l 16.

„ 18 REPERIERVNT=reppererunt. CAPILLIS so Cuthbert's clothes had a healing virtue p 160 l 28.

„ 22 EIVSDEM l 5.

P 162 5 ENIM logically belongs to l 10 *sanum inuenit.* 'His faith did not deceive him, for (it being then about 8 a m, and he being employed on the business of the day) when midday was at hand on a sudden touching his eye he found it sound.'

„ 7 QVAEQVE=quaecumque.

NOTES ON APPENDIX

I

P **163** uita Cuthb praef (to bp Eanfrid and the brethren of Lindisfarne) *quia iussistis, dilectissimi, ut in libro, quem de uita beatae memoriae patris nostri Cudbercti uestro rogatu composui, praefationem aliquam* iuxta morem *in fronte praefigerem.* All Beda's prefaces are full of interest.

,, 2 REX p 174 l 1 and 17. v 23. ep ad Ecgb 5, where his 'innate love of religion' is commended. He was king of the Northumbrians (v 24). The name was not uncommon. There was a king of the West Saxons so called 527 A D, and a king of the Mercians 819 A D.

,, 4 TRANSSCRIBENDVM uita Cuthb praef § 1 *nec sine certissima exquisitione rerum gestarum aliquid de tanto uiro scribere nec tandem ea, quae scripseram, sine subtilissima examinatione testium indubiorum passim* transscribenda *quibusdam dare praesumsi,* ib (end) after the book was read aloud to the society of Lindisfarne, not a word was found to need alteration, *sed cuncta, quae scripta erant, communi consilio decernebantur absque ulla dubietate legenda et his, qui religionis studio uellent, ad* transscribendum *esse tradenda.* Beda super acta apost expos (preface to bp Acca) *post expositionem apocalypseos sancti euangelistae Iohannis, quam...tibi* transscribendam *destinaui.*

,, 9 HISTORIA DE BONIS BONA REFERAT Cuthbert used to tell to his monks legends of the saints uita Cuthb c 7 end.

,, 11 MALA DE PRAVIS IV 25 (end) n. v 14 (end) of one who died in despair: *factum est hoc nuper in prouincia Berniciorum ac longe lateque diffamatum multos ad agendam et non differendam scelerum suorum poenitudinem prouocauit.* quod utinam exhinc etiam nostrarum lectione litterarum fiat.

P **164** 11 ALBINVS pp 166. 298 l 12. DCB. Hic discipulus Theodori

archiepiscopi et Hadriani abbatis Cantuar obiit ipse abbas Cantuar 732 A D. (Smith).

P 164 15 PROVINCIA Smith gives in his Appendix ii an account of the limits of the Saxon provinces and a map.

,, 20 NOTHELMVM p 174 l 11 and 19. Bonif ep 30 Jaffé.

,, 23 EPISTVLAS p 209 l 34.

,, 24 ECCLESIAE ROMANAE SCRINIO Boniface (ep 30 p 96 Jaffé) asks abp Nothelm to send him a copy of Augustine's interrogations and Gregory's replies, *quia* in scrinio Romanae ecclesiae, *ut adfirmant* scrinarii, *cum ceteris exemplaribus supra dicti pontificis quaesita non inueniebatur*. He sent a like request to Gemmulus 'deacon of the apostolic see', who pleads gout as an excuse for not complying immediately. ib ep 61 end (to Ecgbert abp of York) *ad indicium caritatis fraternitati tuae direxi* exemplaria epistularum sancti Gregorii, quas de scrinio Romanae ecclesiae excepi; *quae non rebar ad Brittaniam uenisse; et plura iterum, si mandaueris, remittam, quia multas inde excepi.* ib 107 (end, to pope Steph III) *potestis nos, si uobis placet, adiuuare, si* de scrinio ecclesiae uestrae *exemplare iubetis et mihi transmittere, quidquid praefato episcopo Wilbrordo ordinato sanctus Sergius praeciperet et conscriberet.* Hier c Rufin III 20 *si a me fictam epistulam suspicaris, cur eam* in Romanae ecclesiae chartario *non requiris?*

,, 25 GREGORII probably Greg II who died 11 Febr 731, and was succeeded by Greg III 18 Mar. It is true that Beda (p 170 l 33) mentions the consecration of abp Tatuin (10 June 731), but the preface may have been written earlier, and time must be allowed for Nothelm to obtain the licence and make the copies. (Hussey).

,, 27 A PRINCIPIO p 3 l 12—19.

,, 29 PRIORVM p 3 n 18.

,, 31 PRAESENTIA l 25 n.

P 165 1 DIXIMVS p 164 l 20. p 166 l 24.

,, 6 HORTATV p 166 l 26.

,, 15 FIDEM QVAM OLIM EXSVFFLAVERAT III 22.

,, 16 IPSORVM PATRVM VITA III 23. IV 3.

,, 17 LÆSTINGAEU p 94 l 1 n.

,, 23 CYNIBERCTI p 114 l 32 n.

,, 29 EXCEPTIS 'over and above', not reckoning.

,, 31 CVDBERCTO pp 8 9. uita Cuthb praef § 1 *primo diligenter exordium progressum et terminum gloriosissimae conuersationis ac uitae*

illius ab his qui nouerant inuestigans, quorum etiam nomina in ipso libro aliquoties ob indicium certum cognitae ueritatis apponenda iudicaui, sic demum ad schedulas manum mittere incipio. at digesto opusculo sed adhuc retento in schedulis frequenter et reuerentissimo fratri nostro Herefrido presbytero huc aduentanti et aliis, qui diutius cum uiro dei conuersati uitam illius optime nouerant, quae scripsi legenda atque ex tempore retractanda praestiti ac nonnulla ad arbitrium eorum, prout uidebantur, sedulus emendaui.

P 166 7 VERA LEX HISTORIAE p 50 l 22.

,, 10 PRAETEREA. This clause is in most MSS placed at the end of the last book of the history. Smith's note thereon is; diu mirabar unde tot codices hanc clausulam ponerent in fine historiae contra optima exemplaria. sed accedens tandem ad MS Cottonianum I inueni hiatum hoc loco relictum, et clausulam in obscuro ad finem libri insertam. habuit scriba prae oculis exemplar primaeuum cui contradicere non ausus est, sed fuerunt forte alia quibus etiam tunc temporis morem gerebat. suspenso igitur iudicio clausulam ad praesens reposuit, ubi neglecta dehinc iacens omnibus qui hunc MS sequioribus seculis exscripserunt errandi occasionem dedit.

,, 15 LOCIS SVBLIMIORIBVS such as Canterbury, York, Lindisfarne.

,, 17 INTERCESSIONIS cf p 45 l 15—17 n. p 119 l 21 n. p 167 l 7. mirac Cuthb praef (end) to John the presbyter: *obsecro, cum ad limina beatorum apostolorum deo protegente perueneris,* pro me intercedere *memineris.* ep ad Nothelmum (before 'in libros regum quaestt' Migne XCI 716ᵃ) *in quibus uidelicet responsis quia tuis petitionibus uestigia patrum sequens satisfacere studui, precor ut uicem debitam nostrae deuotioni reddens* pro sospitate nostri et cordis et corporis, *una cum fratribus qui illis in locis uobiscum domino deseruiunt,* intercedere memineris. *sed et si quid de his quae scripsi aptius forte alicubi, quod facillime contingere poterit, expositum inueneris, nobis quoque ocius hoc destinare non graueris.* ep ad Accam (end, prefixed to 'in Marci euang expos' XCII 134ᵃ Migne) orantem pro nobis *sanctitatem tuam caelestis semper gratia protegat. sed et hoc ante omnia cunctos qui haec forte lecturi sunt deprecor in domino, ut* pro meis et corporis et animi fragilitatibus apud pium iudicem intercessores existere dignentur. ep ad Accam (end, prefixed to 'in Lucae euang exp' ib 308ᵃ) orantem pro nobis *sanctam paternitatem uestram gratia superni adiutoris conseruare atque ad defensionem ecclesiae suae sanctae*

semper corroborare dignetur. The correspondence of Boniface and the other 'monumenta Moguntina' (ed Jaffé) are filled with such requests pp 94. 96. 110. 126. 155—157. 159. 166. 177. 179. 184. 210—218 230 end. 234. 235. 237 bis. 238. 239. 241. 244. 246. 248—250. 252—254. 256. 257. 264. 272. 278. 282 bis—289. 293—299. 305—308. 310. 312. 315. 323. Haddan-Stubbs III 342—3 (between 729 and 744 'the first instance of an association or confraternity between distant houses for mutual prayer'). 387—389. 400. 431—434. 439 (all from Jaffé). Migne CV 419^{bc}. CVI 402^{b} sisque memor nostri nosque tui in precibus | ...sis memor in precibus, *reddis dum uota tonanti,* | Strabonis, memor est semper et ipse tui.

LETTER TO ALBINUS.

P 167 1 TRANSSCRIBENDVM l 3. p 163 l 4 n.

,, 4 DE STRVCTVRA TEMPLI p 172 l 1.

,, 6 TECVM at Canterbury.

H E V 24.

P 168 4 VALLO p 21 l 15 n.

,, 22 COLVMBA III 4.

P 169 13 EADBALD p 33 l 2. Here begins book III.

,, 15 HROFENSIS p 44 l 11.

,, 25 ORDINANTVR Pagi 665 16 takes this word here (and in other passages which he quotes) of the appointment, not of the consecration, which he assigns to 665.

P 170 12 CAEDVALD V 7. Here begins book V.

,, 17 BERCTRED p 148 l 31 n.

,, 19 AEDILRED V 9. Eddius 55.

,, 26 CEOLRED V 19. Seen in a vision abandoned by angels to fiends Bonif ep 10 p 59 Jaffé. ib 59 pp 174 175 Boniface holds out to Aethilbald king of the Mercians the fate of Ceolred and Osred as a warning.

,, 32 DCCXXXI this date is implied p 80 l 30. p 159 l 25. V 11 end.

P 171 1 AEDILBALDO p 170 l 26 n. a letter to Aldhelm (before 706), enclosing Latin verses of his own composition, is ascribed to him by Jaffé (Bonif ep 5).

AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

P 171 4 EX LITTERIS ANTIQVORVM cet see pp 163—167.

,, 7 MONASTERII pp 2. 6. 7. 202. 203.

,, 10 SEPTEM p 202 l 19.

,, 13 MEDITANDIS SCRIPTVRIS pp 171 172. 205 206.

,, 14 CANTANDI p 92 l 26 n.

,, 15 SEMPER AVT DISCERE AVT DOCERE AVT SCRIBERE DVLCE HABVI p 183 l 7—14. Eddius 9 *docibilem et bene docentem.* Bonif ep 136 (end) *ego Hrothuin...hic positus* scribens legens docensque quod legi *multum uos saluto.* Mabillon traité des études mon I 13 10 pp 108 109. Chaucer's clerk of Oxenford prol 707 708

sownynge in moral vertu was his speche,
and gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche.

,, 16 DVLCE HABVI Bonif ep 95 p 243 Jaffé 'quidam' to an abbess *uobis dirigere uersiculos metrica ratione compositos diu fixum mente tenui, corde simul* dulce habui *quia nullos legentium noui, quibus libentius mitterem.*

,, 17 NONODECIMO p 203 l 26 n. Those who at the present time advocate an earlier admission to the diaconate, and that the ordination of presbyters should be deferred till a later age than is now the rule in the church of England, may find an early example of what they strive for in the case of Beda.

,, 19 IOHANNIS p 138 l 2 and 6.

,, 21 22 ANNVM AETATIS MEAE LVIIII 59 from 731 (p 170 l 32) gives 672 as the date of Beda's birth. On the following catalogue of his works see p 2 l 34. Alcuin writing to Charles the Great in June 800 ranks the works *beati Bedae presbyteri* with those of Hier Aug Greg Hil Leo Fulg Ambr Greg Naz etc (ep 143 p 547 Jaffé). Writing A D 801 after April to the abbess Gisla, sister of Charles (ib 161 p 599) he says: *tractatus, quos rogastis, direximus, deprecantes ut quantocius scribantur et remittantur, quia nobis ualde necessarii sunt propter legentium utilitatem. quos domnus* Baeda *magister noster sermone simplici sed sensu subtili conposuit. ideo eius opuscula uobis dirigere curauimus, quia eius maxime dicta uos desiderare intelleximus.*

,, 26 ISAAC just as Caedmon's poem leaves the book of Genesis when the history of Abraham and his family is concluded, so Beda's commentary appears to have done.

,, 30 SAMVHELIS p 181 l 5; cf l 6 and 7.

P 172 1 DE AEDIFICATIONE TEMPLI p 169 l 4.

,, 4 PROVERBIA p 180 l 26.

,, 10 IN CANTICVM HABACVM i e Habacuc in Martene anecd v 295, where Beda employs the Itala, elsewhere the Vulgate, though occasionally he refers to the Itala cf h a 12 where he says of Ceolfrid: *bibliothecam utriusque monasterii, quam Benedictus abbas magna coepit instantia, ipse non minori geminauit industria: ita ut tres pandectes nouae translationis ad unum* uetustae translationis *quem de Roma attulerat, ipse superadiungeret, quorum unum senex Romam rediens secum inter alia pro munere sumpsit, duos utrique monasterio reliquit.* The canticum was sung at lauds on Friday (cf K Werner Beda 181. Hody de libris bibl orig 408).

,, 11 TOBIAE Alcuin ep 197 (p 683 Jaffé) to Ricbod abp of Trier cir 802—803 *omeliam sancti Leonis et tractatum beati Baede in Tobiam deprecor ut ad horam praestes nobis.*

,, 15 VERBA DIERVM a Latin rendering of the Hebrew title of the books which we call Chronicles and which the LXX named *παραλειπόμενα.*

,, 17 PARABOLAS 'comparisons.' The first word of the Vulgate version of the book of Proverbs, used no doubt because by far the greater number of the Proverbs take the form of comparisons.

,, 21 OMELIARVM EVANGELII Alcuin in his dedication to Gisla of his commentary on St John (ep 158 end p 594): he has borrowed from Aug Ambr Greg: *ex* omeliis beati Bedae *presbiteri multa adsumens.*

,, 22 AVGVSTINI Seruatus Lupus (ed Baluze Par 1684) ep 76 p 118 to Hincmar: collectaneum Bedae in apostolum ex operibus Augustini *ueritus sum dirigere propterea quod tantus est liber, ut nec sinu celari nec pera possit satis commode contineri. quanquam si alterutrum fieret, formidanda esset obuia improborum rapacitas, quam profecto pulchritudo ipsius codicis accendisset, et ita forsitan et mihi et uobis perisset. proinde tuto uobis memoratum uolumen ipse commodaturus sum, cum primo, si deus uult, aliquo nos contigerit sospites conuenire.* Hincmar had read the book when he wrote his second book against Gottescalc c 1 (cf Baluze pp 405—406). Mabillon had two ancient MSS of the genuine work, which he intended to publish (Migne XC 87 88. cf below p 194 1).

,, 25 IN EPISTVLAS Alcuin ep 290 (p 876 to a pupil) *de libris uero, quos rogasti, id est* in epistvlas apostolorum beati Baedae

tractatum, *soror mea Gysla habet. dum illa remittet eum mihi, dirigam uobis.*

P 172 28 add many copies of the creed and Lord's prayer in English which Beda had given to the ignorant clergy ep ad Ecgb 3.

P 173 2 FELICIS p 9 l 20. Greg Tur glor mart I 104.

,, 4 DE GRAECO cf pp 298 299.

,, 6 CVDBERCTI pp 8 9. HEROICO METRO ET PLANO SERMONE v 18 (end) of Aldhelm: *scripsit et de uirginitate librum eximium, quem* in exemplum Sedulii geminato opere et uersibus hexametris et prosa composuit. Cf de sex aetatibus A D 701 (II 201 Stevenson). Varin v (1) 174 175 maintains, apparently with reason, that the anonymous life of Cuthbert cannot have been known to Beda.

,, 8 HISTORIAM ABBATVM pp 6—8.

,, 14 QVA DIE Bonif ep 113 end (Jaffé) Bregowin abp of Canterbury to Lull: *diem uero depositionis religiosae Christi famulae Buggan celebramus . . . cuius etiam dies depositionis fuit vi kal Ianuarias. rogauit me obnixe, dum aduiueret, ut hoc uestrae beatitudini transmitterem.*

,, 16 MVNDVM VICERINT a phrase no doubt adopted from the Vulgate version of Christ's words John xvi 33.

,, 17 18 HYMNORVM EPIGRAMMATVM p 13.

,, 19 DE NATVRA RERVM p 16. DE TEMPORIBVS p 10. p 50 l 21 n.

,, 21 DE ORTHOGRAPHIA H Usener in Rhein Mus XXIV (1869) 110 cites the Paris MS 7530 (end of cent VIII) where the tract usually found without a name and therefore called by Putsch p 2775 'incerti de orthographia' occurs f 290 v° 'incipit libellus Bede presbyteri de ortographia' (Keil gramm Lat IV p XLIII). The other collection (Putsch 2327 seq ascribed to 'Beda sacerdos') Usener has not found so entitled in any MS.

,, 23 TROPIS p 15. Halm rhetores latini (Leipz 1863 pp 609—618) gives it from three MSS of cent IX.

,, 24 add the letter to Ecgberct p 16, written 30 years after Aldfrid's death (p 309 51 Smith) i e after 705 (p 170 l 21), printed in Haddan-Stubbs III 314—326. paenitentiale Bedae ibid 326—334. epitome of Adamnan h e v 17 end. Alcuin (ep 234 Jaffé) to Arno abp of Salzburg with a book (now MS 106 of Cologne cathedral library): *est quoque in eo libello* psalterium paruum, quod dicitur beati Bedae presbyteri psalterium, *quem* [sic] *ille collegit per uersus dulces in laude dei et orationibus per singulos psalmos iuxta Hebraicam ueritatem.*

est quoque hymnus pulcherrimus de sex dierum opere et de sex aetatibus mundi . . . *habet et* hymnum quoque nobilissimum elegaico metro compositum de quadam regina Edildryde nomine. cf above p 14.

P 173 27 AD TE PERVENIRE p 179 l 8.

P 174 1—9 these entries may have been added by Beda himself. They are in the same hand as the rest of the MS.

,, 10—175 29 MHB 288 note b 'haec, quae a Grauio primo in lucem edita sunt Antwerpiae 1550, ope duorum codd MSS [256. 1089] saec XII et XIV penes Dominum Thomam Phillipps baronettum . . . paulo accuratius repraesentamus. res fere Northanhymbrensium tractant et apud Simeonem Dunelmensem plerumque inueniuntur. conf et chron Sax et Flor Wigorn.' One copy in the Brit mus (MS add 10,949 15 cent) contains the same supplement. These three, and no others, are specified by Sir T D Hardy as containing it. Portions of these entries are contained in some of the MSS which have been collated for this edition.

TESTIMONIA.

P 176 T D Hardy catalogue of materials relating to the history of Great Britain . . . I (1) 455 456 names several MSS and editions of this letter, which differs greatly in different copies. By the kindness of the Rev S S Lewis and of Dr Idtensohn the librarian of St Gall, we are enabled to give it from the most ancient MS known.

As the epistle of Cuthbert is found in only a few MSS, it seems worth while to give a careful collation of the four copies which have been used for the present edition. The text is printed from MS. CCLV (compared with CCLIV) in the library at St Gallen which is believed to be a MS of the ninth century and C^1 C^2 C^7 are three Cambridge MSS of which a description is given in Excursus ii.

P 176. C^1 has the title. Incipit epistola de transitu uenerabilis bede presbiteri et Giruensis monachi. C^7 has: De obitu uenerabilis Bede presbyteri to which C^2 adds VII kl. iunii.

,, 1 *collectori* lectori C^1 C^2 C^7. *in deo aeternam* in Christo C^1 C^7.

,, 3 *accepi* suscepi C^2.

,, 4 *deuotae* om C^1.

,, 5 *desiderabam* desiderabat C^1 (a slip of the scribe).

P 176 6 *ac magistro* ac nostro magistro C^2 C^7 patre nostro ac magistro C^1.

,, 7 *magis* om C^1.

,, 8 *quam...ingenio* quantum fruor ingenio C^1 C^2 C^7.

,, 9 *a* e C^1 C^2 C^7. *desiderasse* desiderare C^1.

,, 10 *poposcisse* poposcere C^7 poscere C^1.

,, ,, *infirmitate...dolore* infirmitate maxima, creberrimi hanelitus sine dolore tamen C^1 C^2 C^7.

,, 12 *autem* om C^1 C^2 C^7.

,, ,, *id est* om C^1.

,, 14 *omni* omnique C^7.

,, 15 VII *id maī* vii kal iunii C^2 C^7 septimo kl. iunii C^1.

,, 16 *et* post quas C^1.

,, 17 *fuit* erat C^1 C^2 C^7.

,, ,, *psalmorum cantu* psalmodia C^1.

,, ,, *prout potuit se* om C^1 C^2 C^7.

,, 18 *letus in oracionibus* in letitia C^1 C^2 C^7.

,, 19 *deo ducere studebat* peruigil ducebat C^1 C^2 C^7.

,, 20—24 *itemque...referre* euigilans autem statim consueta [incepta C^1] repetiuit et expansis manibus deo gracias agere non desiit [cessauit C^1] C^1 C^2 C^7.

,, 25 *autem* om C^1 C^2 C^7.

,, ,, *sancti* beati C^1 C^2 C^7.

,, ,, *dicentis* om C^1 C^2 C^7.

Compare the last hours of Boisil (uita Cuthb 8): Cuthbert having recovered from the plague, Boisil assured him that he would not again be struck by it: '*simulque moneo ut, quia me mors uicina praestolatur,* discere a me aliquid quamdiu docere ualeam non omittas. *non enim plus quam septem dies sunt,* quibus mihi ad docendum sanitas corporis et linguae suppetat uirtus.' *respondit Cudberctus nihil haesitans de ueritate dictorum illius:* '*et quid, rogo, optimum mihi est legere, quod tamen una ualeam consummare septimana?*' *at ille* 'Iohannem' *inquit* 'euangelistam. *est autem mihi codex habens quaterniones septem, quas singulis diebus singulas possumus domino adiuuante legendo et quantum opus est inter nos conferendo percurrere.*' *factum est ut dixerat. quam ideo lectionem tam citissime complere ualebant, quia solam in ea fidei quae per dilectionem operatur, non autem quaestionum profunda tractabant.* So Charles the Great (Theganus uita Ludouici in Migne CVI 409^c 410^a) spent the last year of his life in prayer and almsgiving and in the correction of books, as the four

gospels by the Greek and Syriac. The day before his death he received the communion. At the last moment he made the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast and other parts of the body. *nouissime autem colligens pedes suos, extendens bracchia et manus super corpus, clausit oculos suos, psallens hunc uersum leniter: 'in manus tuas, domine, commendo spiritum meum.'*

TESTIMONIA

P 176 1 COLLECTORI 'fellow-student'. CVTHBERTVS abbat of Jarrow and Wearmouth pp 181 182.

,, 5 MISSAS p 45 l 15—17 n.

,, 6 PATRE p 182 l 22. MAGISTRO p 181 l 20. p 182 l 8. p 184 l 16 and 26.

,, 8 SERMONIBVS 'words'.

,, 11 ALIQVO = ullo.

,, 15 AD DIEM ASCENSIONIS DOMINICAE, ID EST VII ID MAI cf p 185 l 7. the 9th of May was Ascension day in 720 and again in 799, but in no intermediate year. In 735, the traditional year of Beda's death, Ascension day fell on the 26th of May, i e VII kal Iun (p 204 l 18). In the calendar Beda's day is 27 May, which was Ascension day in 751. The date VII id mai is found in no MS but the St Gallen, and as the date of that is of the ninth century, it cannot be, as at first sight suggested itself, that the date of the death is confused with that of the translation. This latter is entered in the calendars (see Nicolas chron of history) under VI id maii. But this event was long after the date when our MS was written, having occurred some time between 1021—1041 A D. The great difficulty of settling the question of the year of Beda's death lies (1) in the uncertainty whether in Cuthbert's letter the British or Roman Easter is to be the foundation of our calculations. Considering however Beda's own attachment to the orthodox time of observing that feast, we need not perhaps hesitate to conclude that his friends would be of the same mind. But (2) we are told that he died "quarta feria" (p 178 l 17) i e on Wednesday, Ascension Eve "ad vesperum" (p 179 l 10). Now our Saxon ancestors seem to have reckoned festivals from the first vespers (see the authorities cited p 406 n 19). If that be so, they would call the time of his death Ascension day, though we should call it Ascension-eve. Does then VII id mai or VII kal iunii (whichever date we take as the correct one) and which is called *diem ascensionis dominicae* refer to the true Ascension

day or to the eve of Ascension day? There has been uncertainty as to the year of Beda's death from the earliest times. All copies of the Saxon chronicle agree on 734 A D which date is repeated by Matthew Paris (Rolls' series vol I p 335) and by Richard of Cirencester (vol I p 237). Roger of Hoveden (vol I p 5) gives the traditional date 735 A D, while the annals of Waverley (ann monast II 155) place Beda's death in 730 A D, and the annals of Worcester (ann monast IV 367) in 720 A D. Fordun (chron gent Scot lib iii c 46) marks the date according to the year of King Ethfyn, who began to reign, as Fordun states, in 730 A D. His words are: Eius anno secundo uel, ut uolunt quidam, anno quinto, Beda uenerabilis obiit. But in Mr Skene's notes to Fordun we find that the year of the commencement of Ethfyn's reign is uncertain, and it appears from Tighernac that Murdac the predecessor of Ethfyn did not begin to reign till 733 A D and reigned 3 years; thus Ethfyn would come to the throne in 736 or 737 and his second year would be 738 or 739 A D, while his fifth would be 741 or 742 A D. Baronius taking VII id mai for the correct reading places the death in 776 A D, though it is difficult to see why. There is therefore a great uncertainty in all our records concerning the *year* of Beda's death, and against this we have the testimony of a MS of the 9th century that the *day* of his death was 9th May, and that this day was Ascension *eve*. Nothing is more likely than that after the canonisation persons remembering the story that he died on Ascension *day*, which would be the form that tradition would assume, would seek for a date near the time when he must have died which would square with their tradition. But forgetful (or ignorant) of the fact that what was called Ascension day was really Ascension eve, they fixed on 735 A D, a year in which May 26th was Ascension *day*. So that we may lay that date (735 A D) aside altogether, because Ascension eve in that year was May 25th. Now Ascension eve between the years 730 and 800 was on May 26th only in 751, 762 and 773, all of them years too late in the century for us to assign the death of Beda to any of them. We may therefore give up VII kal iunii altogether. When we come to consider the other date, May 9th, we find that Ascension *day* fell on that day only in 720 and 799, both impossible dates, but Ascension *eve* was on May 9th in 731, 742, 750. The first year is too early, for Beda's history continues till that date, and the third too late for the year in which Beda died; we therefore are shut up to A D 742, and on the 9th of May in that year we conclude that Beda's death occurred.

P **177** 1 *in quibus—amonebat* om C^1 C^2 C^7.
2 *et...carminibus* om C^1.
3 *dicens—corpore* om C^2 C^7.
5 The Saxon passage runs thus in C^7 (it is omitted in C^1):
For þan nedfere nane wurþeþ þances snotena þon*ne* hi*m* þearf si to gehicgenne aer his heonen gange hwet his gast godes oþþe yfeles aefter deaþe heonen demed wurþe. In C^2 the form is: For þan nedfare nani wyrðeð þankes snotera þonne him þearf sy to gehicgenne ar his heonan gange hwat his gaste godes oððe y-feles efter deaðe heonon demed weorðe.
15—18 *quod...fuerit* om C^1 C^2 C^7.
19 *ob...suam* ad sui et nostram consolationem C^1.
22 *cum* et cum C^1 C^2.
23 *prorupit...flebat* prorumpens in lacrimas multum ingemuit C^1.
24 *flebat* fleuit C^2 C^7.
25 *et...quidem* et nos C^2 C^7. Quod nos C^1.
26 *haec* om C^1.
,, *cum illo* om C^1.
,, *et fleuimus* om C^1 C^2 C^7.
27 *immo* immo semper C^1 C^2 C^7.
29 *deduximus* duximus C^1.
,, *gauisus est* gaudebat C^1 C^2 C^7.
,, *referebat* agebat C^2 C^7.
30 *quia* quod C^1.
,, *et* referebat et C^2 C^7.
,, *saepe* saepe illud C^1.
31 *et* et multa alia de sancta scriptura et C^1 C^2 C^7.
,, *sancti* add. ante Ambrosii C^1 C^2 C^7 et post Ambrosii *repetebat* C^1.

P **177** 5 this Saxon passage has many peculiarities, some of which may be due to dialect and others to the fault of the scribe. Of the latter kind is *uiuurthit* in which the second letter is superfluous as may be observed in the last word of the passage which is a part of the same verb. The resolution of vowels will be seen, on a comparison with the other two copies given above, in the collation, to be very frequent especially in the case of final *e*, which in the text is nearly always resolved into *ae*. Then in line 10 the *g* of *gongae* has been softened into *i*, exactly as is done in *go* modified into *yonder*, and the prefix *ge* in words like *geclept* made into *y-clept* and *i-clept*. Were it not from the

other evidence as to the date of the MS, this last mentioned change and the constant occurrence of *th* instead of þ or ð would lead to the supposition that the date of the 9th century assigned to it is too early. As it is there is not known so early a manuscript elsewhere in which these changes are so found. For an account of the particular words in the passage see Saxon Glossary.

P 177 20 O REX GLORIAE the antiphon for the magnificat on the feast of the Ascension (breuiarium Rom in ascensione domini 'in IIus uesperis'); the only words omitted are *sed mitte promissum patris in nos spiritum ueritatis*. Beda has a homily (II 9 in Migne XCIV 174—181) on the Ascension, which concludes thus: 'Behold in our Redeemer's ascension we have learnt to what end all our endeavours must be bent: behold, as the Mediator of God and men ascends into the heavens, we have learnt that the gate of the heavenly fatherland is thrown open to men. Let us therefore hasten with all zeal to the everlasting happiness of this fatherland. In this, as in body we cannot yet dwell, let us ever dwell in desire and mind. According to the saying of the noble preacher, let us seek things above, where Christ is seated at God's right hand, let us mind the things above, not the things which are on earth. Let us seek Him and be established by the hope of finding: let us seek His face evermore, and when He who was meek in His ascent, shall be terrible in His return, may He find us ready to be introduced with Him to the festivals of the heavenly city.'

,, 22 ALLELUIA cf Beda hom II 10.

,, 28 QVINQVAGESIMALES Beda hom II 10 (XCIV 187^{d} 188^{a} Migne). Martene de antiq monach rit III 18.

,, 30 FLAGELLAT Stanley life of Arnold (1852) 617 'soon afterwards, with a solemnity of manner and depth of utterance which spoke more than the words themselves [he repeated] *but if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons*'.

,, 31 AMBROSII Paulinus uita Ambr 46 Stilicho, when he heard that Ambrose had kept his bed for some days, sent to him his most intimate friends, to urge him to pray for a respite. To them Ambrose replied: *non ita inter uos uixi, ut pudeat me uiuere: nec timeo mori, quia dominum bonum habemus.*

P 178 2 *dua* duo C^{1} C^{2} C^{7}.

,, *memoriae* multum memoria C^{2} C^{7} multum memoriae C^{1}.

3 *cottidie* om C^{1} C^{2} C^{7}.

P 178 4 *studuit* studebat C^2 C^7.
4—5 *id est—tantos* euangelium sancti iohannis C^1 C^2 C^7.
6 *ad utilitatem ecclesiae* om C^1.
,, *dei* om C^1 C^2 C^7.
7 *libris Isidori* libris rotarum ysodori [ysidori C^1] C^1 C^2 C^7.
11 *suis* om C^1 C^2 C^7.
12 *tamen* autem C^1 C^2 C^7.
,, *docebat* in docendo ducebat C^1.
13 *dixit* dicebat C^1.
14 *quia* om C^1 C^2 C^7.
15 *nobis...* nobis autem uidebatur quod suum exitum bene sciret [praesciret C^1] C^1 C^2 C^7.
18 *fecimus* facto C^1 C^7.
19 *usque ad tertiam horam* om C^1.
21 *cum illo qui dixit illi* remanens cum illo dixit C^1.
,, *adhuc* adhuc magister dulcissime C^1 C^2 C^7.
22 *de libro quem dictasti* om C^1 C^2 C^7.
,, *mihi* om C^2 C^7.
,, *videtur mihi* fortasse C^1.
23 *tibi...interrogare* tibi est plus docere C^1.
24 *et tempera* om C^1.
25 *a nona hora* ad nonam autem horam C^1 C^2 C^7.
,, *quaedam* quaedam autem C^2 C^7.
26 *habeo* om C^2.
,, *incensa* incensum C^1.
27 *sed curre* curre ergo C^1.
28 *ut* om C^7.
,, *et ego* om C^1.
,, *mihi* om C^2 C^7.
29 *et hoc* diuites autem in hoc seculo aurum et argentum et alia quaeque preciosa dare student, ego autem cum multa caritate et gaudio fratribus meis dabo [diuidam C^1] quod deus dederat; et hoc.....C^1 C^7.
,, *et praesentibus...unumquemque* et allocutus est unumquemque C^1 C^2 C^7.
31 *eo* se C^1.
32 *respondere* spoponderunt C^1 C^2 C^7.

P 178 2 EXCEPTIS p 126 l 3.
,, 3 PSALMORVM the psalms were known by heart Eddius 2 3. Greg dial IV 47. cf h a 9 end. 13 pr. 14 pr. 16.

P 178 10 TERTIA FERIA Tuesday.

,, 15 NE FORTE 'that perchance'.

,, 16 EXITVM SVVM BENE SCIRET IV 29 n.

,, 19 A TERCIA HORA 9 a m. AMBVLAVIMVS CVM RELIQVIIS M Tu and W before Holy Th were called gang-days; 'beating the bounds' is the remnant of the custom of carrying relics in procession on these 'rogation' days Rock church of our fathers III 222. 359 360 (where he cites Aelfric I 247 Thorpe 'we also in these days should offer up our prayers and follow our relics out and in'). 473—482 ('Beda died a little after undern-time or tierce-song hour, on the last gang-day, while the brethren of his minster were walking about their fields, as the wont of that tide was, with saints' relics').

,, 26 PIPERVM ORARIA. ET INCENSA Mabillon (AA SS OSB III in Migne XC 27 28) collects from the letters of Boniface and elsewhere examples of such presents: e g Bonif ep 41 (Jaffé) Lull and others to the abbess Cuneburga, whose prayers they request: *parua quoque munusculorum transmissio scedulam istam comitantur; quae sunt tria, id est turis et* piperis *et cinnamomi permodica xenia, sed omni mentis affectione destinata.* ib ep 75 Lull to the abbess Eadburga: *parua munuscula tuae uenerandae dilectioni transmisi, id est unum graphium argenteum et storacis et cinnamomi partem aliquam.* ib 60 Boniface to the presbyter Herefrith *partem* timiamatis *et sabanum pro benedictione et signo purae caritatis tibi direximus.* ib 53 Gemmulus the Roman deacon to Boniface (where he acknowledges the receipt of a silver cup and of a 'syndon') *ad uicem caritatis cum magna reuerentia direximus cinnamomum uncias IV, costum uncias IV,* piper libras II, *cozumbrem libram I.* ib 54 same to same: *transmisimus enim per praedictum uestrum presbyterum aliquantum cotzumbri; quod* incensum *domino offeratis temporibus matutinis et uespertinis, siue dum missarum celebratis sollemnia; miri odoris atque flagrantiae.* ibid 110 Cineheard bp of Winchester to Lull: *de nostro quoque uili uestitu parua exseniola direximus tuo cultui, quanquam indigna, tamen petimus accommoda; hoc est tunica lanea aliaque linea, sicut mos est apud nos habendi; caligas et peripcemata,* orarium *et coculam et gunnam breuem nostro more consutam ad indicium plenissimae dilectionis nostrae.* Fortunatus epigr lib XI returns thanks for gifts of fruit, vegetables, eggs, milk. Pope Boniface V sent to queen Aedilberga a silver mirror and an ivory comb gilt (Beda h e II 11 end).

,, 31 MISSAS ET ORATIONES p 196 l 13 n.

P 179 1 *in uerbo quod* quia C^1 C^7 ,, *autem in uerbo* om C^2.

,, *quia aestimarent* om C^1 C^2 C^7.

2 *multo* om C^1 C^2 C^7

3 *autem* om C^2.

,, *de eo quod* quia C^1 C^2 C^7.

4—5 *si...ex nihilo* ut reuertar ad eum qui me fecit qui creavit qui me ex nihilo C^1 C^2 C^7.

6 *multum tempus*] multo tempore C^1.

,, *beneque* bene C^1 C^2 C^7.

7—9 *tempus...uidere* iam tempus resolutionis [solutionis C^2;] meae instat quia cupio dissolui et esse cum Christo C^1 C^2 C^7.

9 *utilitatis...nostram* om C^1 C^2 C^7.

10 *ultimum* om C^1 C^2 C^7.

11 *nomine...adhuc* om C^1 C^2 C^7.

12 *magister...descripta* Adhuc una sententia magister dilecte non est descripta C^1 C^2 C^7.

12—14 *at ille...scribe* Et ille scribit inquit cito C^1 At inquit scribe cito C^2.

13—14 *et...est* om C^7.

13—15 *modo...dixisti* Modo sententia descripta est. At ille inquit Bene ueritatem dixisti, consummatum est C^2.

13—16 *modo....me* Modo sententia descripta est et opus consummatum. Et ille Bene, ait, dixisti, consummatum est. Iam nunc caput meum manibus paulisper sustentans erige, multum quippe.....C^1.

14 *bene* om C^7.

17 *et ego* ibi C^7 et nunc C^1 ubi C^2.

,, *meum* meum celestem C^1.

18 *decantans* decumbens atque post orationem decantans C^1.

19—20. *et...spiritum* Et cum spiritum sanctum uocauit suum e corpore exalauit ultimum C^2 C^7.

cum spiritum sanctum nominasset suum e corpore exhalans spiritum C^1.

20—23 *atque...portaretur* Ac sic regna migrauit ad celestia C^2 C^7 ad regna emisit celestia C^1.

23 *audiere uel* om C^1.

23—24 *obitum...nostri* beati patris obitum C^1 C^2 C^7.

24 *alium* ullum alium C^2 C^7.

25 *suam* sic C^7 om C^1.

26 *dicebant* testabantur C^1.

P 179 26 *quia* nam C¹.

,, *eius* om C¹ C² C⁷.

27 *quaedam* om C¹.

,, *ad gloriam dei cecinit* cecinit spiritualia C² C⁷ in dei laudem cecinit C¹.

28 *et expansis manibus* expansisque in altum manibus C¹.

,, *deo* deo uiuo et uero C¹ C² C⁷.

,, *cessabat* cessavit C¹.

29 *scire...possunt* scito autem frater karissime quod multa [de eo *add.* C¹ C²] possum narrare C¹ C² C⁷.

30 *nunc* om C¹ C² C⁷.

,, *meae* om C¹ C² C⁷.

31—33 *attamen...presbyteri* om C² C⁷.

Vale. Explicit epistola de transitu uenerabilis Bede presbiteri et Giruensis monachi C¹.

P 179 1 MAXIME AVTEM IN VERBO QVOD DIXERAT QVIA cet acts 20 38.

,, 12 VNA sententia added from C⁷, as necessary to the sense.

,, 13 MODO 'now'.

,, 23 ANGELIS p 34 l 14 n. p 183 l 16.

,, 33 BEDANI the way in which this word has come into the text as the name of Beda is perhaps as follows. In the original from which this copy was made there occurred the Saxon genitive Bedan (see p 180 l 2) and the scribe not knowing what to make of it gave it a Latin termination and inflexion.

P 180 5 CANDELA l 10 and 18.

,, 12 CLOCCAM p 140 l 12 n.

P 181 13 14 VEL...SIVE 'and'.

,, 15 SIN AVTEM 'otherwise', 'if not'.

,, 26 INTERCESSOR p 166 l 13 n.

P 182 7 HOLOSERICAM AD RELIQVIAS p 159 l 1.

P 183 11 DISCENDI STVDIVM p 171 l 15. p 184 l 14.

P 185 5 CVTHBERTVM p 176—179.

,, 7 IV FERIA ID EST VIII KAL IVN Wedn 25 May 735 cf p 176 l 15 n.

,, 25 ALTER ORBIS so the abp of Canterbury was called *alterius orbis papa*.

P 186 7 RESVLTARENT 'differed from,' 'were opposed to' the doctrine of the church.

P 186 24 ALIQVA=ulla.

P 188 3 CVI a disyllable, as in Mart and Iuuen.

P 189 9 LXII should be 63, for Bede was 59 in 731. Many additions might be made to the mediæval notices of Beda e g Roger de Wendover 1 220—223 ed Coxe: *Beda, uir uenerabilis et mente semper caelestis, caeli palatia conscendit; qui diuina uirtute praeditus sua et aliorum uitia compescens dignus est ut in aeterna memoria habeatur . . . promeruit ut ab uniuersali ecclesia doctor Anglorum et pater uenerabilis merito et nomine censeatur.*

P 191 10 FLORES SANCTORVM Hierome Porter the flowers of the lives of the most renowned saincts of the three kingdoms (Doway 1632 4to) 523—534, who gives an engraving of Beda preaching.

,, 23 NOT ONE SINGLE MIRACLE yet see p 184 l 28 29.

EXCURSUS I

LITERATURE OF EARLY BRITISH AND IRISH CHURCH HISTORY

IT is still true, as in Warburton's time, that our only church historians are 'the jester Fuller and Collier the nonjuror.' The 'annals' of Alford, following the method of Baronius, are now of little intrinsic value; Ussher's antiquitates on the other hand may still be consulted with profit. Soames is a polemic, far less instructive than his Romish rivals: The history and antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church by John Lingard, London 1858 2 vols; The church of our fathers, as seen in St Osmund's rite for the cathedral of Salisbury, with dissertations on the belief and ritual in England before and after the coming of the Normans, by Daniel Rock, London 1849—1853 3 vols in 5 parts. See now especially W Bright 'chapters of early English church history Oxford 1878.' A few pages in Kemble's Saxons in England contain the most trustworthy account extant; something too may be gleaned from Freeman's Norman conquest. Much valuable material still lurks in manuscript in the libraries of London, Rome, Oxford, Cambridge, Lambeth, York, Durham, and many others, public and private (some of which the 'historical mss commission' is for the first time bringing to light). A few important mss (including the collections of Wharton, Hutton, Kennett) and printed books are registered in the preface to 'registrum sacrum Anglicanum by W Stubbs, Oxford 1858.'

BIBLIOGRAPHY Cave, Fabricius-Mansi, Brunet, Grässe. T D Hardy 'descriptive catalogue of materials relating to the history of Great Britain and Ireland' (in the Rolls' series of chronicles and memorials). Aug Potthast bibliotheca hist med aeui Berlin 1862 and suppl 1868. Ri Sims manual for the genealogist, topographer, antiquary, London 1856 pp 416—427. O'Curry lectures on the manuscript materials of ancient Irish history Dublin 1861. Preface to 'monumenta hist Brit.'

T Wright 'biographia Brit lit.' Chevalier (see above pp 200 201). The catalogues of C J Stewart (bookseller of King William Str Strand) are valuable to the church historian.

HISTORIES OF SEES catalogued by Sims; by far the most exhaustive is Fasti Eboracenses by James Raine, vol I 1863. Dr Todd's annotated copy of Ware is in the Cambridge library. County (and other local) histories often throw much light on church matters. W R W Stevens the South-Saxon see 1876.

CHRONOLOGY Jaffé regesta pontificum Rom (down to A D 1198) Berl 1851 4to; with the continuation (to 1304) by Potthast ib 1874—5 2 vols.

BIOGRAPHY the acta sanctorum of the Bollandists; the histories of monastic orders (cf Jul Petzholdt bibliotheca bibliographica, Leipzig 1866, 156—166); the national biographies, e g the Dutch one of van der Aa. W J Rees lives of the Cambro-British saints of the fifth and succeeding centuries London 1853. Bp Forbes kalendars of Scottish saints Edinb 1872 4to. Birch fasti monastici aeui Saxonici Lond. 1872. S Butcher, the ecclesiastical calendar, its theory and construction 1877 4to. J B Mullinger the schools of Charles the Great 1877. The 'dictionary of christian biography,' of which vol I (A—D) lately appeared, is often superior to the Romish 'Kirchen-Lexikon' of Welte and Wetzer, and to the Protestant Real-Encyclopädie of Herzog (of which the 2nd ed is now in progress).

LAWS Thorpe ancient laws and institutes of England 1840 1 vol fol or 2 vols 8vo. Reinh Schmid die Gesetze der Angelsachsen[2] Leipzig 1858.

COUNCILS ed Spelman, Wilkins, Haddan-Stubbs (I II (1) III have as yet appeared). John Johnson a collection of all the ecclesiastical laws, canons etc concerning the government of the church of England London 1720 2 vols (esp Baron's ed in Anglo-Cath Library).

MONASTERIES Dugdale's monasticon and local supplements (as Dr Olliver's mon Exoniense).

EPISCOPAL REGISTERS the Durham register, edited in the Rolls' series, should be completed, and followed by all other early registers. The surplus of confiscated church property might supply funds for printing all the registers and other documents of the Irish sees, while there yet remain scholars in the country.

WORKS OF BRITISH AND IRISH AUTHORS Migne's patrologia includes nearly all that was accessible at the date of printing the several

volumes. Jaffé edited the letters of Boniface, Lull and others ('monumenta Moguntina' vol III of his 'bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum'), and those of Alcuin (published after Jaffé's death by Wattenbach and Dümmler in 1873). J A Giles in his 'patres ecclesiae Anglicanae' edited (uncritically) not a few tracts for the first time. Many other documents are to be found in the publications of antiquarian societies etc, especially in the following: Aelfric, archaeologia (cf the proceedings of the archaeological association and institute), Bannatyne, Camden, Caxton, chronicles and memorials (also some of the earlier record publications), English hist soc, E E T S, Irish archaeological, Maitland, Surtees. Adamnan's uita Columbae admirably edited by W Reeves (Dublin 1857) for the Irish archaeological, Bannatyne and Maitland series. The historians of the church of York and its archbishops. Edited by James Raine, I 1879.

MODERN WORKS Dr Todd's St Patrick, Dublin 1864. W Reeves St Maerubba (642—722): his history and churches, Edinburgh 1861. the same, the Culdees of the British islands as they appear in history Dublin 1864 4to. Hen Scott origines parochiales Scotiae 1857 3 vols 4to. Cosmo Innes sketches of early Scotch history 1861. Ebrard die irisch-schottische Missionskirche, Gütersloh 1873. Aug Werner, Bonifacius, der Apostel der Deutschen, Leipzig, 1875. F Piper, die Kalendarien und Martyrologien der Angelsachsen, Berlin 1862. Dietrich Abt Aelfrik (Niedner's Zeitschr f hist Theol 1855 and 1856). German historical and theological reviews and publications of societies should be examined minutely and articles relating to the church of these islands registered. Papers on mediaeval church history appear now and then among the memoirs of the French institute.

ANTIQUITIES Bingham, Augusti, Binterim, Welte and Wetzer, Herzog, 'dictionary of Christian antiquities.'

EXCURSUS II

ACCOUNT OF THE MSS USED FOR THIS VOLUME.

THE MS from which the text is printed is in the Cambridge university library (Kk 5 16). It is a large quarto MS on vellum, written in the 8th century. It is known as bishop Moore's MS, for that prelate (formerly bp of Ely) bequeathed it to the university. It was probably written during Beda's life. There are two hands to be traced in the MS, which is written very carefully. It appears to have been carried into France soon after it was finished, and to have belonged to a monastery dedicated to St Julian. It was sold by auction in the reign of William III and passed into the hands of Dr Moore and so to its present guardians. See Hardy, *Catalogue of MSS relating to the early history of Great Britain*, vol I pt I pp 433—4. For a further notice of this MS and of another in the British Museum see Addit Notes p. 431*

C^1 is a small folio belonging to Trinity college, Cambridge (R 5 27), which was given to the college in 1661 by Henry Greswold, a former fellow. The first fifteen chapters of bk I of the eccl hist are wanting, and book V ends, without quite completing the catalogue of Beda's works, thus:

Martyrologium de natalitiis.

Explicit liber quintus historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum.

This is followed by the *epistola de transitu* (see p 176—9), but without the passage in Saxon, i. e. the passage beginning *in quibus nos*, and ending *iudicanda fuerit*. The last sentence of the letter as printed from the St Gallen MS is also omitted. In bk IV chapters XIII XIV XV of the present text make one chapter, but XIX and XX (=XVII and XVIII of the oldest subdivision) are kept distinct.

The MS is carefully written in a 12th century hand with rubricated titles and initial letters.

C^2 is a small folio belonging to Trinity college (R 5 22) and con-

tains beside Beda's eccl hist a Latin MS in two different hands of the lives of St Basil, St Euphrosyne, the passion of St Agnes, passion of St Vincentius, passion of St Thomas of Canterbury, passion of St Laurentius, the end of which is wanting. Then follows the Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral ascribed to king Alfred. Of this the first folio is missing.

In the ecclesiastical history, the prologue (there called prefatio) ends with *mandare studuimus*, the last sentence of the earliest form of the prologue, *praeterea omnes.....inueniam*, being placed at the end of the catalogue of the works of Beda which closes book V. The sentence preceding it ends, as does the oldest form of book V, with *semper ante faciem tuam.*

In book IV chapters XIII XIV XV are thrown into one, XIX and XX are kept distinct. Chap 28 of the present text is made into two chapters by a division after *dei refectionem praebebat* and the last clause *duobus autem annis* is transferred to the following chapter.

After the eccl hist follows the letter of Cuthbert *de transitu* (here called *de obitu*). It includes the Saxon passage, but does not give the Latin version thereof: *quod ita latine sonat...iudicanda fuerit.*

With verbal variations the letter continues down to *ineruditio linguae facit*, omitting the last sentence of the earlier form. This MS is of the XIVth century.

C^3 is a quarto belonging to Trinity college (R 7 5) of the late eleventh or early twelfth century. The hand is very similar to the specimens no 60 and 62 of the Palæographical society's issues. On the first folio is the name Matthæus Parker.

The prologue ends at *mandare studuimus* and at the close of book V after *ante faciem tuam* comes the sentence which in the earliest copies is in the prologue *praeterea omnes.....intercessionis inueniam.* Immediately follows a short account of the island of Lindisfarne, and then some rude lines called *prognostica* concerning the archbishops and bishops of England, some of which seem to be anything but complimentary as that on

. Willelmus Norwicensis episcopus: Non hunc sed Barraban.

or on

Theodwald of Worcester:

In eadem domo manete edentes et bibentes.

Chap XIII of book IV does not commence in C^3 till Erat autem ibi

monachus (p 116) and though there are large rubricated letters where chapters XIV and XV of the present text commence, yet there is no enumeration of these chapters and chapter XIV of C^3 begins *Postquam ergo Cedwalla.*

Also at the commencement of XXVIII (XXVI of C^3) the first sentence *Exin...peruenit* is placed at the end of the previous chapter.

C^4 is a small folio belonging to Sidney Sussex college (Δ 5 7). It has the prologue (prefatio) ending with *mandare studuimus* and the MS closes with the sentence *praeterea omnes...inueniam*, which in the earliest MS is the conclusion of the prologue.

Its enumeration of the chapters of bk IV differs from any of the other MSS.

Chap I is made up of chapp I and II of the present text.

Chap II begins *Eo tempore prouinciae.*

Chap V begins *In nomine domini* (p 101).

Then a second Chap V is marked at *Non multo post* (p 104).

Chap VI=VII of present text, and so on till

Chap XIII=XIV and XV.

— XIV=XVI.

— XVI begins *In nomine Domini* (p 123), then

— XVII=XVIII.

— XX=XXI and XXII and thus always two less till

— XXVII=XXIX begins at *Duobus autem annis* p 156 and the other divisions are at the same places as in the text.

This MS is in a hand of the XIVth century.

C^5 is a large folio also belonging to Sidney Sussex college (Δ 2 8), given to the college by the Rev Wm Pratt. Beside the eccl hist of Beda it contains the *historia tripartita* ascribed to Epiphanius. The eccl hist commences with the *prefatio* and has, like the earliest type, the sentence *Praeterea omnes...inueniam* at the close of the *prefatio.* The last folios of bk V are gone, the last one which remains ending in the catalogue of the works of Beda at *In cantica canticorum libros VII.* Book IV appears to have been divided into chapters at some later period, of which there are made twenty-eight, but some numbers are omitted and some given twice over, and no comparison can be made of that division with the present text which would serve any purpose. The MS of Beda is in a cursive hand of the XVth century.

C^6 is a folio belonging to Emmanuel College (MS I 1 3). It has elaborately ornamented margins at the commencement of each book,

and is a beautiful specimen of the writing of the fifteenth century the time when it was produced. The date is given at the end of the ecclesiastical history MCCCCLXXXI. Beside Beda's history the volume contains in the same hand the historia Hiberniae of Giraldus Cambrensis.

The prologue to the eccl history ends with the words *mandare studuimus*, and the V book with *semper ante faciem tuam*. In bk IV chapters XIII, XIV and XV as printed in the present volume are all combined into one, and chapter XIV of C^6 corresponds to ch XVI of the present text. Similarly chapters XIX and XX of the present edition make one chapter in C^6.

Chap XXV (=Chap XXVIII of present text) ends with *commendabat*, and the succeeding sentence is put at the beginning of the following chapter.

C^7 is a small folio belonging to St John's college Cambridge (I 13) and has been mainly used in this edition for the collation of Cuthbert's letter. It is written on parchment in a hand of the XIIIth century. The preface of Beda ends with *mandare studuimus*. The chapters of bk IV are divided as in C^4 and the eccl history closes as C^4 with the sentence *praeterea omnes...inueniam;* after which is Cuthbert's letter. In the same volume and in the same hand is a Latin life of St Hyldegard.

EXCURSUS III

RELICS

Those who have ever lived in the neighbourhood of Garswood can bear full witness to the numberless cures which the hand of F(ather) Arrowsmith, and the linen which touches it, work from year to year. DUBLIN REVIEW Oct 1877 p 528.

οὐ γάρ ἐστι τὰ Χριστιανῶν, ὡς ἐπάναγκες εἶναι ταῖσδε ταῖς τελεστικαῖς ὕλαις τε καὶ φωναῖς, ὥσπερ ὁλκαῖς τισι φυσικαῖς, ἀκολουθῆσαι τὸ θεῖον, ὅπερ ἂν πάθοι πνεῦμα ἐγκόσμιον, ἀλλ' ὥστε παρεῖναι ταῖς ἀπαθέσι καὶ ταῖς οἰκείαις τῷ θεῷ διαθέσεσιν.

SYNESIUS ep 67.

I had rather beleeve all the fables in the legend and the Talmud and the Alcoran, then that this universall frame is without a mind. BACON essay 16.

RELICS were treasured in heathen temples and displayed to the curious, e g to Pausanias (Thirlwall VIII[1] 468 and my n on Juvenal XII 47). Plut Thes 36 invention and translation of the bones of Theseus. Lobeck Aglaoph 280—1. Paus IV 32 § 3.

Hefele cites (Beiträge zur Kirchengesch II Tübingen 1864 64 65) as the earliest instances of Christian relics the acts of Ignatius c 6, of Polycarp c 17 and 18. In const apost VI 30 the relics of Joseph (gen 50 1. exod 13 19. Jos 24 32) and of Elisha (2 kings 13 21) are cited, and the Christian assemblies in cemeteries contrasted with the heathen and Jewish abhorrence of a corpse. Cf Eunap uita Aedesii f p 472 40—53 Didot.

Antonius (Athan uita Ant 91) adjured his disciples not to remove his body to Egypt nor to keep it in a house, but to bury it and conceal the place of sepulture. Athanasius himself bricked up relics given to him (Rufin h e II 28).

Julian ep 51 § 11 (=52 end) reproaches Christians as *τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ λείψανα μετατετραμμένους.* cf Cyrill c Iulian VI p 204e Sp. Eus h e VIII 6 § 7. Aug serm 317 (=92 de diuersis) 1 (V 1870b Gaume) of St Stephen's visits to earth: mortuus non uisitaret, nisi et mortuus uiueret. exiguus puluis tantum populum congregauit: cinis latet, beneficia patent. cogitate, carissimi, quae nobis deus seruet in regione uiuorum, qui tanta praestat de puluere mortuorum.

The trade in relics was forbidden by Theodosius AD 386 (cod Theod IX 17 7) *humatum corpus nemo ad alterum locum transferat; nemo martyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur. habeant uero in potestate, si quolibet in loco sanctorum est aliquis conditus, pro eius ueneratione quod martyrium nocandum sit addant quod uoluerint fabricarum.* It was early tainted with imposture Aug de opere monachorum 38 *alii membra martyrum*, si tamen martyrum, *uenditant.* Miraculous cures ascribed to relics id ciu dei XXII 8 §§ 7 8 (demoniacs). §§ 11 12 (fistula and stone, several other like or greater marvels in the chapter). §§ 19 20. Sulp Seuerus uita Martini 11 the grave of a brigand, who had been executed, reverenced by the people, till Martin compelled the guilty spirit to confess. Robbery of relics Baron 660 1—3.

Among the opponents of relic-worship, 'reformers before the reformation,' we find Eunomius, Vigilantius, Agobard of Lyon, Guibert († 1124, author of 'libri IV de pignoribus sanctorum inuentis'). Optat de schism Donat 1 16 a woman, rebuked for kissing before the communion the bone of some martyr who had not been formally recognised, went away in dudgeon. Though Gregory (dial 1 12 end) lays down as a principle: *uita, non signa quaerenda sunt*, his works teem with portents e g dial 1 7 (a stone, too great a burden for fifty yoke of oxen, removed by prayer). II 9 (a stone, which several monks could not stir, became as a thing of no weight through Benedict's blessing). III 9 (bp Frigdianus diverts the course of a river by merely drawing the new line with a rake). III 30 an Arian church consecrated with the relics of ss Sebastian and Agatha; during mass a hog, felt but unseen, escaped from the church; next night the church was shaken to its foundations; a few days after a cloud descended on it, and filled it with a marvellous fragrance; afterwards the lamps were again and again lit without human agency. cf Eddius c 35.

Greg Tur gl mart 1 51 (781e) a sarcophagus, too heavy for three yoke of oxen to draw, carried by three men. ibid (782e) wine or strong drink poured on the stone to which the feet of Beatus had been soddered,

a panacea for wounds and diseases of the eye: quod ego euidenter expertus sum. nam cum mihi nimia lippitudine oculi grauarentur, ex hoc sacrato unguine tactus dolore protinus carui. ib 67 a vast stone, which many yoke of oxen could scarce move, transported by one yoke; cures at the tomb of St Genesius.

Boniface (p 139 A D 745) complains that Aldeberct professed to have received relics from an angel; that he forbad his followers to consecrate churches in honour of apostles or martyrs, esteeming his own relics of equal value with St Peter's: *ungulas suas et capillos dedit ad honorificandum et portandum cum reliquiis sancti Petri principis apostolorum.* Boniface himself (464 f) always carried relics with him.

Arian relics to be burnt conc Caesaraug II (A D 592) c 2.

Miraculous cures wrought by water poured on two channels in a stone on which ss Peter and Paul knelt to pray against Simon Magus; cloths and keys placed in s Peter's tomb work cures (Greg Tur gl m I 28); miracles wrought by fragments of the cross in Poitou (ib 5. cf Ruinart note *a*). the spear, crown of thorns and pillar at which Christ was scourged (ib 7); seamless coat (ib 8).

Relics in a locket worn on the neck (above 346 35) Greg Tur hist Franc VIII 15. glor mart I 76 end. So the host Baron 635 9. Swearing on relics Migne CVI 1310[d].

No church to be consecrated without relics Greg dial III 30. conc Celcyth A D 816 c 2 (Haddan-Stubbs III 580). Hefele Conciliengesch III[2] 70 (2). Bonif p 445 f. 326 (letter of Greg IV to Otgar abp of Maintz; this law still holds (cf p 43 27 n). V 20 Acca collects from all quarters relics of apostles and martyrs and raises altars in their honour. h a 4 5 collections of Benedict. Paulin ep 31 1.

Revelation of relics, e g of those of Geruasius and Protasius to Ambrose Aug serm 286 1 § 5. Greg Tur I 47 with Ruinart's note (Gregory accounts for the many relics of these saints: after their translation a plank, falling on their heads, cleft them; a stream of blood issued and continued to flow, as long as cloths were brought to be dipt in it). Aug serm 318 § 1 (where he also mentions the invention of G and P) of Stephen *huius corpus ex illo* [from his death] *usque ad ista tempora latuit; nuper autem apparuit, sicut* solent apparere sanctorum corpora martyrum revelatione dei. See Mabillon aa ss o s B saec II n 42 on the origin of 'elevation' and 'translation'.

Some references to Baronius will shew the state of opinion and practice in the church shortly before and during Beda's life. 601 1 2

reply of Gregory to Maximian bp of Arabia, who had written to him for relics. 613 2 bleeding image of s Theodore. 627 8 impressions of the chains of Anastasius taken in wax as a panacea. 657 44 the stone lid of s Leocadia's tomb, *quod uix triginta iuuenes mouere potuissent, non humanis manibus sed angelicis subleuatum: uelum, quod sanctae martyris membra tegebat, consurrexit, tamquam illud ipsa uiuens foras submitteret.* 665 10 the body of s Eligius, which many hands could not move, when they endeavoured to translate it, is readily borne by two, when allowed to remain in its place. 714 1 pope Constantine sends to Eoaldus abp of Vienne relics: *de spongia domini, de uestimentis domini, de uinculis apostolorum, de sartagine aerea Maccabaeorum, de cineribus sancti Iohannis Baptistae.*

In a word, it would be easy to find parallels in mediaeval story for every wonder of fable, and every invention of art; the invisible cap of Hades, the seven-leagued boots, the wishing cap of Fortunatus, fire engines, steam engines, gunpowder, cranes, telescopes, telegraphs, lucifer matches, swimming belts, panaceas of every kind.

The value set upon relics by Beda appears from pp 215. 216. 218 8. 230. 235—244. 249. 258 33. 288 23. 303. 306. 307. 316. 321—324. 333. 351. 352. 354. 355. 387. 388. 390. 391. The tract 'de locis sanctis' (Migne XCIV) *passim*, e g c 4 the napkin which bound the Lord's head enriches its possessor and escapes unhurt from the fire; another napkin, 'said to have been woven by saint Mary', with the likenesses of the Lord and the apostles. 'de VI aetatibus' A D 363 (II 182 22 Stev) reliquiae apostoli Timothei Constantinopolim inuectae. Constantio Romam ingresso ossa Andreae apostoli et Lucae euangelistae a Constantinopolitanis miro fauore suscepta. Under the next year (182—183) the bones of John Baptist, scattered and burnt by pagans, recovered by monks. A D 377 (183 27) pope Damasus builds a church at the catacombs, where the bodies of ss Peter and Paul lay. A D 387 (185 5) Valentinian deterred from heresy by the revelation of the relics of Geruasius and Protasius. A D 411 (ib 25) invention by revelation of the bodies of Habacuc and Micah. A D 426 (186) the relics of Stephen Gamaliel and Nicodemus revealed to the presbyter Lucianus, whose narrative was translated by Auitus into Latin; Stephen's relics were brought to the west by Orosius. A D 452 (188 25) the same relics brought from Jerusalem by Eudoxia. A D 459 (189 8) John Baptist reveals his head to two eastern monks; it is translated to Emesa. A D 493 (190 18) invention of the body of Barnabas and the autograph

gospel of Matthew *ipso reuelante.* A D 567 (192 4) invention of the body of Antonius the monk, which is buried in s John Baptist's Alexandria. A D 640 (195) the tunic of the martyr Anastasius heals a demoniac; his relics worshipt (*uenerantur*) at Rome. A D 701 (200) invention by pope Sergius of a fragment of the cross, which is yearly kissed and adored by the people. A D 729 (204) translation of Augustine's bones. h e v 17 (from Adamnan) print of Christ's feet shewn on the mt of olives; Abraham's oak at Mamre.

Miracles (without mention of relics) I 21 Germanus heals a cripple. v 2 John of Beverley makes the dumb to speak. ib 3 he reduces a tumour (rebuking those who had bled the patient *in quarta luna*). v 10 (end) a fountain bursts forth on the scene of a martyrdom.

It must be remembered that the traditions of Beda's monastery (h a 4 cited above 341 37) regarded the relics of Wearmouth and Jarrow with a veneration untroubled by doubt; the miracles also of Gregory I were commonly read in English churches (Ioannes Diacon uita Greg I 41 opp Greg IV 58[c]). Thus (Lingard II 93) "a taste for the marvellous was generated and traditions of long standing as well as stories of more recent date were often committed to writing as facts by men who, if they had learned to doubt and examine, would have considered them as fictions or exaggerations. In this respect the caution of Beda is worthy of notice. He relates several wonderful events, but not one of them on his own knowledge. To some he gives full credit on the personal authority of men whose names he mentions, and of whose veracity he can entertain no doubt; of the others he is careful to state that they come to him at third or fourth hand, or from the tradition of certain churches; and with this information he leaves them to the judgement of his readers*."

See further the indices to the acta sanctorum and to the Benedictine editions of fathers under such heads as *caecus*, *corpus*, *miraculum*, *puluis*, *reliquiae.* Also Calvin traité des reliques Gen 1543 (with other pieces on the same subject ib 1599; an extract in Sleidan bk xv 204[b] of Jo Day's version). Bayle dict 'Vigérius.' Nik Muffels Beschreibung der St Rom (Biblioth d lit Ver in Stuttgart CXXVIII. Tübingen 1876); the author, a leading citizen of Nürnberg, was in Rome at the coro-

* "It is singular that though this life of St Cuthbert abounds with such narratives furnished by the monks of Lindisfarne, yet his lives of the first five abbats of his own monastery contain no notice of a single miracle."

nation of Fred III in 1452. He there saw the Lord's cradle and swaddling clothes, the hay on which He was born, the knife wherewith He was circumcised, the table on which He ate the last supper, the towel wherewith He wiped the disciples' feet, His purple robe, the door through which He passed to Pilate's house, the bason in which Pilate washed his hands, part of the water and blood that flowed from Christ's side, two little pillars that stood in our Lady's room at Nazareth, part of her veil, of her milk and hair, the scissors with which Domitian shore St John's head (the original of the clerical tonsure), 300 children slain by Herod; a pillar near which St Paul preached, on which is marked the height of Christ; the ark and stone tables of the law, the rod of Moses which drew water from the rock, Aaron's rod that budded, part of the burning bush (see Bonner theol Literaturbl 1877 102).

Siegel Handb d christlich-kirchl Alterthümer IV (Leipzig 1838) 'Reliquienverehrung.' Erasmus pilgrimages to St Mary of Walsingham and St Thomas of Canterbury transl by J G Nichols[2] 1875. Gough's index to Parker Society (cf ind to Strype) 'relics.' Chalk from a cave in Bethlehem supplies 'the Virgin's milk' Tübing Quartalschr L (1868) 438—442. Joh Huber Jesuitenorden 327—8. 332 seq.

I have not seen: Fr Agricola de sanctorum reliquiis Colon 1581. M Bochart de l'origine du service des reliques Saumur 1656. B Cellarius de sanctorum reliquiis Helmst 1656 4to. De Cordemoy traité des saintes reliques Par 1719 12mo. Io G Dorsch specimen sceletomaniae pontificiae Strasb 1663 12mo. Seb Heiss de ueneratione reliquiarum Monac 1601. Jacob Herrnschmid Romanensium Delila sceletolatrica Wittemb 1609. J H Jung de reliquiis et profanis et sacris earumque cultu[4] Hannover 1783 4to. Chr Kortholt de reliquiarum cultu Kiel 1680. Pet Morellus de ritu ostensionis reliquiarum Rome 1721. More in Walch biblioth theol I 204—5. II 153. 262. Watt bibl Brit 'subjects.' DCA 'relics.' Relics at St Mary's Warwick in 1555 (Notes and Queries 5 ser IX 484).

EXCURSUS IV

BISHOPRICS BRITISH AND SAXON BEFORE 640 A D

OF the episcopate in Britain before the arrival of St Augustine we have very little information. We know that British bishops were at the councils of Arles (315 AD) and of Ariminum (359 A D) but we have no name of either bishop or see till the time of Ninias who at the opening of the fifth century (401 A D) was bp of Casa Candida, i e Whitherne in Galloway (see p 222). But the British bishops, like the British people, were pushed westward into Wales and Cornwall. In 664 A D British bishops joined with Vini the Saxon bishop of Wessex in consecrating Ceadda to York (Beda h e III 28). A full list of sees established in Wales is to be seen Haddan-Stubbs I 142 with a notice of the establishment in that principality of a diocesan episcopate, but no such information is to be obtained concerning the British bishops who were in other parts of the country. British sees were however gradually occupied by the Saxons and in 871 A D we even find a Saxon bishop at St David's [archaeol Camb 3rd series X p 15 quoted in Haddan-Stubbs].

All therefore which it is possible to set forth with certainty is the condition of the Saxon episcopate from the arrival of Augustine down to 633 A D when the history of Beda bk III commences. Augustine was consecrated at Arles 597 AD and came over into Kent in the same year and held the archiepiscopal see till his death 604 A D. During his life the monastery of St Peter and St Paul, afterwards called St Augustine's, was commenced but not completed, and in the year of his death he consecrated Mellitus and Iustus, who had been sent over to him from pope Gregory, the former to be bishop among the East Saxons with his seat at London, the latter to be bishop of

Rochester. In the same year he consecrated Laurentius to be his own successor at Canterbury. The episcopate of Laurentius was terminated by his death in 619 A D. About two years before that date the district presided over by Mellitus relapsed into heathendom, as also did that to which Iustus had been appointed. William of Malmesbury only says (de gest pontif II) *a successoribus regulis deturbatus Mellitus Cantuariam venit. ibi magno curarum aestu quae sociorum pectora decoquebant exceptus, coniuncto sibi Iusto, secessit in Galliam.* But there was no bishop appointed to take the place of Mellitus till A D 658 when Cedd was made bishop among the East Saxons, and Beda says (III 22) *Orientales Saxones fidem, quam olim expulso Mellito antistite abiecerunt, instantia regis Osuiu receperunt.* cf also II 5.

On the death of Laurentius Mellitus was made archbishop and dying in 624 was succeeded by Iustus, at whose death in 627 Honorius came to the archiepiscopal dignity, and it is during his episcopate, which continued till 653 A D, that the history contained in these two books commences.

To the bishopric of Rochester Iustus returned one year after his departure (h e II 6) and continued to preside over the see till his elevation to the archiepiscopate, when he consecrated Romanus to be his successor. This prelate was drowned in the Italian sea [h e II 20] when going as a legate from England to pope Honorius 634 A D, and after him Paulinus at the request of archbishop Honorius took charge of the see of Rochester, which he held for ten years.

Paulinus had previously been a bishop in the province of Northumbria, having converted king Edwin to Christianity 625 A D and having been consecrated bishop by archbishop Iustus [h e II 9], and he is accounted the first bishop of York. We also read of the extension of the missionary labours of Paulinus into Lindsey [h e II 16], but on the death of king Edwin 633 A D he was obliged to leave the northern parts of the land and came along with Edwin's queen to Kent, when he was appointed, as has been said, to the bishopric of Rochester, and the northern provinces were next evangelised by the labours of Aidan who became the first bishop of Lindisfarne. No other bishop was appointed as successor of Paulinus at York till the consecration of Ceadda [h e III 28].

But before 640 A D two missions had been planted in England by foreigners which may be looked upon as the commencement of two other sees. In 632 A D, or according to some calculations 636 A D, a

Burgundian bishop named Felix came to Honorius the archbishop and was by him sent to preach among the East Angles, whose first bishop he was made and had his episcopal seat at Dunwich [h e II 15].

In like manner Birinus sent from Italy by pope Honorius, was made a bishop among the West Saxons about 634 A D, and his seat was at Dorchester in Oxfordshire.

Thus, beside the archiepiscopal see, there had been founded though not in a very permanent manner two sees in the province of Northumbria, and four in the southern and eastern parts of the kingdom before 640 A D.

EXCURSUS V

EASTER

THE proper time for the observance of Easter has been a source of much controversy in the Christian church. The first discord arose because two uses had come to be observed probably because the converts were of two different classes. Some of the earliest Christians were Jews, while others were Gentiles. The former would probably, as we know from Scripture that St Paul actually did, observe Jewish feasts at the Jewish times. To such converts the passover-night would still be observed at the usual date, though connected now in their minds with the death of Jesus. To the Gentile converts who knew nothing of the Paschal feast the fact that Jesus rose on the first day of the week fixed the Sunday as the proper day on which the festival of the resurrection should be observed, while by the Jewish converts the day of the week was disregarded. The Jewish Christians influenced the Asiatic church, and by them the calculation of Easter was made after the Jewish rule for finding the paschal moon. The day which they observed was the 14th of the moon (Nisan) and in after times those who followed this rule obtained the name Quartadecimans. The western church kept Easter always on the first day of the week, nearest to the same 14th day of the moon, only taking care that the day should not precede the vernal equinox. For an account of the controversies which agitated the whole of Christendom on this subject, first in the time of St Polycarp about 160 A D, then at Laodicea about fifteen years later, and then between Victor and Polycrates 190 A D, the reader is referred to the article *Easter* in DCA.

At the council of Nicaea the western use received the sanction of the assembled fathers, and thus the party who still adhered to the Jewish

mode of reckoning the time of the Easter festival came to be regarded as heretics.

But the Easter question of which so much is said in Beda's history was not a dispute between Eastern and Western churches, but between two branches of the Western church which had been in earlier times at one. In the letter of the emperor Constantine sent forth to the churches after the council of Nicæa it is stated (Socr h e I 9), that in Britain there was the same unanimity of sentiment at that time concerning the observance of Easter which prevailed in the rest of the Western church. But the history of Beda shews that there had arisen before his day a serious diversity between the British use and that of the church of Rome, and we are told by him of an occasion on which king Oswy who followed the British calculation was keeping his Easter and had concluded the Lenten fast, while his queen who had been trained in the Roman use was still fasting and keeping Palm Sunday. This difference is of quite another character from that which disturbed the harmony of the Eastern and Western churches, and as Beda observes (h e III 4) had arisen because Britain lay too far away to be made aware of the synodic decrees issued from time to time by the Roman church for the proper fixing of Easter. Both the British and Romish Christians kept the festival on the first day of the week. At the time of the Nicene council the festival was calculated according to the 84 years cycle, called after Sulpicius Severus but in use a long time before his date, and this made Easter-day to be the Sunday which fell next after the equinox between the 14th and 20th days of the moon inclusive. To this cycle the British church still adhered (see p 275). But the cycle of 84 years had been supplanted at Rome first by the cycle of 532 years of Victor of Aquitaine and then by that of 19 years of Dionysius Exiguus. According to this latter method of reckoning, Easter day was to be the Sunday next after the equinox between the 15th and 21st days of the moon. From this variation adopted in the mode of calculating Easter by the Roman church and from her by nearly all the West we can see at once how, if the 14th day of the moon fell on Sunday, that would be Easter day to Oswy and the Britons, while to those who followed the Roman use the 21st day of the moon would be Easter day.

But we learn from this that the controversy of which Beda says so much was a very different matter from the Quartadeciman dispute between the Eastern and Western churches of old. The British church

had never held the Eastern view, and our church was not Eastern, as has been said, but Western in her origin.

For much valuable information on both these Easter controversies the student may read with advantage the article in DCA already alluded to, and the appendix D pp 152 seqq vol 1 Haddan-Stubbs. Also for authorities on each matter connected with the Easter controversy see the various notes on bk III 25.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

P 95 2 OVINI. An interesting memorial of Ovini was discovered at the end of the last century in the village of Haddenham near Ely, and was by the advice of the late Canon Bentham removed to the Cathedral at Ely, where it is now preserved. It is a stone which appears to have formed the base of a cross, and on one of its sides is the following inscription.

+ LVCЄM . TVAM . OVINO
DA . DЄVS . Є T . RЄQVIЄ̄
AMЄN.

The letter Є wherever it occurs is of the Old Saxon form, and gives evidence of the antiquity of the inscription. For a full account of the stone see Bentham's *Hist and Antiq of the Convent Ch at Ely*, p 51 (ed 1812). The Dean of Ely (Dr Merivale) suggests that the words are meant for a pentameter line, the *m* in lucem being elided even before a consonant. I am also indebted to Dean Merivale for pointing out a similar instance of elision in a sepulchral inscription given in Platner's *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* Band II p 88.

Constantinus Aug et Helena Augusta Hanc domum regalis simili fulgore coruscans Aula circumdat &c.

And that a like elision from Ennius is given in Wordsworth's *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin* p 583.

And in a British inscription in Hubner's *Inscr Brit* Additamenta p 2.

Other instances in mediæval Latin are not very rare.

P 345 l 13 (note on p 127 l 10) VOWS OF CONTINENCE Hier ep 71 3 (ad Lucinium) *habes tecum prius in carne, nunc in spiritu sociam;* de coniuge germanam, *de femina uirum, de subiecta parem: quae sub eodem iugo ad caelestia simul regna festinat.* ib 7 *ego insignia paupertatis et cotidianae symbola paenitentiae tibi et* sorori *tuae misi.* id ep 75 2 (to Theodora widow of Lucinius) *obsecro te,...ut Lucinium tuum desideres quidem ut* fratrem, *sed gaudeas regnare cum Christo... ille iam securus et victor te aspicit de excelso et fauet laboranti et iuxta se locum praeparat, eodem amore et eadem caritate, qua* oblitus officii coniugalis *in terra quoque* sororem *te habere coeperat, immo* fratrem; *quia* casta coniunctio sexum non habet nuptialem.

P 347 l 13 (note on P 128 l 3) TO GO WOOLWARD Hier ep 66 5 pr *vestes sericae et aurum in fila lentescens in mollia* lanarum *vestimenta mutata sunt, quibus repellatur frigus, non quibus nudetur ambitio.* Durham rites (Surtees society) 84 'stammyne, otherwise called lyncye wonncye for sheets and for shirts for the novices and monks to wear, for they did never wear any linen'.

P 348 l 32 (note on P 128 l 4) RARO IN CALIDIS BALNEIS Hier uit Hilarion 10 *saccum, quo semel fuerat indutus,* numquam lauans et superfluum esse dicens munditias in cilicio quaerere. id ep 77 2 *dicam* appetitas sordes? 79 1 (499^{c}) *aliis nihil prodest* corporis illuuies .... *interdum* gloriosis tumemus sordibus.

P 349 l 20 (note on P 128 l 7 8) LOTIS PRIVS CETERIS FAMVLIS CHRISTI regula Pachomii 51 (ib II 63^{ab}) *quando ad ostium monasterii aliqui venerint, si clerici fuerint aut monachi, maiori honore suscipiantur;* lauabuntque pedes eorum *iuxta euangelii praeceptum et deducent ad locum xenodochii.*

P 357 l 25 (note on P 134 l 2) VINCVLA SOLVTA Eur Bacch 447—8 (where see Joddrell and Sandys) αὐτόματα δ' αὐταῖς δεσμὰ διελύθη ποδῶν | κλῆδές τ' ἀνῆκαν θύρετρ' ἄνευ θνητῆς χερός. Philostr Apoll VII 38 § 1. Damis asked Apollonius when he would be set free. 'As far as it rests with the judge, to-day; as far as I am concerned, this instant'. § 2 On which he withdrew his leg from its fetter and again replaced it. cf VIII 13 § 2. 30 § 2.

P 361 l 35 (note on P 137 l 24) OMNIBVS ESSENT OMNIA COMMVNIA Hier uit Malchi 7 fin (II 46^{b}) *coepi taedere captiuitatis et* monasterii cellulas quaerere *ac formicarum illarum desiderare similitudinem, ubi* laboratur in medium, cumque nihil cuiusquam proprium sit, omnium omnia sunt.

P 370 l 28 (note on P 145 l 1) SIGNO SANCTAE CRVCIS see pp 279 280. Hier uita Pauli 7 salutaris impressione signi armat frontem. uita Hilarion 6 Christi crucem signauit in fronte.

P 406 l 13 (note on P 178 l 26) PIPERVM ORARIA ET INCENSA Hier uita Hilarion 44 pr *igitur octogesimo aetatis suae anno, cum qbsens esset Hesychius, quasi testamenti uice breuem manu propria scripsit epistulam, omnes diuitias suas ei derelinquens* (*euangelium scilicet et* tunicam sacceam, cucullam et palliolum).

P 413 14 The MS has been thoroughly described and a facsimile page of it published by the Palaeographic Society (plate 139). The page produced in facsimile is part of chap 24 of bk IV *nullus eum aequiparare .....ad abbatissam perductus iussus est*, and the Librarian of the University of Cambridge (Henry Bradshaw, Esq M A) has given in his description many particulars of the history of the volume, together with an account of the quires, ruling, handwriting and abbreviations which occur in it.

The facsimile page contains, as will be seen, the account of the miraculous gift of song bestowed on Caedmon, and as the scribe in this MS concluded his work with the original Anglo-Saxon of Caedmon's song the society has produced (on plate 140) a facsimile of that poem which we here subjoin.

Nu scylun hergen hefaen ricaes uard metudæs maecti end his modgidanc uerc uuldur fadur sue he uundra gihuaes eci dryctin or astelidæ he aerist scop aelda barnum heben til hrofe haleg scepen. tha middun geard moncynnæs uard eci dryctin æfter tiadæ firum foldu frea allmectig.

This poem fills three lines of the MS and then follows *Primo cantavit Caedmon istud carmen* and then four words which are glossed, viz.

arula	.	hearth
destina	.	feur
stud	.	jugulum
sticung	.	nota rubrica

The Palaeographic Society has also published a facsimile (plate 141) of another ancient MS of Beda which is in the British Museum (Cotton Tib C 11) and is in a hand of the 8th century. This MS has been collated for books I II and V of the text which are now being printed and in any future edition the text of books II and III will also be compared with this very important MS. Any various readings from it are marked L^1.

ONOMASTICON

ACCA 42 13. 118 5. styled in both places *reuerentissimus antistes*, was bp of Hexham, a pupil of Wilfrid and one of Beda's authorities, see Will Malmsb *de pont* lib III.

ACHA 30 6. a sister of Aeduini (Eadwine) king of Northumbria.

ADAMNANVS 145 21. a monk in the monastery of Coludi Urbs.

ADBARVÆ 94 15. 104 30. Barrow near Goxhill in Lincolnshire. *Cod Dipl* 568. 575. 579.

AD CANDIDAM CASAM 25 3. Whitherne in Galloway.

AD CAPRAE CAPVT 59 11. *Sax* Hregeheafod, Gateshead near Newcastle-on-Tyne.

ADDA 59 9 10. a priest, brother of Vtta the abbat of Ad Capræ Caput.

AD LAPIDEM 122 6. Stoneham between Southampton and Winchester.

AD MVRVM 59 5. 61 3. Walbottle near Newcastle-on-Tyne.

AD NEMVS 94 15. *i q* Adbaruæ.

ADTVIFYRDI 154 21. Twyford on the Alne, in Northumberland.

AEANFLED 67 11 28. mother of the abbess Hild.

AEBBA 127 26. 147 10. paternal aunt of king Ecgfrid and abbess of Coludi Urbs.

AEBBERCVRNIG 149 30. a monastery in the Angle territory, but close to the frith which separates the Angles from the Picts, therefore on the south side of the Frith of Forth.

AECCI 104 19. bishop of the East Angles, successor to Bisi. He was made bishop of Dunwich in 673 when the East Anglian diocese was divided into the two sees of Dunwich and Helmham.

AEDAN (Aidan) 23 2. 24 7. 26 28. 28 16. 45 27. 46 32. 47 12. 48 19. 68 26. 69 28. 77 4. 80 26. 82 17. 136 28. 137 12. 152 29. originally a monk of the monastery of Hii (Iona) and sent, on the request of King Oswald, to help to convert the Angles. His virtues and holy life are fully narrated in Beda's history. He died near Bamborough 651 AD. Many miracles are said to have been wrought by him in his life, and by his relics after his death.

AEDDI 92 30. a master of cathedral singing in the churches of Northumbria. He had a second name Stephanus. He is better known by his Latinised name *Eddius*. He wrote a life of bishop Wilfrid whose chaplain he was, and the work is a very curious piece of biography. See Fasti Eboracenses Dixon-Raine p 82.

AEDGILS 148 17. a fellow priest with Beda, and one of his authorities.

AEDILBERCT 44 15. (Ethelbert) the first Christian king of Kent. He died 24 Feb 616 AD.

AEDILBERG } 33 21. 34 30. 105
AEDILBVRGA } 14. 108 3. 110 17. a daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles; she became a nun and was made abbess in the French monastery of Faremoustier-en-Brie (in Brige).

AEDILFRID 19 7 9. (Ethelfrith) a king of the Angles in Bernicia (ob 617). He was father of Eanfrid, who in 633 on the death of Edwin became king of Bernicia.

AEDILHERI 66 17. brother of Anna king of the East Angles.

AEDILHILD 39 18. sister of Aediluini, the bishop of the province of Lindissi.

AEDILRED 38 19. 113 28. 115 11. 123 17. 132 29. 133 3 24. 138 22. (Aethelred) king of Mercia. He resigned his kingdom 704 AD, and became first a monk and then abbat of Bardney and died 716 AD.

AEDILTHRYD 95 9. 127 2. 131 30. 135 9. (Etheldreda) a daughter of Anna king of the East Angles. She was first married to Tondberct, a chieftain of the South Gyrvii, and after his death, to Ecgfrid king of Bernicia. Her history is fully narrated by Beda and an abstract of it will be found p 344.

AEDILVACH 115 24. 117 10. 120 30. king of the South Saxons, converted to Christianity 661 AD.

AEDILVALD 62 31. (Aethelwold) king of the East Angles (655—664). He was a brother of Anna.

AEDILVINI 39 18. bishop of the province of Lindissi, and brother of Alduini abbat of Peartaneu.

AEDVINI 19 1 9. 30 6. 35 28. 47 9. 67 11. (Edwine) king of Northumbria, born 585 AD. He began to reign 616 AD, and was killed in 633 AD at the battle of Hatfield (in the W Riding of Yorkshire).

AELBFLED 150 8. abbess of Streaneshalch (Whitby).

AELFFLEDA 66 25. daughter of king Oswy, of Bernicia. She was devoted to a monastic life when only a year old by a vow of her father. She died 713 AD.

AELFRIC 19 3. uncle of Aeduini the king of Northumbria.

AELFVINI 132 30. brother of Ecgfrid king of Bernicia. He was killed in a battle near the river Trent.

AENHERVS 116 4. brother of Eanfrid, and uncle of Eaba who was wife of Aedilualch king of the South Saxons.

AESICA 107 3. a little boy, who died in infancy at the monastery of Barking, where he was being brought up by the sisterhood.

AETLA 138 2. one of the five bishops from Hild's monastery at Streaneshalch, perhaps the same as Hæddi, bp of the West Saxons, but see notes.

AFER 89 22. an African. Hadrian who accompanied archbp Theodore was a native of Africa.

AGATHE 131 21. St Agatha, died 5 Feb 251 AD, a prisoner in the time of the Decian persecution.

AGATHO 71 2 9. one of the presbyters present at the synod of Whitby, of the party of Agilberct and Wilfrid.

AGATHO 125 6 13. 126 14. pope of Rome 679—682 AD.

AGILBERCTUS 31 20. 32 1 17. 70 28. 71 8. 30 32. 76 21. 81 17. 91 4. 113 15. bishop of the West Saxons, an influential member of the synod of Whitby.

AGNES 131 25. St Agnes, sup-

posed to have been martyred 304 A D.

ALCHFLEDA 58 21. daughter of Oswy king of Northumbria. She became the wife of Peada the son of Penda king of Mercia.

ALCHFRID 44 7. 58 28. 66 7. 70 13. 30 32. 81 15. son of Oswy king of Bernicia. He sided with the Mercians against his father, and married Cyneburh, daughter of Penda king of Mercia.

ALDFRID 150 12 (see note p 245). son of Oswy. He came to the throne of Bernicia after Egfrid A D 685 and died in 705 A D.

ALDVINVS 39 19. abbat of Peartaneu (Partenay in Lincolnshire).

ALDVVLF 123 11. 136 24. king of the East Angles 663—713 A D.

ALNE 154 20. river Alne in Northumberland.

ANATOLIVS 23 11. 74 18 29. a bishop of Laodicea in Syria in the third century. He is quoted in Beda as a writer of authority on the Easter controversy, of which work St Jerome says "ingenii magnitudinem de uolumine quod super pascha composuit intellegere possumus."

ANDILEGVM 33 19. Audeley near Rouen.

ANDREAS 44 14. St Andrew the apostle.

ANDREAS 90 7. a monk mentioned by Hadrian to pope Vitalian as a fit person to be archbishop of Canterbury. He pleaded the infirmity of age as an excuse.

ANNA 31 15. 33 20. 52 17. 53 16. 62 32. 66 17. 127 3. king of the East Angles 635—644 A D.

AQVILA 72 30. the tent maker with whom St Paul worked at Corinth.

ARHELAS 90 32. Arles, anciently the capital of Neustria (Normandy).

ARRIVS 124 12. Arius, the originator of the Arian heresy, which denied the divinity of the Son. Against him and his party the Council of Nicaea was assembled 325 A D.

ARVALD 122 2. king of the island of Vecta (Wight).

ASTERIVS 30 16. the bishop of Genoa by whom, at the order of pope Honorius, bp Birinus was consecrated before his mission to Britain.

AVGVSTINVS 152 32. St Augustine the evangelist of England. He was sent by pope Gregory the great 596 A D, and died as archbishop of Canterbury 607 A D.

BADVDEGN 159 24. a monk of the monastery of Lindisfarne, miraculously cured of paralysis at Cudberct's tomb.

BADVVINI 104 19. bp of Elmham.

BEARDANEV 38 19. Bardney in Lincolnshire. The orthography in *Sax Chron* is variously Bearðaneg, Barþanig, Beardanig. *Cod Dipl* Bardunig 66, 990. Berdnea 163.

BEBBA 29 28. 48 11. wife of Aethelfrith king of Bernicia (593—617). From her the town of Bebbanbury (Bamborough) took its name.

BEGV 140 9. a nun at Hackness.

BERCT 148 31. a leader of king Ecgfrid's army in his raid on Ireland.

BERCTGILSVS 58 2. (also called Bonifatius) a bishop of the East Angles successor to bp Thomas.

BERNICII 19 5 14. 30 3. 44 25. 66 32. 114 24. the people of the kingdom of Bernicia which extended from the Tyne to the Forth.

BERNVINI 121 26. one of the clergy of bishop Wilfrid in the isle of

Wight, and nephew of the bishop.

BETTI 59 9. one of the four priests taken by Peada, son of Penda king of Mercia, to instruct the Middle Angles in Christianity.

BIRINVS 30 12. 113 15. a missionary bishop sent by pope Honorius to preach among the Britons. He remained among the West Saxons and was made first bishop of Dorchester.

BISCOPVS BENEDICT 125 6 7. 126 10. an Englishman who, quitting a military life, retired to Rome and became so much trusted by pope Agatho, that he was sent to England along with archbishop Theodore, and took great share in the religious reforms of that prelate. He founded the monastery of Wearmouth and died toward the close of the seventh century. See h a.

BISI 101 26. 104 12. bp of the East Angles, present at the synod of Hertford.

BOISIL 151 11 31. 155 3. provost of Lindisfarne, a priest who was endowed with power of prophecy.

BONIFATIVS 58 2. 104 14 16. see Berctgilsus.

BOSA 114 23. 115 5. 138 2. a monk of Whitby who was made bp in Deira, after Wilfrid's expulsion and the division of his diocese. His cathedral city was York. See Dixon-Raine, p 83.

BOSANHAMM 116 9. Bosham in Sussex. *Sax Chron* ann 1048 1049. *Cod Dipl* Bodesham 1338.

BOSEL 138 18 27. bp among the Huiccii (Worcester) 689—691 A D. He resigned his episcopate from infirm health, and was succeeded by Oftfor one of the monks of Whitby.

BOTHELM 22 2. one of the brethren of the church of Hexham. His broken arm was cured by some moss from king Oswald's cross.

BREGVSVID 139 6. mother of Hild the famous abbess of Whitby.

BRETTONES 19 19. 20 7 12. 24 28. 25 4. 29 8. 35 21. 37 13. 56 25. 72 14. 82 8. 139 7. 149 24. the Britons, the inhabitants of Britain driven into the West by the incursion of the Saxons.

BRIDIVS 25 5. king of the Picts at the date of Columba's visit to Britain.

BRIGENSIS 33 23. belonging to the monastery of In Brige (Faremouster-en-Brie).

BRITTANIA 79 5. 80 14. Britain.

BVRGHELM 116 1. a priest who aided in the conversion and baptism of the people of the South and West Saxons in the time when bp Wilfrid was labouring in those provinces.

CAECILIA 131 26. St Caecilia celebrated in Beda's hymn on virginity.

CAEDMON 142 18. a lay brother in Hild's monastery at Whitby. He was miraculously endowed with the gift of poesy, and to him are ascribed some of the earliest Anglo-Saxon sacred poems.

CÆLIN 63 14. 64 28. a brother of Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons.

CALCARIA 137 7. Tadcaster in Yorkshire.

CALCEDON 124 16. Chalcedon in Bithynia. Here was held the fourth general council of the Church 451 A D.

CALE 33 18. 136 21. Chelles, about four miles from Paris. Here was one of the nunneries to which Englishwomen often retired.

CANTIA 34 10. 51 28. 69 8 22 23. 81 23. 82 26 29. 91 24. 92 26 31. 93 17. 113 29. 135 8. 138 10. 153 1. Kent.

CANTVARII 33 2 24. 44 17. 51 29., 58 3. 70 4. 82 27. 89 5. 101 30. 104 10. 115 19. 128 22. 150 17. the people of the kingdom of Kent.

CATARACTO 45 4. Catterick in Yorkshire.

CEADDA 64 26 28. 68 22. 81 27. 82 12. 93 5 31. 94 12. 98 15 24 32. a brother of bishop Cedd and himself for a time bishop at York and afterwards in Mercia, at Lichfield.

CEADVALLA 113 22. 120 28. 121 4 6 13. king of the Geuissae, a supporter of bp Wilfrid.

CEADVALLA 19 19. a king of the Britons, who exercised great cruelties on the Saxons.

CEDD 59 8. 61 11 14. 62 27. 64 28. 71 12. 76 27. 81 28. 82 18. 98 27. a missionary preacher and afterwards bishop of the East Saxons.

CELLACH 67 22. a Scottish presbyter, consecrated second bishop among the Mercians. He afterwards resigned his episcopate and retired to Scotland.

CEOLFRID 125 11. coadjutor and afterwards successor of Benedict Biscop as abbat of Wearmouth.

CEOLLACH 59 32. *i q* Cellach.

CERDIC 139 7. king of the Britons.

CEROTAESEI 105 17. Chertsey in Surrey. *Sax Chron* Ceortesig, Ceorteseg, Certeseg. *Cod Dipl* 222 317 318 et saepe.

CEROTVS 105 17. It was from the *insula Ceroti* that Chertsey derived its name.

CHORINTVS 72 30. Corinth in Greece on the isthmus of Corinth.

CILICIA 90 14. a province in the south-east corner of Asia Minor.

CLOFESHOCH 103 12. Tewkesbury (?) Kemble. *Cod Dipl.* 87. 164. 167 et saepe. Abingdon, *Gibson.* Cliff near Rochester, Thorpe Sax Chron.

CNOBHERESBVRG 53 15. Burgh Castle in Suffolk.

CNOBHERI 53 15. from being *urbs Cnobheri*, Cnobheresburg had its name.

COINVALCH 31 10 19. 113 16. son and successor of Cynigilsus king of the Geuissae

COLMANVS 70 6. 71 21 22. 72 17. 73 30. 74 18. 76 4 22. 77 6 13. 79 13. 89 2. 99 26. 100 12. a Scot who succeeded Finan as bishop of Lindisfarne. He afterwards retired to Scotland and subsequently to Ireland in consequence of the decisions of the council of Whitby.

COLVDI VRBS 127 27. 145 12. Coldingham (Berwick), Coludesburh, Sax Chron anno 679.

COLVMBA 24 20. 25 5. 74 22. 75 8 30. 76 7. the famous Irish monk missionary to the Northern Picts. He was the founder of the celebrated monastery at Hii (Iona).

CONSTANTINOPOLIS 123 4. 124 13 17. 126 12. Constantinople, the ancient Byzantium. Here were held the second and the fifth general councils, 381 and 553 A D.

CONSTANTINVS 124 22. Constantinus IV, emperor 641—688 A D. He was son of Heraclius Constantinus and is frequently named Constans II.

CVDBERCT } 149 11. 150 31. 151
CVTHBERCT } 13 15. 152 4. 153 10. 155 15. 157 14 25. 158 3 25. 159 15. 160 10 29. 161 16. bp of Lindisfarne. Beda wrote a life of Cudberct and a digest of it will be found in the notes pp 377 *seqq.*

CVICHELMVS 114 11. consecrated bishop of Rochester by archbishop Theodore, but afterwards through poverty he was compelled to retire from the episcopate.

CYNIBERCT 114 32. fourth bishop of Lindisfarne.

CYNIBERCT 122 8. a presbyter belonging to the monastery of Brentford.

CYNIBILL 64 12 28. a brother of the two bishops Cedd and Ceadda.

CYNIBVRGA 59 1. daughter of Penda king of Mercia, sister of Peada, and wife of Alchfrid the son of king Oswy.

CYNIFRID 129 7. the surgeon who cut the tumour on Etheldreda's neck and whose account of the opening of her grave is preserved by Beda.

CYNIGILSVS 30 11. king of the West Saxons at the time when that people embraced Christianity.

CYNIMVND 48 3. a presbyter of Beda's own monastery and one of his authorities.

CYNVISE 66 10. queen of Mercia wife of king Penda.

CYRILLVS 124 20. patriarch of Alexandria 412—444 A D.

DACORE 161 5. a tributary of the Eamont in Cumberland.

DALFINVS 70 18. variously said to have been bp or archbp of Lyons (see notes).

DAMIANVS 58 13. 93 20. successor of Ithamar in the bishopric of Rochester.

DANIHEL 122 22. bishop of Winchester 705—744 A D. He is one of Beda's authorities.

DEARMACH 25 15. Durrow in King's county, Ireland. Here was one of the earliest of St Columba's monastic foundations.

DEIRI } 19 2. 30 3. 44 22. 63 6.
DERI } 66 32. 114 23. the people of the kingdom of Deira, the southern part of Northumbria, from the Humber to the Tyne.

DENISES BVRNA 20 14. Dilston near Hexham in Northumberland.

DERVENTIO 156 13. The Yorkshire river Derwent.

DEVSDEDIT 58 8. 82 3. 83 4. 89 3. 93 14. the sixth archbishop of Canterbury 655—664 A D. He was the first Saxon archbishop.

DICVL 116 8. a Scottish monk belonging to the monastery at Bosanham.

DICVLLVS 56 30. one of the presbyters to whom Furseus left the charge of his monastery on his retirement to Gaul.

DIVMA 59 9 25. 67 21. a Scottish presbyter brought by Peada into the province of Mercia and ultimately ordained bishop of the Middle Angles and Mercians.

DORCIC 31 2 } Dorchester
DORCICAESTRA 138 5 } in Oxfordshire. *Sax Chron* ann 637. 954 etc. *Cod Dipl* (with various orthography). 232. 236 et saepe.

DORVVERNENSIS 32 26. 58 7. 89 4. 93 14. 101 25. belonging to Canterbury.

DORVVERNIS 123 21. Canterbury.

EABA 116 2. daughter of Eanfrid king of the Huiccii and wife of Aedilualch king of the South Saxons.

EADBALD 33 2. king of Kent 616—640 A D.

EADBERCT 68 15. a duke of the Mercians who rebelled against Oswy and expelled him from Mercia.

EADBERCT 69 4. 157 27. 158 11. 159 11. a learned and pious man who succeeded Cudberct in the episcopate of Lindisfarne.

EADGAR 114 32. the third bishop of the province of Lindesey.

EADGYD 107 8. one of the sisters in the monastery at Barking.

EADHAED, EADHEDVS } 81 30. 114 23. 115 1 4 10. the first bishop of Lindesey. He was afterwards bishop of Ripon.

EAFA 68 14. one of the Mercian princes who revolted against king Oswy when he had taken possession of Mercia.

EANFLED, EANFLEDA } 47 10. 69 21. 150 8. daughter of Eadwine king of Deira and second wife of Oswy king of Northumbria.

EANFRID 19 8 14. 20 2 11. king of Bernicia. He fell back from Christianity into idolatry and was slain by Ceadualla king of the Britons.

EANFRID 116 4. a king of the Huiccii father of Eaba queen of the South Saxons.

EAPPA 115 31. 118 12. 119 6. a presbyter who was active in the conversion and baptism of the people of the South Saxons. He was made provost of the monastery of Selsey.

EARCONBERCT 33 3 24. 128 22. king of Kent (640—664 A D). His father was Eadbald the previous king.

EARCONGOTA 33 10 25. a daughter of king Earconberct. She became a nun and died in the abbey of Brie.

EARCONVALDVS 105 2. 111 29. bishop of London, died 693 A D.

EARPVALDVS 51 21. son of Redualdand king of the East Angles after him 617—628 A D.

EATA 77 17 23. 114 24. 115 5 7. 151 8. 152 22. 155 13. at first abbat of Melrose, then made provost of the church at Lindisfarne and, on the sub-division of Wilfrid's diocese, bishop of Hexham.

EBRINVS 91 3 14 18. mayor of the palace of Neustria in the time of Clothaire III and following kings. He persecuted the Christians and above others St Leger, bp of Autun. After the death of Clothaire the nobles for a time banished Ebroin to a monastery. But after the death of Childeric II he quitted his retirement and gained his former power. He was eventually killed by one of the nobles while in his bed A D 681.

EBVRACENSIS 44 11. 81 26. 94 2. belonging to York.

EBVRACVM 114 25. 115 5. 138 3 7. 155 7. York. *Sax Chron* Eoferwic *passim*: *Cod Dipl* 3 59. 990. 1343.

ECGBERCT 26 8. an Angle priest, who had long lived in Ireland. He taught the monks of Iona the canonical rule for observing Easter.

ECGBERCT 79 22. 80 1 22 27. 98 14 25. 149 18. a pious Angle youth, who was living in Ireland at the monastery of Mellifont in the time of a great plague. In answer to his prayer his life was spared and he spent the remainder of his days in great austerity.

ECGBERCT 82 27. 89 6. 91 11. 104 10. 150 17 21 25. king of Kent 664—673 A D. He was the son of Earconberct and was one of the kings on whose nomination Vighard was sent to Rome to be consecrated archbp of Canterbury.

ECGFRID 82 1. 101 11. 114 16 20 29. 117 21. 123 15. 125

16. 127 2 13 26. 132 28 30. 148 29. 150 11 29. 154 20. 155 8. son and successor of Oswy king of Northumbria. He was the second husband of Etheldreda and reigned 670—685 A D.

ECGRICE 52 1 15. a relation and successor of Sigberct king of the East Angles, but neither his lineage nor that of Sigberct can be traced.

EDILHVN 79 22. 80 26. an Angle youth who retired to a monastery in Ireland and died there in the time of a great plague.

EDILVINI 114 31. the second bishop of Lindesey.

EDILVINVS 45 11. an officer in the army of Oswy king of Northumbria, and his agent in the murder of Oswin at Gilling.

EDRIC 150 20 22. son of Ecgbert. He was king of Kent for a year and a half 685—686 A D.

EDVINI 136 11. king of Deira 616—633 A D.

EFESVS 124 14. Ephesus, a town of Ionia in Asia Minor. The third general Council of the church was held there 431 A D.

ELGE 127 27 31. 130 20. Ely. The orthography of *Sax Chron* is *Elig*, *Eli*, *Helig* and *Eligburgh*. Cod Dipl 46 5. 56 3 et saepe.

EMME 91 7. a bishop of the Senones in Gaul. He showed hospitality to Hadrian on his way to England.

ENI 52 17. (Aene) father of Anna king of the East Angles.

ERCONBERCT 89 5. *i q* Earconberct.

ERCVNVALDVS 57 9 12. mayor of the palace of Neustria. He received Furseus on his retirement into Gaul. He was succeeded by Ebroin (Ebrinus).

EVA 132 18. Eve.

EVDOXIVS 124 14. one of the heretics condemned in the first council of Constantinople,

EVFEMIA 131 24. St Euphemia of Chalcedon. She was martyred in the Diocletian persecution, and is celebrated in Beda's hymn on virginity.

EVLALIA 131 22. St Eulalia, similarly celebrated by Beda.

EVTYCHES 123 5. 124 16. archimandrite of Constantinople. His heresy, whereby he taught that our Lord had no fleshly body and was not really born of the Virgin Mary, was condemned by the council of Chalcedon 451 A D.

FARA 33 13. called also Burgundofara, abbess and foundress of the monastery of Brie in Gaul.

FARNE 48 20. 151 1. 157 19. 158 26. Farne island.

FARO 91 8. bishop of Meldi (Meaux) in Senonian Gaul with whom Hadrian was entertained on his journey to England.

FARVS 71 5. the interpretation of the name Streanaeshalch (Whitby) is given as *Sinus Fari*.

FELIX 51 28. 57 28. 70 4. the first bishop of Dunwich in the province of East Anglia.

FINAN 49 22. 59 3 27. 61 2 16. 68 26. 69 13 15. 70 6. 77 4. 79 13. a monk of Hii (Iona) who succeeded Aedan as bishop of Lindisfarne.

FRANCI 57 9. Franks, French.

FRESONES 42 14. the Frisians.

FRESVS 134 32. perhaps the proper name of the citizen of London to whom Imma was sold as a slave, but the Saxon homily translates the word "a Frisian."

FRIGYD 140 13. the deputy abbess of the monastery of Hackness at the time when Hild abbess of Whitby died.

FVLLANVS 56 29. the brother of Furseus, to whom, in common with two other presbyters, he left the charge of his monastery when he retired to Gaul.

FVRSEVS 52 24. 55 17. 56 14. an Irish monk who came as missionary to the East Angles. In a trance there was given to him a revelation concerning the joys and pains of the world to come. Furseus ended his life in Gaul at the monastery of Latineacum which he had founded.

GEBMVNDVS 114 13. made bishop of Rochester after Cuichelm's retirement from that bishopric.

GENVENSIS 30 17. belonging to Genoa.

GEVISSAE } 30 11 18. 32 28.
GEVISSI } 120 29. 121 10 13. 122 25 30. the West Saxons.

GOBBANVS 56 30. one of the presbyters to whom Furseus left the charge of his monastery among the East Angles when he retired to Gaul.

GRANTACAESTIR 128 30. Grantchester, Cambridge. *Cod Dipl* 563. 907.

GREGORIVS } 85 7. 93 24. 153 2. Gregory the great, made pope of Rome 590 A D. It was by his direction that Augustine came to England.
GRIGORIVS }

GYRVII } 58 1. 104 29. 127 6. the people of the Anglian fens.
GYRVII }

HACANOS 140 7. the monastery of Hackness, near Scarborough.

HADRIANVS 89 22. 90 10 13 17 30. 91 7 17. 92 9. a native of North Africa who was a monk at Rome, and sent by Pope Vitalian to aid Theodore in the work of his episcopate. He was made abbat of St Peter's monastery at Canterbury and died there.

HAEDDI 31 6. 113 20. the fifth bp of the West Saxons. His cathedral city was Dorchester.

HAETHFELTH 123 24. Hatfield (West Riding). *Saxon Chron* ann 633.

HAGVSTALD 21 19. 22 2. 114 25. 115 7. 138 6. 151 10. 155 11 14. Hexham. *Sax Chron* Hagustaldes éa *ann* 681. 766 etc.

HEFENFELTH 21 10. near Hexham in Northumberland.

HEIV 137 3. the first nun in the province of Northumbria. She was the foundress of the monastery of Heruteu.

HELENA 131 9. wife of Menelaus, carried off by Paris, and made the cause of the Trojan war.

HERERIC 136 12. 139 6. a nephew of Eadwine king of Deira and father of Hild the abbess of Whitby.

HERESVID 136 24. daughter of Hereric and mother of Alduulf king of East Anglia 663—713 A D.

HERIBERCT 156 10 19. 157 12. an aged presbyter, friend of bp Cudberct.

HERVTEV 67 3. 137 2. Hartlepool on the coast of the county of Durham.

HERVTFORD 101 23. Hertford. *Cod Dipl* 907.

HIBERNIA 23 13. 24 19. 25 15 18. 26 9. 31 20 22. 42 12 18 23. 52 24. 79 10. 98 15. 100 4 14. 146 21 27. 148 30. Ireland.

HIDDILA 121 27. a presbyter appointed by bp Wilfrid to assist in the evangelization of the isle of Wight.

HII 24 8. 49 23. 60 2. 100 1. *Sax Chron* a 565, 716. Iona, an island on the west coast of

Scotland, the seat of St Columba's famous monastery.

HILD 67 4. 71 5 10. 136 4. 137 10. 138 8 32. 140 25. the famous abbess of Whitby. She was daughter of Hereric and her influence was great in the council of Whitby. She sided with the Scots in the Easter controversy, but in the end came over to the side of the orthodox.

HILDILID 110 8. successor of Aedilburga as abbess of Barking.

HIRIDANVS 89 21. the name of the monastery near Naples to which abbat Hadrian belonged when he was chosen to be companion to archbp Theodore in his journey to England.

HLODIVS 57 9. Clovis II, son of Dagobert, king of Neustria. Clovis reigned 638—656 A D.

HLOTHARIVS 123 19. (Hlothhære) king of Kent. He was son of Earconberct, and reigned 673—685 A D.

HLOTHERI 104 12. 135 8. 150 17. *i q* Hlotharius.

HOMELEA 122 29. river Hamble in Hampshire.

HONORIVS 30 13. pope of Rome who sent Birinus as a missionary into Britain.

HONORIVS 44 16. 57 29. 58 4. 70 3. the fifth archbp of Canterbury. He held the see from 627—653 A D. His actual jurisdiction was confined to Kent and East Anglia. See Haddan-Stubbs III 82.

HREVTFORD 122 9. Redbridge in Hampshire. Hreodbrycg. *Cod Dipl* 450. 781.

HROFENSIS 44 11 15. 58 10. belonging to Rochester.

HROFES-CAESTIR 101 31. Rochester. *Sax Chron* a 604 et saepe. *Cod Dipl* I. 4. 39 et saepe.

HROFI 93 19. 113 30. 114 11. Rochester. *Cod Dipl* 110. 113. 114. 152 etc.

HRYPENSIS 82 1. 115 11. belonging to Ripon in Yorkshire.

HVICCII 116 3. the people of the vale of Severn. *Sax Chron* an 800 Hwiccas.

HVNVALDVS 45 7. the count in whose house Osuin was treacherously slain by the agents of king Oswy.

HYGBALD 98 21. abbat of Lindesey in Lincolnshire.

HYMBRONENSES 123 15. used of the people over whom Ecgfrid was king. These were properly the people of Bernicia where Ecgfrid was king 670—685 A D. But the name is probably equivalent to the more common word *Nordanhymbri*.

IACOB 69 18. 71 9. 92 28. a deacon of archbishop Paulinus. He was present at the synod of Whitby and took the orthodox side on the Easter question.

IACOB 83 30. the patriarch Israel.

IARVMAN 68 22. 86 18. 93 28. second bishop of the province of Mercia.

IBAS 124 19. bp of Edessa; one of the heretics condemned at the fifth General council, held at Constantinople 553 A D.

IESSE 83 26. the Bethlehemite, father of David, king of Israel.

IMMA 133 17. a young knight who was sorely wounded in a battle near the Trent, and when he was in captivity his chains were miraculously loosed through the masses celebrated for him by his brother.

IMMIN 68 14. one of the Mercian nobles who rebelled against Oswy king of Northumbria, when that monarch had taken possession of Mercia.

IN BERECINGVM 105 19. Barking

on the Thames, the site of a famous monastery.

IN BRIGE 33 13 18. Faremoustier-en-Brie, or more briefly Brie, in the province of Meaux in France.

IN CONPENDIO 81 21. Compiegne at the junction of the Aine and the Oise in Valois.

INFEPPINGVM 59 32. Feston in Worcestershire.

INGETLINGVM 45 13. 67 26. Gilling in Yorkshire.

INHRYPVM 70 23. Ripon in Yorkshire.

INI 121 5. king of Wessex, son of Cenred. He reigned after Ceadualla ascending the throne in 688, and resigning in 725 A D.

INISBOVFINDE 100 4. an island on the w. coast of Ireland, now Inishbofin. It was the seat of one of bp Colman's monasteries.

IOHANNES 71 27. 72 21. 73 12 26 30. 74 2 16. 85 6. the Evangelist.

IOHANNES 91 1. archbp of Arles. He received Theodore and Hadrian on their way to England.

IOHANNES 125 3 19 22 28. 126 17. the arch-chanter of St Peter's at Rome and sent to England with Benedict Biscop. He greatly improved the musical services throughout England.

IOHANNES 138 2. one of the five bishops who came from Hild's monastery at Whitby. He became bishop of Hexham.

ISAIA 83 26. the prophet Isaiah.

ISRAEL 83 30. the Jewish nation.

ITALIA 69 12. 72 8. Italy.

ITHAMAR 44 17. 58 9 12. bishop of Rochester.

IVDAEI 72 28 31. 73 1. the Jews.

IVSTINIANVS 24 18. 124 18. the emperor of Rome 527—565 A D.

IVSTINVS 24 19. nephew and successor of Iustinianus. He reigned from 565—578 A D.

IVTI 122 4 30. the Jutes, one of the three tribes who passed over from the continent of Europe and took possession of Britain about the middle of the fifth century. The Jutish settlements in Britain were on the south coast and especially in and about the Isle of Wight.

KAELCACAESTIR 137 8. Tadcaster in Yorkshire.

LAESTINGAEV 64 15. 81 29. 94 1. 95 15. Lastingham near Whitby.

LAVRENTIVS 85 6. St Laurence. He suffered martyrdom A D 258.

LEVTHERIVS 32 22. 101 31. 113 14 17. fourth bp of the West Saxons and nephew of Agilberct, who was the second bishop of that see.

LINDISFARI 67 19. 94 12. 99 21. 114 28. the people of the district of Lindesey in Lincolnshire.

LINDISFARNE 23 17. 42 7. 49 16. 61 15. 64 16. 68 28. 77 15 24. 99 27. 114 25. 115 8. 150 30. 151 10. 152 23. 154 28. 155 12 15. 157 22. Lindisfarne island.

LINDISSI 38 11. 39 2 19. 79 25. 94 16. 98 22. 115 3 10. Lindsey district in Lincolnshire.

LOIDIS 67 13. district of Leeds (Yorks). *Sax Chron* Loden a 1091.

LVGDVNVM 70 19. Lyons, in the south of France.

LVGVBALIA 156 16. Carlisle, capital of Cumberland.

LVNDONIA 32 7. 105 3. 111 28. 113 31. 134 32. London.

LYCCIDFELTH 94 19. Lichfield. *Sax Chron* Licetfeld, Liccedfeld. *Cod Dipl* 803. 1024.

MACEDONIVS 124 13. one of the heretics condemned by the second

general council held at Constantinople 381 AD.

MAGEO 100 15. Mayo in Ireland, the seat of one of bp Colman's monasteries which he founded after his retirement from Britain.

MAILROS 77 18. 151 7. 152 20. Melrose on the Tweed below Selkirk, the seat of an ancient monastery, the ruins of which are still remaining.

MARIA 131 16. the Blessed Virgin.

MARO 131 7 8. the poet Virgil.

MARTINVS 24 30. 125 5. 126 23. St Martin bp of Tours in the fourth century. He died 397 AD.

MARTINVS 124 21. 126 6. Martin I pope of Rome 649—655 AD.

MASERFELTH 35 30. perhaps Merserfield near Ribchester in Lancashire. *Sax Chron* Maserfeld a 641.

MASSILIA 90 31. Marseilles.

MEANVARI 115 28. people of Meon in Hants. See *Cod Dipl* 1038. 1122.

MEDESHAMSTED 104 28. Peterborough. *Sax Chron* a 652 et saepe. *Cod Dipl* 40. 66. 113 et saepe.

MEILOCHON 25 6. father of Brude king of the Picts.

MELDI 91 8. Meaux in France.

MELLITVS 60 9. bp of the East Saxons, expelled from the province when the inhabitants relapsed into idolatry.

MERCII 31 13. 32 6. 35 28. 38 15. 44 6. 48 9. 49 25. 52 5 20. 59 27. 65 18. 66 9. 67 17 19. 68 3 9 14 20 24. 86 4. 93 27. 99 20. 102 1. 104 24. 113 28. 114 4. 115 2 24. 123 17. 132 29. the Mercians, the inhabitants of the Midland kingdom of the Heptarchy.

MIDDILANGLI 58 16. the Angles in the old diocese of Leicester.

MVIGEO 100 24. *i q* Mageo, which latter form was the Irish way of writing the name, Muigeo being a more modern fashion of orthography.

NEAPOLIS 89 29. Naples.

NESTORIVS 124 15 17. bishop of Constantinople, condemned as a heretic by the council of Ephesus 431 AD.

NICAEA 124 11. a town of Bithynia in Asia Minor, the place of assembly of the Nicene council.

NICENVM CONCILIVM 73 28. the first general council of the church, held under the emperor Constantine 325 AD to condemn the heretical opinions of Arius and his followers.

NORDANHYMBRI 19 6 24. 21 23. 30 26. 35 19. 48 9. 58 20. 60 13. 63 4. 64 32. 70 31. 77 7. 78 29. 79 5. 81 27. 89 9. 92 29. 94 3. 101 4 28. 114 22. 119 15. 136 13. 137 4. 148 30. the people of Northumbria the northern kingdom of the Heptarchy subdivided into Bernicia and Deira.

NYNIA 24 27. St Ninian, a British bishop by whom the district of the Southern Picts was evangelised. He had been trained in Rome, and so held the orthodox opinions.

OFTFOR 138 2. one of the five bishops who came from Hild's monastery at Streanæshalch (Whitby). He became bp among the Huiccii and died 692 AD.

OIDDI 116 1. one of the priests mentioned as active in the evangelisation of the South Saxons.

OIDILVALD 44 8. nephew of Osuiu king of Northumbria, against whom he raised a rebellion.

OIDILWALD 63 5. 66 11. son of Oswald king of Northumbria.

OSRIC 19 4 21. 44 21. cousin and

successor of Eadwine in the kingdom of Deira. He reigned 633—634 A D.

OSRIC 135 15. a king of the Huiccii during Oftfor's episcopate.

OSTHRYD 133 2 } daughter of Os-
OSTHRYDA 38 15 } uiu and wife of Aethelred (Aedilred) king of Mercia. She died 697 A D.

OSVALD 20 10 19. 21 21. 22 23. 23 30. 28 6. 29 1. 30 26. 35 19. 38 6. 39 23. 41 8. 42 2. 43 17. 65 3. 66 10. 119 15 26. 120 12. (St Oswald) king of Northumbria died 642 A D. His merits and history are fully related in Beda bk III.

OSVINVS 44 20 29. 45 18. 67 27. son of Osric and co-regnant with Osuiu in Northumbria 644—651 A D; afterwards he was murdered by the agents of Osuiu.

OSVIV 38 16. 42 6. 44 3 19. 45 10. 47 9. 58 21 28. 59 24. 60 12 27. 61 7. 65 17. 66 7 24. 67 2 10 13 29. 68 2 14. 70 12 13. 71 15. 77 2 19. 81 23. 82 26. 83 10 11. 89 9. 93 30. 94 3. 101 3. 150 13. king of Northumbria 642—670 A D.

OVINI 95 2 4. a monk at Laestingaeu, who was witness to some of the miraculous portents which preceded the death of bp Ceadda.

PADDA 115 31. one of the four priests mentioned as engaged along with bp Wilfrid in the evangelisation and baptism of the people of the South Saxons.

PAEGNALAECH 79 10. perhaps Finchale near Durham.

PANCRATIVS 85 7. St Pancras martyred at Rome 304 A D, during the Diocletian persecution.

PARISIACA 32 3. 81 11 (*sub* ciuitas). the city of Paris, capital of France.

PARISII 91 5. the people of Paris.

PAVLINVS 19 4. 44 10. 69 19. 136 13. a missionary from Rome, and the first archbp of York. After the death of king Edwin he was obliged to flee from Northumbria and became bp of Rochester. He was a great benefactor to the monastery of Glastonbury. He died at Rochester A D 644. Dixon-Raine Fasti Eborac pp 35—46.

PAVLVS 31 8. 72 7 8 32. 85 6 11. 90 28. 120 8. St Paul.

PEADA 58 17. 68 6 10. son of Penda king of Mercia. He married a daughter of Osuiu king of Northumbria and aided the cause of Christianity among his own people.

PEARTANEV 39 20. Parteney in Lincolnshire.

PENDA 31 12. 48 9 27. 49 25. 52 5. 58 17. 59 2 17 23. 68 2 6 13 15. known as *paganissimus*. He was king of Mercia 626—655 A D. His reign was a continued series of wars with the kings of Northumbria, Edwine, Oswald and Osuiu. by the latter of whom he was defeated and died in the battle of Vinuaed near Leeds.

PENTA 61 25. the ancient name of the river Freshwell.

PERRONA 57 14. Péronne on the Somme in France.

PETRVS 30 2. 31 8. 67 12. 69 3. 72 7. 73 3 31. 74 5 16. 75 32. 76 5 9. 85 5 11. 91 23. 99 3. 120 7. 125 4 21. 150 6. the apostle St Peter.

PICTI 19 11. 23 8. 24 9 13 22 24. 25 5. 29 8. 72 14. 81 3. 94 3. 115 9. 149 9 22 27 31. the Picts, the early inhabitants of the South and East of Scotland, who like the Scots probably in the first instance came over from Ireland.

PRISCILLA 72 30. wife of Aquila with whom St Paul lived and wrought at Corinth.

PVTTA 93 23. 101 30. 114 1. bp of Rochester who, in the time of archbishop Theodore, aided much in the spread of the Roman mode of singing in churches.

QVENTAVIC 91 15. *Sax Chron* Cwantawic a 839. The ancient name of Estaples or St Josse-sur-mer. (Thorpe.)

RAEDFRID 91 13. chief minister (praefectus) of king Ecgberct of Kent, sent over to Austria to escort archbp Theodore to England.

RATHMELSIGI 79 27. Mellifont in co Louth, Ireland, seat of an ancient monastery.

REDVALDVS 51 22 24. Redwald king of the East Angles 593—617 A D.

RENDILVS 62 30. the person from whom Rendlesham (mansio Rendili) took its name.

RENDLAESHAM 62 29. Rendlesham, on the Debin in Suffolk.

RIVVS DENISI 20 15. name of the river from which Denisburn is named.

ROMANVS 69 24. 71 10. a priest attendant on queen Eanfled wife of king Oswy of Northumbria. He took the orthodox side in the synod of Whitby.

RONAN 69 11. a Scot who had been educated abroad and was a staunch supporter of the orthodox rule of observing Easter.

SAETHRYD 33 19. a daughter of the wife of Anna king of the East Angles. She is mentioned as one among the noble ladies from England who retired into foreign monasteries.

SCOTTI 19 11 12. 22 26. 23 8 12 27 28. 24 4 9 14. 25 16. 28 5. 29 8. 42 25. 49 23. 53 18. 59 32. 60 5. 67 24 25. 68 27 30. 69 9. 70 13 21 24. 71 11. 76 27. 77 8 15. 79 18 27. 81 3. 82 22 30. 99 28. 100 8 15 21. 116 7. 145 20. the Scots of Scotland or of Ireland.

SCOTTIA 56 22. 67 23. 70 7. 71 8. 76 26. 77 12. 99 26. often Scotland, but sometimes as 149 18, Ireland.

SEBBI 86 4 13. 105 2. 111 16. king of the East Saxons. He began to reign in 665 but resigned the throne before his death which occurred 694 A D.

SEGENI 26 29. abbat of the monastery of Hii (Iona) at the time when Aedan was sent thence into England.

SELAESEV 117 11. Selsey Island, Sussex *Sax Chron* Seolesig an 980. *Cod Dipl* 464. 992. 999 et saepe.

SENONES 91 7. the people of one portion of the ancient Gallia Lugdunensis. Their territory was in part of the modern *Orleanois* and *the Isle of France.*

SEXBALDVS 62 28. one of the royal family of Essex, being a son of king Sleda. (Beda h e II 3.) See Lappenberg's tables. Sexbald did not reign but was the father of king Suidhelm.

SEXBVRG 33 24. 128 21. daughter of Anna king of East Anglia and wife of Earconberct king of Kent. She became abbess of Ely after the death of her sister Etheldreda.

SEXVVLFVS 104 26. 114 4. fifth bishop of Mercia, successor to the deprived bishop Vynfrid.

SIGBERCT 51 22. 52 8 23. 53 11. 60 10 11 27. 61 6. 62 27. king of the East Angles about 631 A D. He is celebrated for introducing into his kingdom schools such as he had seen in Gaul.

SIGHARD 113 5. son of Sebbi king of the East Saxons. He succeeded his father in 694 A D.

SIGHERI 86 4 6. 105 2. son of Sigberct the little. He was king of the East Saxons jointly with Sebbi.

SOLVENTE 122 26. the Solent. *Cod Dipl* Solente. 6 26. 11 62.

STEPHANVS 34 24. 35 15. St Stephen the protomartyr.

STEPHANVS 92 30 *see* Aeddi.

STREANAESHALCH 67 7. 71 4. 136 4. 137 18. 150 2. Whitby. *Sax Chron* Streoneshealh a 680.

SVDERGEONA 105 16. Surrey. Sudregona, *Cod Dipl* 168. 317. 391 etc.

SVEFRED 113 6. one of the sons of Sebbi king of the East Saxons. Sueired reigned about 704 A D.

SVIDBERCT 161 6. abbat of the monastery of Dacore.

SVIDHELM 62 27. 86 3. king of the East Saxons. He succeeded Sigberct the good 660 A D and reigned till 665 A D.

TAMENSIS 61 26. 105 17. of the Thames, Tæmese *Cod Dipl* passim.

TARSVS 90 14. a city of Cilicia in Asia Minor, the birthplace of archbp Theodore.

TATFRID 138 28. elected bp of the Middle Angles, but died before his consecration.

TECLA 131 23. celebrated by Beda in his hymn on virginity. A disciple of St Paul and said to have been the first virgin martyr among the early Christians.

THEODORETVS 124 19. one of the heretical teachers condemned in the second council of Constantinople 553 A D.

THEODORVS 32 25. 69 3. 90 14. 91 4 14 22 25. 92 2. 93 3 16 29. 94 6. 99 18. 101 3 12 24. 104 17 25. 113 20. 114 10. 115 5. 123 4 20. 124 19 31. 133 5. 138 11 25. 154 22. 155 9. the famous archbp of Canterbury 668—690 A D.

THOMAS 57 30. successor of Felix in the episcopate of East Anglia.

THRVIDRED 161 23. a monk of the monastery at Lindisfarne, who had charge of the relics of St Cudberct.

TILABVRG 61 24. Tilbury in Essex.

TIMOTHEVS 72 28. Timothy the disciple and companion of St Paul.

TITILLVS 104 1. the notary employed at the synod of Herutford.

TONDBERCT 127 7. a prince of the South Gyruii, the first husband of St Etheldreda.

TONDHERI 45 7. a soldier who accompanied Osuin in his flight and was treacherously murdered along with his master by the agents of king Osuiu.

TORCTGYD 108 4. 109 15. a nun at Ely to whom in a vision St Etheldreda appeared at the time when Torctgyd was about to die.

TRANSHVMBRANA GENS 44 24. used as a description of the province of Bernicia.

TREANTA 68 9. 132 30. the river Trent in Nottinghamshire, *Sax Chron* Trente, Treonte an 679. *Cod Dipl* Trentan 289.

TROIA 131 11. Troy.

TRVMBERCT 97 18. a monk who had known bishop Ceadda, and from whom Beda derived some of his information concerning that prelate's life.

TRVMHERI 60 3. 67 24 30. 68 21. 86 18. third bp of Mercia. He was an Angle but had been educated among the Scots.

TRVMVINI } 115 8. 149 28. 154
TRIVMVINI } 27. a missionary bishop sent to labour among the Picts. He was

at last obliged to retire from that district and came to the monastery of Whitby (Streanæshalch).

TVDA 77 7. 79 9. the successor of Colman as bp in Northumbria, when that prelate retired to Scotland after the decision of the Synod of Whitby.

TVIDI 151 8. the river Tweed.

TVNBERCT 115 7. 155 11. made bp of Hexham but afterwards deposed.

TVNNA 134 3.. a monk, brother of Imma, from whom Tunnacaestir is named. It was through the masses said by him that the chains of his captive brother were loosed.

TVNNACAESTIR 134 5. (?) Doncaster, in Yorkshire.

TVRO 126 24. the city of Tours on the Loire in France.

VALDHERI 111 29. bishop of London, successor of Erconuald.

VECTA 115 27. 121 14. 122 12 20. the isle of Wight.

VENTA 31 7 31. 121 11. the city of Winchester.

VICTRED 150 25. son of Ecgbert king of Kent. He delivered the kingdom from its distractions after the death of Edric and died 725 A D.

VIGHARD 83 3 8. 85 28. 89 10. the monk sent from England to Rome to be consecrated archbp of Canterbury after the death of Deusdedit, b t who died at Rome before his consecration.

VILBRORDVS 42 15. the famous missionary, Willibrord, who went from England to labour for the conversion of the Frisians. He died 730 A D.

VILFARAESDVN 45 3. a locality near Cataracto, but as yet unidentified.

VILFARI 45 4. Vilfaraesdun is interpreted *mons Vilfari.*

VILFRID 42 15. 70 16 30 32. 71 9. 72 15 21. 74 29. 76 4. 81 15. 82 19. 92 31. 93 15. 94 1. 101 8 28. 114 20. 115 6 14. 116 13. 117 11 17. 121 9 20. 127 12 28. 129 6. 138 3 22. 157 25. the famous bishop of Northumbria whose seat was at York and whose expulsion from his episcopate and appeals to Rome form a most interesting chapter in English church history. For particulars see notes.

VINI 31 30. 32 5. 82 6 11. 113 16. bishop of the West Saxons. His seat was at Winchester.

VINTANCAESTIR 31 32. Winchester. *Cod Dipl* passim.

VINVAED 66 20. Camden identifies this with the R Aire at Leeds. *Sax Chron* Winwidfeld an 654.

VITALIANVS 83 11. 89 15. 90 28. 91 2. pope of Rome 657—672.

VIVRI 125 9. 136 29. the river Wear.

VLTANVS 57 1.

VTTA 47 6. 48 3. 59 10. a priest sent to bring Eanfled the Kentish princess to be the wife of Oswy king of Northumbria. Afterwards he is mentioned as abbat of the monastery of *Ad Caprae Caput.*

VVLFHERI 32 6. 60 5. 68 15 23. 86 4 15. 93 27. 94 14. 99 22. 114 29. 115 25. king of the Mercians 656—675 A D.

VYNFRID 68 22. 99 18 23. 102 1. 104 23 29. the fourth bishop of Mercia. He was deprived of his episcopate for some act of disobedience.

YTHANCAESTIR 61 23. Othonae, which was near Maldon in Essex.

GLOSSARY.

a 157 14 minus a Cuthbercto. Arnob II 71 f. Cypr p 835 4. Cypr uita 6. Iren II 34 2. V 20 2. Cael Aur acut II 1. Hebr I 4 in Hil trin IV 11. Hebr II 4 in Hier ad Tit c 2. eccles 6 8 in Greg dial 4 4. Seru Aen I 196. III 522. IV 37. Anthimus ind. Paucker spicileg 177 178. Jahrbb 1875 795. Rönsch Ital 452-3 and in Rhein Mus 1876 478.

abba 125 22. 164 11. 170 8. abbas 125 4 cet.

abbatissa 136 4 cet.

ab inuicem 30 4. 156 21. 157 7. Cypr ep 4 2 bis. id pp 810 6. 811 1. append 278 17. Iren III 12 12. IV 33 2. Bonif p 253 f. Aug de libero arbitrio II § 9. Rönsch Ital 231.

abluo 115 31 sacrosancto fonte. 122 15. 117 25 unda baptismatis. Ambr hexaëm V § 6 f.

abrenuntio 54 21 (cl 255 31) in baptismo abrenuntiare nos Satanae et omnibus operibus eius promisimus. 95 11 saeculo. V 21 errori. abrenuntiata sorde idolatriae 59 15. cf II 9 -tis idolis. II 13 idolatria. Bonif 131 n. ib p 188 pr abrenuntiatio. Paucker add lex lat 73, and in Zeitschr f oesterr Gymnas 1873 329. DC. Rittersh on Saluian p 208. Bingham XI 7. Wheatley-Corrie p 406. Palmer orig liturg c 5 s 2. Bailey rituale anglo-cath s 160. Werner's Bonif 256. 339. 432.

abscessio 115 6. Iren III 23 3 f. IV 40 1. 41 1—3 f. Paucker in mél gr rom acad Petersb 1872 459. spicileg 283 n.

abscessus 32 4. Sil IX 487. Symm ep V 35. VI 61. Seru Aen IV 1. IX 660.

abscidendum 161 11.

absque pecoribus 78 1 except cattle. cf Amm XXV 1 4. 4 15 cet. Rönsch Ital 390.

abstergeo 152 9. Boeth in schol Cic I p 349 Or omnem dubietatem. Amm XIV 11 6. Symm ep II 83. Bonif p 274 rubiginem epistulae.

acceptabilis 124 11. Aug conf X § 8. de gen ad litt X § 6. qu in num § 39. Saluian gub VI 29. Rönsch Ital 109.

accerrimum 56 17 n.

accessio 41 4. Cels II 10. 12 pr. III 2. Cael Aur tard I 81. 113. 115. 116. 140.

accipio 150 29 finem uitae. 56 1 accipisses.

accomodus 153 21. cf 166 2 accomodans.

aceruus (acerbus) 37. 65. 69. 79. 159. cf Rönsch Ital 456. Anthim ind faba. Beda de orthographia (Migne XC 126c) ACERVVS moles est, ACERBVS immaturus aut asper.

ac si 'as if' 162 10. Greg dial I 20 (201a). 11 f. III 13 bis. IV 32. Bonif pp 43. 49. 166 f. 195. 205. Baron 646 28. 724 13. Pagi 614 8. Cypr ind.

adclinari 109 8.
adduc 178 27.
adicere 166 4.
ad inuicem 54 28. 96 12. Nouatian trin 19=24 f. Isid eccl off II 23 2. Migne CVI 1323d.
adiutrix 108 7. Symm ep III 67. Neue II2 586.
adiuuaturum 183 3. Rönsch Ital 288.
adoptio (of a godson) 115 27.
adpositio 162 1. Cael Aur tard I 49 sanguisugarum.
adpropio 55 19. 95 30. 156 4. Mosis assumptio 5 pr. Hil in ps 54 10 and 17. Barn ep 1. Rönsch Ital 181. Hence 'approach.' Beda in Migne XC 126A APPROPIAT per *p* scribendum; ARPONIT similiter.
adsertio 165 28. Symm fr p 20 16 facilis assertio est, cum Rheno teste nitimur. Aug conf V 14. Chalcid ind. Symm ind.
aduno 54 29. Iustin V 9 6. XII 2 16. Apul Asclep 2 f. Iren III 4 2. 19 1 f. V 20 2. Cypr ind. Boet IV pr 6. Rönsch Ital 182.
aegritudo bodily sickness 80 27. 157 15. Gell VII 1 7. 12. Seru Aen III 140.
aequinoctium 172 33. V 21 p 213 13 Sm uernale. Liu XXXVII 9 5 uernum. Hyg p a 1 6 7.
aequiparo 142 2. Amm XXXI 12 1. 15 13. Ambr hexaëm V § 34. Symm ind.
affabilis 155 24. Rose anecd 1864 150 5. Bonif 254.
affluentia 44 23. Ambr hexaëm III § 45. Seru Aen I 216. 723.
albatorum caterum hominum angels 34 6. V 7 p 188 16 Sm. 12 p 196 29. 13 p 198 37. Greg dial IV 26. 36 p 433A. Paulin uita Ambr 52. Bonif p 275. In Bed II 14 albati adhuc (cf V 7 in albis adhuc positus) is 'newly baptised.' So Greg Tur h Fr II 29 Lis.
ali (alii) 79 16. cf donaris.
alicubi 'anywhere' 22 17. 103 2. 119 10. II 20. V 12 p 196 23 Sm. Aug 1 trin I § 5 f. conf I § 9. Bonif p 112. Pagi 660 14 f.
aliquandiu 160 1. 162 1. Flor Verg orator an poeta XLIII 24 Jahn.
aliquando 'ever'=umquam 142 8. Amm XXXI 2 10 11. 5 11. Hil trin I 5 f. 6 pr. Bonif p 262.
aliquanto tardius 23 1. al tempore 134 20. I 15 p m al segnius.
aliquantulum 148 11.
aliqui 'any' 78 13.
aliquis 'any' 35 25. 107 17 (=quisquam l 23). 119 8. 110 25. 43 19 aliquid. 102 26 aliquo. 103 29. 27 9 aliquos. 120 4. II 12 p 93 22 Sm. 20. V 9 p 191 1. ib f. 12 p 197 15. 13 p 198 21. 14. ep ad Ecgb 3 f. Cypr p 817 16. 828 22. 830 14. [Cypr] de resurr 104. Ambr hexaëm V § 12. de Parad § 17. Aug trin I § 2 (col 1155e Gaume). §§ 5 pr. 6 f. 23 f. Vinc Vict ap Aug anim orig I 17. Ampel 8 § 17. Bonif pp 95. 188. Seru Aen III 402 ne alicui.
aliquot (aliquod) 150 23.
alius 154 1. alio die=altero 'next day.' mirac Cuthb 16. Ambr de Parad § 14 f. Tert apol 23. Capitolin Maximin 17. Greg dial II 4 f. Aus epigr 134 2. Paucker hist Aug 66 67. Rufin p 343b Migne.
allegoricus 167 4.
alphabetum 173 21. Hier ep 30 3 ad Paulam (quater). prolog galeat. Iren II pr 1.
alter orbis Britain 185 25.
alterutrum adv 'mutually' 'inter se' 133 7. 156 18. h a 10. uita Cuthb 35 f. Cypr ep 77. Iren V 24 2 f. Paucker spicileg 7 8. rhett Lat p 106 Halm. Symm ep X 78 f.
altithronus 132 27. Bed vol II p 8 5. 29 9. 33 11 Stev. Bonif p 40 pr. 116. 210 f. 444. 450. Al-

cuin sanct Ebor 631. 1133. id carm 263 2. Migne patrol LXXXVII 363e. LXXXIX 237c. 268ab. XCIII 133b. CI 762a. Baron 724 12. Haddan-Stubbs III 577. 608.
altus 95 28 ab euro austro, id est ab alto brumalis exortus.
alueus 66 21.
amicalis 60 27. Bonif pp 255. 285 f. Aug gen ad litt XI § 20.
amita 127 26. Greg dial IV 16. Tac an II 27 amita magna.
ampula (-lla) 47 26.
anathematizo 124 25—6. Hier ep 48 ad Pammach 14. Rönsch Ital 248.
ancella (ancilla) Christi 140 1. 141 18. 365 11. Bonif p 107. Baron 725 17.
anchoriticus (anachoreticus) 56 31. 88 tit XXVI. 153 11. II 2 p 80 4 Sm.
anguila (-lla) 117 1. 130 23. Sen n q III 19 § 3. Ambr hexaëm V 5.
anguilaris (-ll-) 117 2.
annalis 120 11.
annuatim 120 25.
annus 158 6 transactis sepulturae eius annis xi.
antecessor 44 18. Cypr ep 1 2. Greg dial IV 57. Bonif p 96. 218 f. 269. 331 pm.
antiphona 177 19. Paulin uita Ambr 13 f. Iren II 14 7. Greg dial IV 35. Greg Tur glor mart 1 76 col 806c. DC.
apex (*a*) 38 16 regni. (*b*) 92 16 sacrorum apicum uolumina. ep ad Ecgb 1. (*a*) Symm fr p 8 3 Romani nominis. Amm XXIX 2 15 tot rerum -ces. inscr in Mansi on Pagi 718 8. Alcuin uita Willibrordi 241 pontificalis. sanct Ebor 1086. Ernesti ind Amm. anth Lat 400 2 R. Dracont 8 93. (*b*) Bonif p 154 f. 214. 221. 252. 256. 293. Aldhelm ib 25. Rönsch Ital 328. Baron 639 2. 649 44 f. 680 7 8. 683 13. 724 11. 725 15 pr.
apostasia 35 21. 86 7. Iren III 4 3 f. V 28 2 cet. Saluian de gub VI p 218.
apostata 35 24. vers ital num 14 9 Ashb. Iren V 21 3. 24 3 4. 25 1. Migne CVI 1319d.
apostolicus. 23 14 sedes. 125 15 auctoritas. 89 16 papa. 126 4. II 1 p 76 18 sedes. 4 p 82 36. 19 p 100 26. V 11 pr. 19 papa. 21 pr Romanae et -cae ecclesiae. Hil trin I 38. Greg Tur h Fr IV 26. Mansi VII 939. 1140. VIII 19. 250. 267? IX 732. Arntz on Arator pp 15—17. DC. used of churches other than Rome Hefele Conciliengesch III2 20 (9). Aug c d II 19.
appetitus 147 23 aeternorum bonorum.
arca 'coffin' 159 16. VM II 6 E 7. Rufin h e I 35.
archicantator 125 3. cf h a p 295 27 Sm archicantor. Migne CVI 1521b.
arithmetica 92 15. Ambr de Cain I § 3. Chalcid in Tim ind.
articulus mortis 43 3. 65 13. V 12 p 196 48. 13 p 199 6. V 10 belli. V 12 p 196 48 Sm mortis. 13 p 199 6. V 21 p 214 41 tribulationum. Amm XXXI 4 9 difficiles necessitatum-i. Ernesti ind Amm. Greg dial III 28 persecutionis. Eugipp uita Seuerin 1 5.
artior 128 9 necessitas. 145 25 uita.
ascia 'an axe' 95 14. Tert apol 12.
astruo 157 7. II 9 p 88 28 Sm. Phoebad c Arian 10 mendacium -i nisi destructa ueritate non poterat. Migne LXXXVII 499d. XC 133a. 162d. Beda vol II 137 8. 205 6 Stev. Paucker in mélanges gréco-rom III 1872 402 403. Symm ind.
astula 21 7 with note 216 18. Sen n q II 31 2. Paulin ep 31 (=11)

1. 32 (=12) 11. carm 25 (natal. Fel 10) 137. DC *assula, astula.*
attingimus for attigimus 57 23.
attonsus 120 6.
austerioris animi ait 28 7.
austrinus 77 8. I 1 p 41 40 Sm. Vitr IX 7 (5) 1 3. Rose anecd 1864 p 54 25.

bene religiosi 127 4 'very.' Gell IX 9 12 b callidi. Ambr hexaëm V § 88 p m. Greg dial II 2 col 213° b paenaliter.
benedico 29 16 ad panem -cendum. 78 17. Rönsch Ital 440
bestialiter 63 25. Paucker cites Salon Vienn in Migne LIII 1001d. 1011d. Aug nupt et concup I 4.
biduanum ieiunium 146 16. Paucker cites Egesipp V 24 3. Isid reg mon 18 3. cf DC *biduana.*
bis octo Nouembres 16 years 132 12.
bissexti 172 32. Ambr. hexaëm IV § 24. [Cypr] p 254 21 and often.
breuio 113 2. Beda de arte metr *passim.* Cypr ind. [Cypr] p 363 8 9. Veg III 9 pr. Oros I 12. Lact VII 16. epit 27 § 5. Burm anthol lat I p 629. Rufin 361b Migne. Tert Iud 8.

caballarium feretrum 105 7. 316 3. Baron 626 8 9 f.
caballus 37 5. Bonif 470-1 n. Rönsch Ital 88.
caelitus 149 4. Cypr ep 2 2. Hier uita Pauli erem. Oros VII 35 f. Prudent perist X 430. XIII 10 cet. Rönsch Ital 149.
calculator 75 21. Rufin Orig in num hom 27 12. Gennad script eccl 88.
caminus diutinae tribulationis 108 13.
campana 140 12. 365 26. *κώδων* gl. Ferrandus (ep ad Eugippium ed Reifferscheid ind lectt hiem Vratisl 1871/2 p 6).
candela ecclesiae cet 180 5. and 10 and 18 said of Beda.
canonice 102 11. Cassian coll 21 5.
canonicus. 80 14 temporis. 183 19 horas. Aug ciu dei XVIII 36 scripturae. ib III 15 bis. id trin II § 2. doctr chr II 8. ep 71=10 § 4. 82=19 22. Hier ep 129 ad Dard 3 fin. in Iesaiam 8 18. prol galeat. Rufin in symb 38 pr. Mansi III 924. IV 430.
cantator 88 tit 16 (18).
cantor 125 24. 342 23. Eugipp uit Seuerin 24 1. 46 5.
capsella 39 28. 40 14 and 24. 178 26.
casa 82 14. 144 10. Bonif p 296 f. Amm XXXI 13 14 agrestis.
castellum 82 15. 101 30 castelli Cantuariorum quod dicitur Hrofescæstir. Caes b c III 32 non solum urbibus, sed paene uicis castellisque singulis. Tert apol 1 pm. Paulin uita Ambr 22 pr. Capitolin Maximin 15 6. In vulg =*κώμη.*
castigati ab omni auaritiae peste 78 26. cf 157 15.
castigatio abstinentiae 155 29.
castigatior 160 28.
castrum 53 14.
casula 'a cell' 34 1. 179 18. Rönsch It 94.
catalogus 35 24. Paschas ep ad Eugipp § 4. Bonif p 453 f. Seru Aen X 166.
cathecizo 19 12. 30 24. V 6. Iren IV 24 1. Rönsch It 248. Tert ind.
cathedra Doruuernsis 58 7. Cypr ep 17 2.
catholicus 75 21. canon Murator l 61. 62. 66. 69 with Routh. Tert Marc III 22. IV 9. praescr haer 26. 30. Vincent Lir comm 1. Cypr ep 49 2. Aug c Crescon III 34. trin II § 30 pr. c Iulian VI 24. Phoebad c Arian 1. uer relig §§ 9 f. 12. tr in Io ep VII § 11. haer 86. Rothe Anfänge d christl Kirche 702—6.

cauma 56 19. Aldhelm in Gale 340. Gild 15. Paucker cites [Fulg] serm 46. Hence (Diez) calm and Fr chommer.
cellaria 34 28 opobalsami. cf Tert idol 11 Oehler. Sulp Seu h 11 55.
celsitudo uestra, 'your highness' a title 84 14 and 29. 85 14. cod 1 50 2. 11 7 8 and 9. Baron 724 11. 725 24. Bonif p 65 f. 110. 175. 213. 231 f. 232. 258.
ceruical 113 9. 145 2. h a 10. Plin n h. Plin ep VI 16 16. Cels IV 2. Bonif 275.
cherronesos 117 16.
circueundo 79 17. cf euang Pal 438 b 13 -ueuntes.
circuiens 100 13.
circulus a cycle 25 30. 74 32. 125 25. V 21 f.
circumpositus 'neighbouring' 151 19 and 29. uita Cuthb 9. Aug trin II § 35.
circumquaque 49 6. 125 27. Aug conf IX 35. qu in num 4 fin. in iudic 38. ciu dei III 10. Greg dial 1 1 pm. 28 col 229cd. IV 10. 12. Paucker add lex lat 10 11. mélanges gr rom 1873 606-7. Eugipp uit Seuerin 6 1. 12 5.
circumuallante 153 25. Cic fam IX 9 2. Amm XXIV 2 9. Bonif 216 f. 441. 446. 460.
cithara 142 11.
ciuilis moribus 45 19. Plin ep VIII 24 8. Amm XVIII 1 4. Eutr 8 10. Sen ind. Tert apol 2.
ciuium supernorum consortia 140 27.
ciuitatula 128 28.
clamo = uoco It chiamare 'to call' 61 10. 64 10. 87 tit VIII. 107 6. 119 5. 129 21. V 3 f. Rönsch Ital 352. Commod apol 620 -atus a Petro (so Hilg). euang Pal 357 b 3. DC.
claresco 50 1. 73 2 (-isc-). 35 1 claruit. 36 2. 57 22.
claritas 110 16 luminis. Migne XC 129a.
claritudo 158 17. Amm XXXI 10 14.
claustra inferni 42 30.
clocca 'a bell' 180 12.
coaceruo 85 18. Cael Aur ac III 60. Bonif 253. Rufin in symb 30 f. id Basil tr 4 1.
cogerat = coegerat 91 9.
coheres regni 86 12. Cypr p 549 14.
cohorti fratrum 143 20. Sen ind.
collum submittere ad suscipiendum episcopatus officium 155 1.
comes 'a count' 100 17. cf 133 24. Symm ind. Amm XXXI 4 9. Greg dial 4 27.
comesatio (comissatio) 147 30.
cometa 114 17. 326 27.
commendaticiis litteris 103 3. 312 29. Ennod ep VIII 23.
commilito in spiritual warfare 57 25. 65 3. Bonif 463 f.
communico 120 13.
communionis sacrosanctae uiatico 139 32.
compagibus artuum 158 15. Amm XXX 6 4 uiscerum.
compaginatae unum in populum 30 5. Aug tr in Ioann ep X 3. Iren III 11 9 f. schol Vind Hor a p 127. Alcuin in Ioann 753a Migne. Eddius 17 f.
comparatio 106 18 in cuius -one. V 12 p 196 39 Sm. Aug lib arbitr I § 25 f. II § 31 f. 32. III § 12. 13. uer relig §§ 78. 80. tr in Ioann CII § 2. ciu dei III 12 f. Mützell on Curt III 28 20. Bonif 73 f. Cael Aur acut II 144. Seru Aen I 12. 530. 561.
competentes punitiones 33 9. hora -nti 142 16. Tert idol 15 f. apol 3 f. spect 19. Amm XXX 7 4 loco -nti.
complices 72 14. Prud perist X 822. Sidon ep VIII 11. Rönsch Ital 121. [Saluian] auar II 7 p 241 Baluz. p 52 Rittersh q u. Eugipp uit Seuerin 4 § 4.

compresbyter 148 17. Cypr ep 1 pr. 7. 14 4. id p 771 3 and 6. Aug retract II 56 f. Greg dial IV 15. Bonif ep 142 p 309.
compugnantes sibimet inuicem 122 28. Rose anecd (1864) 110 8. [Cassiod] de amic 55. Ambr hexaëm II § 57. III 18. 57. de Cain I § 24 m.
compunctio 56 11. 141 28. 155 29. 159 8. Greg dial III 34. Rönsch Ital 70.
compunctus 80 7. 113 24. 146 30. Rönsch Ital 354. Aug tr in Ioann LIII § 11. Eugipp uit Seuerin 46 4.
computator 185 3. Aug lib arbitr II 20. ciu dei XII 12.
concludo 76 11. Eugipp uit Seuerin 9 4 -sit dicens.
conclusio 'imprisonment' 84 9.
condictae amicitiae foedera 181 22. 147 22 iuxta suum -tum rediit. Adamn uita Col III 20 bis.
condigna parenti soboles 33 10. Cypr p 549 8. 552 19. 558 1 2. Iren III 23 5. IV 9 1. Cassian inst XII 13. Rönsch Ital 224.
condiscipulus 176 2. C legg I § 21. Petr 87. Stat s IV pr. uita M. Antonini 3 § 8. uita Heliog 2. Tert car Chr 1.
conflictu 76 21. 123 1. Aug c sec resp Iulian VI 14. Veg III 9. Symm fr p 10 l 10. id ind. Eddius 51 p 80 f.
confluebant 126 1.
conforto 27 12. 150 25. Cypr ep 20 2. 79 bis. Aug consens euang III § 12. qu in deut 2 f notandum est confortatum cor dici posse etiam in malo. qu in Iesu Naue 18. Cassian coll XIII 7. 8. 11. [Saluian] ad eccl III 95. Greg dial III 31. IV 26 col 412^{b}. Rönsch Ital 185. Hare mission of the comforter^{2} 324-5.
congaudeo 61 30. 160 26. V 2 f. Rönsch Ital 186. Tert ieiun 13. Aug conf XI § 41. qu euang II 33 f. tr in Ioann ep 3 § 4. [Sulp Seu] ep 2 § 11. schol Vind Hor a p 328. Greg dial II 34. Baron 604 13. 716 21.
congregatio 103 16 (? consecratio). 147 9. Ambr hexaëm III § 13 aquarum. Aug gen ad litt I 4. in ps 81 1. Iren III 4 2 f.
conicere sagaci animo 37 17.
conregnare cum Christo 83 17. Tert Scorp 13.
consacerdos 101 25. 102 12. Cypr p 441 6. 623 21. 629 7. 691 12. Aug trin pr. append Aug qu uet et nou test 101. Lucifer Calarit pro Athan II 885. 909^{e}. 910^{b}. Vincent Lirin p 331. [Fulg] serm pr. Mansi III 891. IV 482. Baron 643 10. 646 23. 724 5. Bonif pp 71. 74 (ep 15 f). 104. 231. 288. Eddius 52.
consistentes 'residing' 100 18. In Ambr hexaëm V § 18 consistens)(distans. Cypr passim. Eugipp uit Seuerin 1 4.
consolatorius 112 15. Hier in Os I (c 2 4 vol VI 21^{d}). Aug qu euang II 18. Bonif p 233. Migne CVI 37^{d}.
consonanter 124 3. Iren. V 36 3. Paucker cites Soran qu med 20. Cassiod in ps 58 p 194 Gar. Rustic c aceph LXVII 1189 Migne.
constructor 104 27. Baron 604 9.
consubstantialis 124 56. Aug ciu dei XV 24. lib arbitr II § 32. tr in Ioann CV § 3. uer relig § 30. trin I §§ 13. 15. IV 27. Baron 646 26. 649 22. Isid VII 3 5. Paucker cites Victorin c Arium I 31 (VIII 163 Gall). Cassiod in ps 21 1. Rustic c aceph p 1176.
consuerat 56 8. 139 1. -nt 63 25.
contemtor 50 28. Vell II 117 pecuniae. Sen ep 24 §§ 3 8 11. Stat Th XI 513. Gell II 27. Iren III 4 2. 15 2 f. IV 36 6. Greg dial

IV 40. Rose anecd (1864) 166 2.
contrado 85 8. 92 17. II 20. h a p 295 26. 297 47 Sm. Bonif p 120. Quicherat.
contra inuicem 44 28. Hier in Amos II c 4 pr (VI 265b).
conubium 103 21. 127 15.
conuersio of a monk 102 31. Aug in ps 65 24. ciu dei VII 33. VIII 24 § 2. Hil in ps 119 2.
conuiui genit 142 15.
cooperator 86 20. 90 22. 125 10. h a 16. Rönsch Ital 56. Tert idol 1. Ambr hexaëm III § 32. Hier uir illustr 15. adu Rufin III 28. [Rufin] 1143c Migne. Aug qu in deut 15 prope fin.
coopertorium uariatum 182 16. Bonif p 198.
corona tonsurae ecclesiasticae 70 20. 77 9. cf. 90 26. 271 23. 278 8. 293-4.
corporaliter 47 30. 119 19. 157 8. Ambr hexaëm III § 18. Hier in Os II 9 (VI 102c). Aug trin II §§ 12. 35. epist 149. locut de gen 34 ver 28 29. Greg dial II 22 f. Bonif p 219. 221 f. 253. 309.
corusci 'flashes of lightning' 97 24. cf 185 24 doctrinae corusco. Greg dial II 33 coruscos. (ib III 12 mss have coruscūs 4th decl).
cosmographus 185 26. h a 12.
cotidianus 57 4. 61 31. 63 12. 78 9. 79 19.
cotidie 59 14. 80 16. 84 19. 92 13. 106 2. 122 28.
creber 166 26 me c adiuuare curasti. Tac XV 22 c uentitabat.
cubilia illecebrarum 147 31. Ambr de bono mortis § 16. hexaëm I § 38.
cubitum iret 22 16. Plaut Amph 807 abiimus. Cato r r 5 uilicus primus cubitu surgat, postremus c eat. Ambr hexaëm V § 36.
cc̄ii 188 3.
cultor pauperum 46 1.
cum 74 31 quid uobis cum illo? Ou her 6 47. 14 65. tr III 11 55.
cur 85 3 pro quo ualde contristati sumus cur hic esset defunctus. Paucker (?) cites for this use (=quod) Spart Seu 14 f. Veg II 4. Sulp Seu dial III 15. h I 38 6. 45 6. II 1 6 cet. Sid ep I 1. 3 pr. II 13. VII 9. Fulg myth III 9. Venant Fort uita Mauril 26. Greg Tur h Fr II 1. IV 36.
cymeterium (coem-) 42 7. 87 tit X. cymit- 49 16. 106 7. 110 21. 111 5. Cypr ep 82. id acta procons 1 f. Aug ep. 22 ad Aurelian 26.

daemoniosus 40 16. uita Cuthb 15.
de 47 27 misit de oleo in pontum. 55 28 de poenis eius participes esse. 83 17 de futuro. 107 6 unam de uirginibus. 119 10 omnes qui de uestris. Eutr 2 5 nobilissimus de senatoribus. 3 10 magna pars de exercitu. 5 8 cccc de suis perdidit. Aug ciu dei I 25 de futuro . . de praesenti. Gell IV 7 4 prima syllaba de Hannibalis nomine. Hand Tursell II 202. Seru Aen I 235 fore . . . est de uerbis defectiuis. Rönsch Ital 396.
deberet (-nt) redundant, as an auxiliary verb 'should,' 'might,' 35 25. 45 17. 80 9. 157 26. Greg dial I 4 (172ab). 5 (176b). 9 (192b). II 2 (213d with Bened note e). 5 pr. 22 pr. 27. III 1 (280b). III 2 pr. 31 (345e). 37 note e (361e). 38 (369b). IV 35 (428e). 40. 52. Bonif p 231.
debriarent sese caelestis uitae poculis 156 19. 188 3 (dē). Cassiod. in ps 35 9. Migne LXXXIX 195c. CVI 23d. DC.
decoquor infirmitate 109 16. 157 12. uit Cuthb 37 § 60.
decutio 80 27 molestiam aegritudinis.
defaecatus uitiis 187 20. Fulg myth pr -tam silentio uitam.

deforis 50 11. Fr dehors. h a p 298 4 Sm. uit Cuthb 17 § 30. Ez 47 2 cod Weing. Hier in reg Pachom 109. Rufin Orig de princ I 2 2. II 11 4. Hyg p a I pr. II 43 f. Migne CVI 399ᵃ. Rönsch Ital 232. 398. DC.

dehinc 112 26 die d tertio 'on the third day after.'

delectat impers 176 7. Cic de or II § 14 f. Plin ep I 24 2. IX 17 2. Capitol Maximin 3 3. Aug conf I §§ 1. 15.

delinquissent for deliq- 27 28. cf Rönsch Ital 287. Hermas sim IX 14 and 18. cf Bensly missing fragm of Esdr 15 for omission of n. Barn ep 4 and 11 derelinquit -erunt. Jes 2 13. gl Placidi 33 22 dereliquerit in futuro sine n. scribimus. -nqueritis 2 paralip 15 2 cod R of Cypr in Fortunat 8. -nquimus Mt 19 27 Rehd pr m. -nquerint ps 88 31 Cypr laps 6 (Rönsch).

deluculo=dil- 140 31. cf. demissio 102 30.

deosculor 158 30. Hier adu Ruf I 19.

deponor of the dead 157 23. 334 23.

depopulatio 67 16. 121 1.

depopulans 106 1. -atis 79 5. Heerw on Liv XXII 6 3. Fabri ib 9 5. Sid ep I 5. VF IV 429. Greg dial IV 36 (432ᵈ). Bonif p 148 f.

depositio 'burial' 119 22. 156 24. 158 12. DC. Bonif p 126. 279. Rönsch Ital 312. Paucker cites Cassian coll XIX 1. Arn iun in ps 137.

deprimo to afflict 182 28.

derelinquo 86 10. 95 6. Seru Aen III 506.

descedentibus=disc- 148 18.

desiderabilis 83 12. Hier in Osee II 9 (VI 94ᶜᵈ). 95ᵇ. Bonif p 182. 252. 254. Baron 636 17. 724 11. Saluian app p 449 Baluz.

desiderantissimus best beloved 182 2. Cypr ep 4 f. 5 f. 12 f. 14 f. 16 f. 17 f. 27 f. 78 3. Bonif p 156. Rénier inscr Alg 494. 1537. Paucker spicileg 1875 187-8. Rönsch Ital 456-7. cf. amantissimus, reuerentissimus. dignantissimus (Hil in spicil solesm I 119).

despectui habita 60 17. Tac h IV 57. Av Caes 40 13. Arn II 5. Ambr ep 31 1 f miserabili esset d. [Rufin] in Ioel 2 ver 15—17. Bonif p 251. Migne CVI 1358ᵈ. Baron 663 7. Neue Formenlehre I² 507.

destina 'a prop' 49 bis. 50 quater. Braulio notat libror Isid. Forc. DC.

destino ἀποτέμνω gl. 126 17. Lamprid Ant Diadum 9 epistula ad matrem ab eodem -ata. Quoduultdeus in Aug ep 223 1. Rönsch Ital 385. Paucker cites Rufin Orig de princ I 5 1. Hier Orig in Ez IV 3.

destrictius=dis- 148 26.

desuper 129 17. 159 16.

detepuit 187 31.

deuotae tuae eruditionis 176 4.

diaconatus 99 24. 171 17. Mansi X 434. Bonif p 99.

dicatae deo uirgines 147 32.

diffamo 'to noise abroad' 38 7. V 14 f. Aug ciu dei II 21 § 4 pr. III 10 pr. ep 222 2. de gen ad litt VIII § 13. tr in Ioann 46 § 6 f. 49 § 12. annot in Iob c 38 (col 1032ᶜ). Iren III 25 6 f. Greg dial I 9 col 185ᶜ. Bonif 268 f. 440. 454. 464.

difinitum 109 30=de-.

digitorum iiii mensura 113 10. Migne CVI 1312ᵃ.

dignoscere 34 17. Paucker cites hist tripart II 5. III 2 pr. IV 21. Cassiod in ps 125 8.

dilutura 129 19.

dimisis 57 7. cf iusit.

dimissio 102 30. Cael Aur ac II

1. 7. 13. 189. Aug in Rom expos inchoat 23.
diocesis 91 26. ep ad Ecgb 3 pr. Bonif 202 pm. 270. 455.
directa 'sent' 84 29. cf 182 25. Cypr ep 15 §§ 1 4. 63 § 17 f. 68 § 3. Ambr hexaëm v § 29. Paulin uita Ambr 8. 12 f. 13 pr. 21. 22. 26 bis. 31 f. 49 bis. Iren II 32 5. Hier in Osee III 10 111ac. in Amos I 3 251c. II 5 299e. Aug c Fortunat §§ 24. 26. Quoduultdeus in Aug ep 223 1. Greg regist v 56. Venant uit Germ 47. Bonif p 137. Eugipp ind.
discipulatui 151 13. Aug cons eu I § 2. tr in Ioann XCI § 3. Migne CVI 1354c. Bonif p 559. Paucker cites Tert adu Marc IV 2 f. Aug serm 234 2. Primas in apocal I c 1.
discissis uiculis 48 14.
discooperto 129 24. Rönsch Ital 464.
discretio 28 26. Rönsch Ital 73. conc Emerit an 666 c 17. Aug ciu dei II 28. qu in hept I 162. Cassian collat II 4. Symm pro patre 10 iudicii. ep II 82. schol Vindob in Hor a p 373.
discus 'a dish' 29 14 21. Lamprid Heliog 20 7. Trebell Claud 17 5. dig XVI 3 26 2. Seru Aen I 216. Baron 615 11. Greg Tur glor mart I 80. Alcuin glor mart 297. Migne CVI 1380a.
discussis penetralibus cordis 98 9. II 1 p 76 28 Sm. Auian fab 14 8. Phoebad c Arian 1. Macrob I 2 1. Rufin in symbol 40 pr. Saluian gub dei VII 74. Chalcid in Tim c 49 p 116 20 W epogdoi rationem discutere. [Boet] geom p 398 10 Friedl. Seru Aen I 207.
dispectam = desp- 76 23.
dispectui cf desp- and dispiciebat 59 19.
disperdiderunt 150 24. Bonif p 232.
disponeret abrenuntiare 95 11. 101 8. 22 9 (-poss-). 71 3 dispositum est ut...deberet. Amm XXIII 5 16. XXXI 7 3. 12 15. Greg dial I 2 (160e).
dispositione diuina 118 27. Amm XXXI 10 6.
dissentio = -sio 44 n. 54 n.
dissonantia 69 28. Aug cons euang III § 30. solil I § 2. Cl Mam an I 21 §§ 2 4. Baron 678 9. Boet mus ind Friedl.
disterminat 149 31. Sen n q pr § 8. Symm ep IV 23. Aug doctr chr II § 31. Ammian XXXI 8 6. 16 7. Claud in Rufin I 175. Hyg p a I 8. decr syn Sardic in Hilar fr hist p 63. Migne XC 158d.
distinatus (de-) 49 n. 100 n.
districtio 'austerity' 145 25. 150 3. II 6 pr. Greg dial IV 44 f. Bonif p 89. Aurelian in Hänel corp leg 170 b. Paucker cites Paulin uit Mart I 56 ciborum. Isid ill 32. Cassian coll 18 5. Hier ep 108 13. Aug quaest 54 2. Oehler on Tert idol 5. Symm ep III 24 cet. Montan ep I 4. 2 4. Cassiod uar V 5. 32. VIII 27. XII 20. Ennod uit Anton p 424.
districtius examinans 148 26. Greg dial IV 44 f. -te Eddius 57.
districto iudice 145 30. Baron 660 7. Paucker cites Paulini uit Mart I 78. Greg ep IX 65. consultatio Zachaei et Apoll I 28 (Dacher spicil I 12). Oehler on Tert idol 5. Montan ep. 2 4. Eugipp uit Seuerin 38.
ditasse 116 28. Iren IV 11 2. Migne XC 131d.
diuulgarentur 103 30. Ambr de Cain I § 37. Bonif p 150 (de-).
docibilis 84 22. Cypr ind. Rönsch 110. Ambr de Cain II § 22. Boet Aristot an pr II 25. Aug tr in Ioann 26 § 7.
doctrix 150 11. Rönsch Ital 62.
dogma 124 quater. V 8. Sen ep 95 10. Lact III 6 14. Ambr de Cain I § 4 f. 32 pr. II 31 pr.

Iren II 30 2. Venant uit Germ 75. Burm anthol I 629. Arator act II 515.

dolantes 112 30.

domine antistes 46 3. cf Aug trin II § 21 f. Hermas passim.

dominica (dies) Sunday, *dimanche* 26 14. 51 18. 64 2. 73 13 16. 90 30. 92 4. 102 20. 145 23. 146 25. Cypr ep 38 2 (-cus). 64 4 f. Kaye's Tert 388. Aug c Faust XVI 29.

domnus apostolicus 91 25. II 3 f. V 7 f. Bonif p 12 f. 76—7. 80—1. 91. 107 pr. 122 f. 124. 133 f. 136 ter. 143 f. 155 bis. 168. 217. 306. 456. Rönsch 221. 467. cf *Madonna*. Baron 601 5. 724 12. 726 49. Saluian ep 4 13 uestra domnula.

domu 38 2. 62 21—2. 142 14.

domuncula (-us) 57 18. 99 11 (-i). 147 29. uita Cuthb 8 f. 21. Eddius 45 p 76 m. Baron 719 19.

donaris (-iis) 53 17. cf. ecclesis. exhortatoris.

dormitorium 140 11. h a 7 f (II 81 17 Stev). Migne CVI 1440a. 1493c.

ducens orationis loco 'reckoning as prayer' 155 26. cf 159 21.

dulcisonus 132 24. Paucker cites [Aug] serm 120 5. 194. Firm math VIII 25. Valerian hom 10 35 et saepe.

dulciter 173 26. I 28 (from Greg). Migne LXXXVII 364d. Baron 649 81.

dum = cum with subj imperf plup 52 4 7 13. 133 22. 134 26. 154 5 11 3. 157 23. cf II 17 f. V 3 f. 109 8. 111 27. 112 14. 129 11. Greg dial III 12 f. Bonif p 75. 157. 182 pm. 219. 250. 275. Paucker in mélanges gr rom St Petersb 1873 III 608 n. id spicileg Mitau 1875 67—8. Rönsch 400.

eadem 134 2, apparently the adv common in Plautus, 'therewith,' 'no sooner were they gone, than his bonds *without more ado* were loosed.'

eatenus 30 4. Tert res carn 57. Symm ind.

ebdomada (hebd-) abl 26 14. ebdomade 152 15. Bonif 281 f ebdomadam. [Cypr] p 256 16 and often. 261 2 and 10 hebdomades. ib 12 -das. ib 17 -dis. ib 22 and 23 -mas. ib 24 -dam. ib 264 5 -da nom. ib 10 -dibus. cf decada. Neue I2 324. Rönsch Ital 258. Aug praef in Ioann ep. Ambr hexaëm I § 37. Paucker cites Aug pecc orig 31. ep 55 23. Cassian uar V 10 11.

ebulliuit tantae flagrantia suauitatis ab imis 34 27. Tert ad Scap 3 Oehler.

ecclesis 71 n. cf donaris.

eclipsis 168 15. eclypsis 89 1. 168 17. 169 22.

effero of a corpse 129 19. Nep 3 3 2. 5 4 3. Iuu I 72 n. Symm ep III 6.

efulgeret 152 22. Schuchardt II 517—518 n. Bensly missing fragm 45 b 8 dificile.

elegiaco metro 131 1. 173 18. 181 14.

eleuo to raise 35 10. 129 16 20. Capitol Antonin 13 statura -ata.

elimino 74 15. uita Cuthb 22. Tert apol 6 pm. [Cypr] genesis 128. Macrob I 2.

elimosyna 27 12. 29 19. 36 11. 45 31. 111 17. 135 22. 157 29. Bonif p 169 bis. Migne CVI 1313c. cf eleison, paraclitus for the change of η into i.

emollire pigmentorum fomentis 161 10.

ereptio 135 23. V 21 p 213 39 Sm. Tert idol 2. Greg dial IV 38 (440b). 55 (468a). Baron 601 26.

ergastulo corporis 97 7. 108 27 carnis. Bonif p 43. 111. 215. 267. 275. 442 f.

erratica idolatriae medicamina 151 24. Cypr ad Donat 1. 5. Iren v 35 2. Lucif Cal 785[c] Migne. Bonif p 454. Migne xc 132[c]. Chalcid ind. Symm ep I 38.
erratus 147 19.
eruditio as a title 176 4 literas tuae deuotae -nis. Symm ep I 105. IV 45.
etiam 'yes' 76 10. V 2 p 183 36 Sm. 6 p 187 1. 9 p 191 11. uita Cuthb 35. 37 § 60. Hor s II 3 97. Plin ep V 3 7. VI 2 8. Iren v 3 1. Bonif 144 pm. Migne CIII 621[c].
euangelizo 115 17. 116 13. Iren III 11 4. IV 22 1. V 19 1. Rönsch Ital 248. Aug expos ep Gal §§ 8. 29 f.
eucharistia 144 18 19 22. Tert praescr haer 36. de cor 3. Cypr ep 13 1.
euigilo 160 24. met Aug trin II § 6.
euroauster 95 28. Eddius 13. CIG 6182.
exaltari 'to rise' 48 25. Cypr ep 67 8. Cassiod in ps 130 4.
examen 100 25 monachorum. 157 1 ad tuae uoluntatis e. Sidon ep IV 3 aurium. Ambr hexaëm III § 12 uerba librato trutinata -ine. Symm ind.
excellentia uestra title 83 13. 85 23 26. II 17 f (Honorius). Symm ep IV 9. Greg ep VI 58 59. Pelag I ep 16 in Mansi IX 728. Bonif p 162. 248. 252. 255. 288 f. Baron 601 4 5. 604 2-4. 724 11. 726 55. cf uestra gloria Greg (in Bed I 32). uestra dilectio (Honorius ib II 18 bis).
excepto cantandi munere 'not reckoning,' 'over and above,' cf 165 29. 178 2. Aug ciu dei III 27 bis. Vict Vit pers Vand I exceptis innumerabilibus epistulis.
excerptio 178 7. Nestor synod 6 in Mansi V 762.
excommonicauit 62 n. Schuchardt II 185.
exerit manum 98 8. Plin XXXV § 25 and Obs 37 linguam. Paulin uita Ambr 20 f dexteram. Stat Th XI 376 ensem. Amm XXXI 13 2 mucronem. Tert idol 14.
exhortatoris=-iis 78 n. cf donaris. Gallis. The adj also I 10 pr. 17. 23. 24. uit Cuthb 36. Aug gest Pelag 6 19. Gennad ill 62. Bonif p 166. 272 m.
exigisset 78 n. Schuchardt I 310.
exinde 41 14. 133 10.
exortatio 60 29. 133 6. cf ebdomada.
expansis manibus 179 28. Tert apol 30 bis. adu Marc I 23 f. III 18. de orat 11 f. 29 f. de spect 25. de bapt 20 f. Kaye's Tertull 383. 429.
exsufflata idolatria 116 25. cf 165 15. V 6 p 187 14 Sm with Hussey's n. 21 p 215 24. Bingham XI 7 5. 9 3. conc Constant an 381 c 7 *ἐμφυσᾶν*. Aug c sec resp Iulian III 182. tr in Ioann ep 2 § 3 (he has also exsufflator tr in Ioann XI § 13). Iren I 16 3.
extenuo 185 5 pudorem excusatione.
exterminare tragica caede omnes indigenas 121 15. [Cypr] p 262 27. Matt 6 19 in Aug serm 36 5. deut 7 2 in Aug qu in Iesum Nave 21. Rönsch Ital 365. Commod apol 268. Dosith p 75 Böcking.
exterminium 106 8. I 22 pr. Aug conf II 9. [Cypr] p 261 15. Iren IV 24 1 f. Rönsch Ital 29.
extimplo 139 10. 148 15. So timpus Schuchardt I 341.
extranea inuasione 150 26.
extremus 107 14 ad -ma perducta. Greg dial IV 11 ad -ma deductus. 26 (412[b]). 36 (432[d]). 38 (441[b]). On the form extrimus 75 n. 84 n. see Schuchardt I 290.

fabrefactus 130 18. Migne LXVII 962. Chalcid comm Tim 290 -fiunt.

familiarum quinque insula 25 10. 67 1 (cf 267 5) 5. 68 8 10. 94 14. 117 11. 121 23 24. 130 21 (cf 352 13). 136 29. 1 25. 11 9. V 19 p 206 11 Sm. h a 4.
famula Christi 'handmaid of Christ' i e nun 34 1. 106 13. 128 8. 136 3. 141 13 14. 140 17 dei. 150 1. cf ancilla.
famulantes domino 116 11.
famulatus diuinus 137 13. V 12 f. Tert idol 11 f. Ambr de Cain II § 3. Greg dial IV 55. Tac Agr 31. Aug ciu dei II 2. As a title f noster Baron 613 6. 680 30.
famulus 152 20. 154 2 dei. 150 1. 144 28. Eugipp uit Seuerin 1 §§ 1 3 4 5.
febricitantes 105 8. Cels ind. Sen const sap 13 1. Theod Prisc I 21. Scribon 112 seq. Greg dial I 4 (165a). Greg Tur glor mart I 102.
fenei tecti 48 16. uita Cuthb 14. Aug c Acad III 18. exc Vales ad calc Amm § 60 aerarium.
feralis impietas 35 21. add to lexx Tac III 1. Iuu V 35. Apul fl IV § 95.
feretrum caballarium 105 7. Eddius 54.
feria 51 14. 73 7. 178 10 tertia Tuesday. ib 17 quarta Wednesday. h a 13. 16. conc Narbon 589 c 15 quinta quae dicitur Iouis. Baron 601 26. Bonif 93 f. [Cypr] 253 18 and often. Hence *foire*, fair. DC.
ferramentum 154 5. V 16 p 201 30 Sm (from Adamn loc sanct III 2). Vopisc Aurel 7 6. Iren III 30 5. Greg dial I 4 (168b). Nigid in Seru Aen I 178.
feruentissimum amorem 83 14. superl also Sen n q IV 2 18. Hier in Amos II 4 (VI 266b).
festinanter 178 24. Cypr ind. compar Col II 9.
festinus 46 15. I 21 bis. Sall h I 44. VF IV 470. VII 187. Ambr de Cain II § 7. Symm ep III 14 festinus recurras. VII 40 iter f usurpa. Seru Aen IV 642. Hier in Galat praef. Mart Dum form hon uit 7. Greg dial I 10 (200d) festinus misit. Eugipp uit Seuerin I 3.
fiala (ph-) 81 9. Eddius 21.
filioli 144 28. uit Cuthb 12. Bonif p 232.
flagello probante castigatior 160 27. Bonif p 281 f pluuiarum. On the ms form flagillo see Schuchardt I 337.
flagrantia (fr-) 34 27. 110 17. Bonif p 157. (p 57 fraglantia). Migne XC 132d. cf Rönsch Ital 51. Schuchardt I 139.
flagro (fr-) 85 13. Dracont c 10 119 287 Duhn fraglo. gloss Hildebr fraglantes bene olentes. Cypr ep 77 3 (codd fragl- or flagr-).
flexilibus artuum compagibus 158 15. VF V 589.
fomentis pigmentorum 161 10. Ou Pont I 3 44. II 3 94. Cypr ind.
fons 30 24 baptismi. 59 15. 62 31. 65 9. 115 26. 122 15. IV 6 p 187 6 Sm salutari fonte in remissionem peccatorum ablutus. Paulin uita Ambr 48. martyr S Victoris de fonte leuauit.
fontanae uenae 154 1. Aug ciu dei III 12. Rose anecd II 39.
fractura 22 5. [Soran] qu med 247 39. euang Pal 305b 16. Bonif p 174.
fragillitas 157 1. cf intollerabilis. 167 6 pro mea fragilitate. cf Bonif p 257. 289. Add to lexx Sen ep 15 12. Plin ep III 7 10. Flor IV 2 79.
frater a monk 117 19. 152 23. 159 26.
fraternitas tua 153 2. So, as a title, Bonif p 85. 92. 104. 106. 107. 116 f. 117. 118. 122. 131. 133. 134. 148. 210. 215. 237. Baron 646 15. 724 16. For the collective

use of the word (Paucker spicil 1875 286) see Cypr ep 4 5 pr. ep 5 f. 11 §§ 3 f. 8 f. 14 f. ep 18 pr and f. 19 f. 29 f. 63 §§ 15 16.

freneticus 99 5. Greg dial III 35. Cael Aur acut II §§ 9. 38.

fructifico 154 13. Rönsch Ital 175. Ambr hexaëm III §§ 45. 49. Aug de gen c Manich II § 30. Iren pr p 4 Grabe. III 17 2. IV 4 1. 5 1.

frugifer annus 116 24. Suet Galba 4 quercus.

frugis 153 20. 154 11.

frumentum 154 5 'wheat,' *froment.* Hier in Osee 1 3 (VI 31^{b}) non uescitur cibo hominum frumento et legumine, sed hordeo irrationabilium iumentorum. ib III 10 (117^{d}). id in Ioel c 1 (178^{a}).

fulcimentum 50 11. Cassian coll III 12.

fulgora 97 31. cf. excommonico. euang Pal 317 a 20 fulgor neut. Schuchardt II 167. III 220. Cassiod in ps 117 f fulgoreus.

fundae iactus 117 15. Amm XXXI 6 3.

fylacteria (ph-) 151 26. Orig in Matt 11. Baron 604 4. Bonif p 102.

Gallis = -iis 51 n. 69 n. cf exhortatoris. Bensly missing fragment p 13 n 5.

gaudenter 78 14. Paucker cites [Aug] ad fratr erem serm 10. 26. Adamn uit Col I 16. II 30. loc sanct II 28. III 4.

gaudio gaude 157 4. 386 23.

gehennalis poenae 143 31. Paucker cites Aug anim orig III 6 8. [Aug] ad fratr erem serm 68. Fulg Rusp ad Trasim III 34.

generatione secunda deo dedicatum 30 29. Cypr ep 63 8 per generationem baptismi filios dei factos.

gerulus 85 4 9. Apul ind. Sidon ep II 11. Bonif p 98. 110 f. 134. 214. 221. 268. 286. 288.

glorias 45 25. Iren IV 20 6. Cypr ind.

glorifico 124 23 24. Rönsch Ital 175 176.

gloriosissime adv 94 25. Iren III 3 3.

gratanter 158 28. 176 4. 182 5. -tius 182 6. -tissime 126 32. 166 22. -ter V 10. uita Valerian 2 1. 30 tyr 3 4. Sidon ep VI 2. Aug adu Iud § 15. quaest in iudic 49. trin II § 1. Cassiod uar V 15. Baron 639 8. 724 12. Rönsch Ital 153. Eugipp uit Seuerin 19 3.

gubernacula ecclesiae 155 16. Cypr ep 14 1.

gymnasium litteraturae 188 6.

gyrus 95 32 impleuit atque in gyro circumdedit. h a 8. Bonif p 247. Migne CVI 1495^{b}. cf 1496^{d}. 1298^{a}. From in gyrum Fr *environ.*

habeo as an auxiliary verb 119 3 exspectare habes. 142 22 cantare. 144 20 mori. I 7 p 46 5 Sm. h a 9 p 297 44. Gell XIV 1 2. Tert adu Iud 13 cum...pati haberet. cult fem I 1 etiam filius dei mori habuit. apol 37 quem habemus odisse? 22 sapere. idol 5 uiuere. 36. adu Prax 4. 19 f. 26 pr. many exx from Tert in Kellner Tüb theol Quartalschr 1876 237. Cypr ind. add ep 57 3 f. Ambr hexaëm I 33 pr. de Cain II § 26. Iren II 28 2. 30 5 6. III 18 5. 20 3. IV 20 12. V 14 1. Lact IV 12 med. 30. VII 6. Seru Aen III 457 *uolens* quae uelle habet, nam *uolitura*...noluit dicere. Eddius 54 pm. Rönsch Ital 447-9. Hence the future of the Romance languages je louerai = laudare habeo. In Sp and Port as in OFr the parts of the compound tense are separable. See *leuius. melius.*

habitaculum 153 26. Rönsch Ital 37. Cypr hab uirg 17. Ambr hexaëm I 33. V § 26.

habundantius (ab-) 80 11. (habundantis Bonif p 242). the compar. Colum VIII 8. Amm XXVII 3 3.
herba blade of corn 154 8. Ou m VIII 290. Plin XVIII 52.
heremiticam uitam (erem-) 57 2. Greg dial IV 15.
heroicus heroic (hexameter) 153 14 uersibus. 173 6 18 metro. In v 8 it includes elegiac verse. Terentian 272. Migne XC 162^{bc}. Aedilwald in Bonif p 37 dactilico heroici poematis exametro.
holosericam 182 7. h a 8. Lampr Alex 40 1. Vopisc Aurel 14. cod Th XV 9 1. Greg Tur gl mart I 6 (col 728^{c}). Bonif pp 160. 288. 289. 300. Baron 726 52 f.
horrori aliis erant 152 12.
hospitale abl 159 29. Paul Diac uita Greg 29.
hospitium 37 1. Greg dial I 9 (192^{b}).
hostiae salutaris oblationem 135 19. 'the host.' Greg dial IV 55 ter.
humerus 55 23. 56 6. elsewhere without *h*.

iam iamque missuri 29 15. 38 1 periturae. 43 2. 47 25. Bonif p 466.
idolatria 19 17. 24 26. 59 15. 121 14.
iecerint (ei-) 75 12.
illo 'thither' 34 9. 109 7.
illud loci 36 24.
immo 'nay rather' 177 27.
immoratio 186 24.
impius 116 17 fames plebem impia nece prostrauit.
in 110 3 in proximum. 61 27 in quantum. 27 15 in tantum. (also 41 13. 97 14 bis. 101 5. 109 15). with abl after verbs of motion 29 9. 53 32 reductus in corpore. 144 10 and 22. 158 6. 255 5. Tert scorp 3. apol 12. ad nat I 11. Greg dial III 14 304^{b}. Greg Tur gl mart I 30 pr. Bed uit Cuthb 42 immisit in animo fratrum. Beda II 196 30 Stev. Pagi 698 9 uenit in corde. Anthim de obseru cib ind. Oribas. Bonif p 260 in honore...consecrauit. Rönsch Ital 406—7. 115 26 in cuius signum adoptionis donauit. Namatian I 46 in quantum. cf. Iuuen XIV 318 n. Barth adu XVI 6. XXIV 3.
inbeciles 160 n. On the forms in -us and -is Ladewig cites Reisig-Haase 157 seq. Lucr I 847. III 604. Zumpt in Quintil vol v 87. Sen has -us 29 times, -is only dial IV 34 1. v 28 3. clem II 6 4. n q II 6 6. remed fort 9 2. superl -illimus Sen ep 59 12. 89 4. -issimus Cels II 18 quater. VI 7 p 243 6. Add Cic Tusc IV § 15 -a ascensio.
incantatio 151 25. Iren II 32 5.
incensa 178 26. Cypr p 757 7. Iren IV 17 6. Bonif p 199. Rönsch Ital 108.
incisura 129 25.
incitamento sermonis 53 2. Sidon ep I 4. Amm XXXI 5 7. Symm ind. Bonif p 263.
inconsultus 32 2 ipso -o. Amm XXXI 2 11 -orum animalium. Symm ind. with inf Sil VIII 546. Krebs-Allgayer.
incorrupte 102 6.
incuriosae fidei 187 7. v 12 p 197 17 Sm. Sall h IV 65. Tac h III 56. Agr 1. an XV 31. Apul m V 17. AV Caes 42. Hil trin I § 4. Dict Cret II 42.
indice uultu prodebat 147 5. Aug doctr chr II § 2 si quis alius motus animi uultu indice proditur. Amm XXX 1 19 serenae mentis Valentis indices litteras. Ambr hexaëm V § 24 futurae tempestatis. Cels II 6 pr mortis (symptom).
indictio 101 23. 123 17. 124 22. Ambr de Noe et arca I 7. ep ad episc per Aemil II 256.
indissimilis 157 17. uita Cuthb 28 f. Hilar de synod 64 bis. trin VII 5. Paucker cites Rufin Orig de princ

II 34. hist tripart II 7.
indomabilis 28 12. Hier in Amos III 7 (VI 329b). Paucker cites Hier in Iob 41. [Aug] serm 22 4. Iul ap Aug c sec resp Iul IV 6.
indubitanter 135 29. II 11. Liu perioch 70. Iren III 2 2. cod Th XI 1 33.
ineffabilis 96 4. Ambr hexaëm II 1 f. Aug trin I 3 pr. lib arbitr II § 46. Hil trin II 1. Eust hexaëm VI 1.
inenarrabiliter 124 29. Baron 646 27. Forc. Erase Liu XLI 15 2 from lexx.
ineruditio meae linguae 179 30. Aristot rhet I 2 cet. Rönsch 217.
infantilis 107 3. Rönsch Ital 120. Aug de gen ad litt VII § 10. trin I § 2. conf I § 11. de catechiz 10. Paucker cites Aug serm 174 § 6. 239 § 5. Rufin prol Orig in cant. Facund def 4 2.
infernalis 43 5. Prud hamart 826. Greg Tur gl mart I 2.
infirmitatibus et mentis et corporis 166 12. Plin ep VIII 16 1. 19 1. Cypr ep 18 1. 57 1. 69 12 13. cf ind. Iustin XXVI 3. Iren II 31 2. Saluian ep 5 3.
infirmo (*a*) infirmans 'sick' 99 15. infirmantibus iumentis 120 14. -nti puero. (*b*) infirmor 129 9 -ata. 177 30 -ari. Rönsch Ital 370—1. (*a*) Hil tr X 51. hist tripart VII 17. Greg Tur gl mart I 31 (755e). Forc. (*b*) Rufin Orig ps 37 hom 1 2. Cael Aur acut III § 36. Amm XXX 1 10. Aug in Ioann tr 18 6. Cypr op et eleemos 6. Saluian ep 5 4.
infulas regni 19 15. 52 23. ep ad Ecgb 11 p 312 23 Sm Saul regni infulis nudauit. Bed op II 193 10 Stev. Tert monog 12. Ambr. hexaëm III § 30. Symm fr p 12 l 10. Bonif p 83. 200. 228. 249 f. 254. 288. 439 f.
ingrauiscentibus (-uesc-) 44 n. Schuchardt I 359—64. III 133—5.
ingrauesco occurs Pl ep II 20.
uita Hadr 23 16. Ver 2 1. Balb 13 f. Aurelian 38 3. Hier in Amos III 6 (VI 314a).
inibi 31 2. 100 6. 107 16. Gell I 11 lemma. Apul m I 21.
inmisit in animo fratrum 158 6.
innotuit 'became known' 141 17. 161 4. The act sense 'made known' I 30 Hussey. Greg dial I 10 (196c. 197e). II 8 (229b). III 33. IV 38 f. Bonif p 123. 293. Baron 603 3. 680 30. 719. 4.
inoboedientia 104 24. Ambr de Parad § 39 pm. Paulin ep 12=21 ad Amandum 1. Iren IV 39 1. V 17 1. 19 1. 23 1. Aug ep 185 ad Bonif § 24. Forc.
inops frugis et arboris locus 153 20.
inplicamentum 43 7. Aug de gen c Man II § 12. Paucker cites Isid qu in gen 31 51. Iulian uit contempl I 13 1. Hence 'employment.'
inprecatio 149 5.
inquid (-it) 178 23. 179 14. Schuchardt I 118—22.
inquieto 102 26. Sen n q VI 32 9. ep 21. Suet Aug 53. Claud 9. Frontin strat II 2 14. Solin 16 4. Cael Aur tard I 4 121. Rönsch Ital 165.
insinuare 112 24 I 7 p 46 12 Sm. 29 p 70 11. II 2 p 79 25. 17 p 78 30. =*enseigner* Cypr ep 14 3. Trebell 30 tyr 28 2. Aug c Secundin 15. de gen c Manich II §§ 7. 17. Macr (Jan proleg XLV). Rönsch Ital. 387. Symm ind.
instinctu salubri admonitus 161 29
insulanus 25 19. 149 2. II 1 p 78 34 Sm.
intellegit perf 43 n.
interanea 139 30. V 6 p 186 45 Sm. opp II 65 10. 94 13. 109 2 Stev. Levit cod Ashb I 9. 13. IV 8. VI 33. VIII 16. [Cypr] p 250 1. uit s Hilar epiſc.

intercessor 157 16.
interfeci inf 122 n. Schuchardt II 5.
interpretatur pass 71 4. Tert ad nat 1 8. praescr 40. Hier in Abac II (c 3 11). in Osee 1 1 (VI 3^{a}). II 5 (65^{bc}). Fulg myth II 5. Iren III 21 2. Aug ciu dei XVI 2. in ps 103 serm 3 15. in ps 80 8. gromat 1 337 23. 359 7. Neue II^{2} 292.
interuenire apud supernam clementiam 166 13 'to intercede.' Paulin uit Ambr 31. Dosith p 48.
intimo 128 16. 138 4 ·andum quod. 152 24. 164 10. Rönsch Ital 173. Funccius de ueg l l sen 1216. Cypr ind. Capitolin Ver 1 Salm. Spartian Niger 7 Cas. Chalcid ind. Ambr de parad § 1. Aug trin II § 21. doctr Chr III § 44. IV § 6 de gen c Manich II §§ 7. 8. 17. Eugipp ind.
intollerabilis 65 17. cf fragillitas.
intro ipsam ecclesiam 50 12.
introductus in angustias montium 149 12.
inuadat parrochiam alterius 102 23. 116 17 fames plebem ·dens.
inuestigator scripturarum 180 9 21.
inueterasco 29 24.
inuicem = inter se 100 8. 140 2. 156 22 non ultra nos i aspiciemus. 157 10. I 12 p 49 f. V 13 p 198 f Sm. cf *ab, ad, contra i.* 54 18 ab i. (cf h a 6 p 296 7 Sm). II 2 p 80 25 ad i. h a 8 p 297 16 super i. Ambr hexaëm IV § 25 haec i sibi distant. V § 13. Iren II 27 1 f i pugnantes semet. Tac d 25. Agr 6. Iust III 7 12. XV 2 16. XLI 4 4. Eutr 1 10 (9) Brutus et Aruns i se occiderunt. Tursellin c 109 p 409 Schwarz.
inundantia pluuiarum 66 20. Rönsch Ital 50. Paucker cites Verecund in cant Habacuc 14.
ipse 'the same' 62 22. V 12 p 196 17 Sm. h a 7 pm. Ambr hexaëm II § 5. Aug tr in Ioann XIX 16. cons euang II 62. Anthim ind. Greg Tur gl mart 1 66 pr. Commod apol 92. vulg Hebr 138. Iac 3 10.
iudaizo 72 23. Aug c Faust XIX 18. expos ep Galat § 1. Hier in Osee 1 2 (VI 22^{d}). ib f (28^{d}).
iugiter 84 31. 85 24. Rönsch Ital 150. Paucker add lexx lat 1 57 58. Seru Aen IV 443. X 340. Hier ep 46 12. [Hil] anon in Iob II p 128. Bonif p 248 f.
iusit = iussit 40 14. Bonif p 304 iuseris. cf dimisis. misus.
iussio 125 5 22. Sedul III 19. Greg in Bed 1 27 p 65 3 Sm. Eddius c 49 p 78 f. Chalcid Tim 42. comm 146.
iuuencula 'a girl' 130 2. Tert adu Iud 9. Ambr enarr in ps 36 9 bis. Aug qu in gen 35. Greg dial IV 32. Forc.
iuxta (*a*) 'near' 152 20 fluuium. 161 5. (*b*) = secundum, 'according to', 'by', 'after' 25 10 23. 26 21. 28 19. 29 24. 49 20. 62 8. 64 15. 69 32. 72 20. 77 9. 82 17. 94 12. 101 20. 108 9. 124 1. 128 19. 139 20. 146 22 28. 150 6. 157 30. 69 22 i quod (so 86 19. 125 16. II 19 pr. uit Cuthb 21 pr. ib p 64 12 and 24 Stev. de VI aetat A D 285 iuxta is interchanged with secundum. Greg Tur gl mart 1 104 pr). Hand Tursell III 542. Hier catal 5. Hier in Amos II pr i sanctum martyrem Cyprianum. ib c 4 p 270^{a} haec i Hebraicum diximus. id comm in ep Eph III c 4 (VII 619^{b}) i fabulas ethnicorum. Solin 9 12 i responsum dictum deo. Venant uit Alb prol 2 i fidem.

lamminis plumbi 69 5. Add to lexx Sen ep 78 19. ben VII 10 1. Gron on Plin XXI § 4.
laneis uestibus uti 128 3. 347—8.
languor 'sickness' 50 16. 97 4. 119 11. 159 13. Iren V 15 2.

lapideum sarcofagum 112 29.
largitoris superni 154 11. Hil trin 1 2. 11 4. Seru Aen 1 195.
latitudo 122 25 pelago -dinis trium milium.
lauacrum 30 27 de -cro exeuntem suscepisse. 121 28 uitae. 11 14 remissionis. Cypr 780 19 uitale. Tert scorp 12 sanguinis. cf ind.
laus 'lauds' 41 22 (cf 241 33). 106 12 (cf 317 30) expletis matutinae -is psalmodiis. 144 31 ad dicendas domino -es nocturnas. DC.
laxatus in somnum 40 17. 80 20 in quietem membra -are.
lectionarium anniuersarium 180 25. Bonif p 234. Baron 731 29 f. DC.
legatarius n s = legatus 32 17. 101 29. 154 24. 1 29. 30. 11 12 p 92 26 Sm. 20 p 102 7. v 21. h a 3. 5. opp 11 141 Stev. Bonif p 255. 277. 287. Baron 725 14. Paucker cites hist tripart VII 24. X 33 saepe. XI 15 p 371 Garet. DC.
lenas = laenas 159 29. 11 10 f. Baron 604 13 f.
leuius habere 129 12. v 3 crederet eam ad benedictionem uel tactum illius mox melius habituram. ib f statim melius habere incipio. ib 5 p 185 36 Sm. 6 p 187 14. 19 p 208 4. St John 4 52. Greg dial III 35 unde unus male, inde omnes deterius habebant . . . moxque illum melius habentem tulit. See *melius habere.*
leuo 'to raise' 68 15 -ato in regem. 108 19 sursum, 25 ad caelos. 128 -ari ossa. Phaedr IV 3 4 quem dorso leuans. Spart Caracall 7 2 in equum. Capitol Ver 4 9. Vales exc ad calc Amm § 44. Paulin uit Ambr 29. 32 bis. 33 pr. 48. Greg dial 11 8 (228[a]). Bonif p 58 fletum et ululatum.
limina apostolorum 85 2. 186 26. v 7 pr. ib f. v 9 p 190 f Sm. 19 pr. h a 2. 14. 15. mirac Cuthb dedic f. Bonif p 49 f. 100—102. 139. 185 pr. 242 f. 260 pr. 317 pr. 443. 444 f. Eddius 3—5. 18. 53. Migne XCI 663[d]. Werner's Bonif 282. 438—9. Girald Cambr p 891 Camd. Baron 601 28—9. 604 13. 631 9—10. 667 3. 672 1—4 (Pagi n 2). 701 2 8. 725 13. glossary to Ric Cirencestr specul histor. On the antiquity of this pilgrimage see Gaius in Eus h e II 25 5. Niedner KG 117. Hier in Ezech c 40 ver 5 6 (v 468[b]) dum essem Romae puer et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum ceteris eiusdem aetatis et propositi diebus dominicis sepulcra apostolorum et martyrum circuire crebroque cryptas ingredi cet (an interesting account of the catacombs follows). Paulin carm 13 (=17) natal Fel 11 30 to Rome *nunc* et apostolicis *terrarum es prima* sepulcris. Cf ib 14 (=18) natal Fel III 65 66 *ipsaque* caelestum *sacris* procerum monumentis| Roma Petro Pauloque potens.
lineis uestimentis 128 3.
linteamina 129 28. v 16 f. Rönsch 26.
liquido comperi 135 29. Ou Pont IV 6 21. Symm ep 1 88.
litteras solutorias 134 14.
litteratura et saeculari et diuina 90 15. Paucker in Zeitschr f oesterr Gymn 1874 101—2, 1875 176. Aug c Cresc 1 14. Hier in Amos c VI ver 6 (VI 313[e]) in saeculari l legimus. Paulin euchar 114. Migne CVI 19[d] expression)(sense. Bonif p 293 a letter. Symm ep 1 8. 79. Tert ind. Eugipp ep ad Paschas § 2.
locellus 'a coffin' of wood 128 quater. Baron 652 14 f.
loco filii susceptus est 115 26.
loculus 'a shrine' 30 1 -o inclusae

argenteo. 'a coffin' 113 1 3. 130 9 11. 158 9. Paulin uit Ambr 52 bis.
longe manentibus)(praesentibus 139 2. Symm ep IX 50 1 degens.
lūbricus 'lewd' 131 10. Ambr hexaëm III § 56 f. V § 18. id orat in obit Valentin II 10 lubricum iuuentutis. Bünem on Lact epit 63 7.
luximus 187 26.

macerati inedia 116 19. Paulin uit Ambr 38 (macerare) corpus ieiunio. Symm ep II 96 inedia et labore. VIII 6 diuturnitate morbi. II 22 otio. VI 43. 62. Vell II 112 3. Commod apol 883.
maior domus regiae 'mayor of the palace' 91 3. Bonif p 85. 182.
maledicebantur 149 7. Rönsch Ital 440. Aug annot in Iob c 3.
mancipatus pio labori 152 14. Tert apol 21 pr. 24 pr. idol 1 f. Iren IV 39 4.
manduco 74 11. 128 10. It *mangiare*. Fr *manger*. Rönsch 214. Paucker add lexx lat 51. Cels ind. [Cypr] p 256 19. Aug ep 36 30. cons euang III 1.
mansio 94 20. 95 1 20. 150 2. 153 24. 1 12 f. Hier in Amos 5 ver 11 (VI 294[a]) mansioni et tecto. Hence *maison*, *manse*.
manualis 'handy' 180 24. Seru Aen IX 417 tela. Cael tard III 86 uehiculum. Cypr acta cons 5. [Aug] specul 33 uerbum. Bonif p 250.
martyrologium 173 13. Migne CVI 19[a] (-ion).
matutinae laudis 41 22. 106 12. m synaxeos 128 11. V 9 p 191 24 post expletos -os 'matins ended'. Greg Tur gl mart 1 11 (734[c]).
mausoleum 187 33.
maxilla 129 9.
medella 105 12.
medicamina idolatriae 151 24.
mediocritas nostra 'my poor self' 186 28. Vell II 104. Veg III pr. Bonif ep 1 pr. Baron 724 12. Cypr 527 15 22.
medius 35 4 opus ad -m perductum.
melioratum 36 21. Ambr ep 32. Cassiod in ps 8 f. Rönsch Ital 172.
melius habere 42 28. see leuius.
memoria 164 13 beatae -ae Theodoro. II 19 p 100 28 Sm. Ambr ep 63 § 66 Eusebius sanctae m. Baron 649 11 apostolicae m. Aug ep 169 13 religiosae m.
memoriter retinuit 143 4.
mercide 109 n. cf Schuchardt 1 322 hiride. 324 obidientia. 325 sidecim.
meritum 104 24 per m inoboedientiae. 149 9 impietatis. Fabri on Liv XXII 59 13. Aug tract in Ioann LXXIX 2 qui nullum habebat m mortis.
metricus 173 2 de -o Paulini opere. ib 22 arte.
metrum 173 17 18. Plin ep 1 16 4. IV 14 8. VII 4 8. 9 14. VIII 21 4. Suet ind. Bonif p 215.
migro 82 3 de saeculo. 159 14 ad dominum. Vell 1 11 7 feliciter de uita.
minister 'thane' 95 10. 134 27 n. h a 1. 7. ep ap Ecgb 7.
minutatim 29 21.
missa 'mass' 119 3 23. 120 13 26. 134 10 18. 135 5 17. 176 5. 178 31. Schröck KG VIII 322. X 80.
misus 87 n. cf iusit.
moderamina catholicae obseruationis 82 20. Stat Th X 183. Amm XXX 9 5. Chalcid Tim p 27[b].
modo 'now' 40 21. 179 4. Greg dial 1 12 (225[a]). IV 5. 55 (468[c]) iam m. Baron 725 14 m nunc. Bonif p 255 med. Migne CVI 1294[d] Druthmar expos in Matt c 5 modo...aduerbium est significans praesens tempus. Often in Seruius 'in the present passage'

eg Aen I 85. II 421. 450. 519. III 416. 417. IV 627. 638. Aug tr in Ioann XLIV § 5 fuisse hic tunc et modo non hic esse. cf § 6.
modulamina scripturarum 176 21. Chalcid ind.
modulationem carminis 143 14.
monachicus 99 29. 143 18. 152 31. Paucker cites hist trip V 32. VI 1 cet.
monasteriolum permodicum 116 8. Bonif p 295. Eddius 39. Migne XCVI 826a.
monetae omissae lineam persequeretur 187 26.
monile 139 11. 130 3 -iorum. Sen ep 115 8. fr 66. Stat S I 2 128. Ambr hexaëm III § 23. 52 bis. IV 35.
moris erat populis ut confluerent 151 31. Cic acad I § 66. Tac Agr 33 Kr. 39 Kr. Döring on Plin ep I 12 7. Schwarz on Plin pan 13 3 and 82 5. VM II 8 6. Vell II 40 3 Halm. Sen breu uit 12 8. Suet Aug 41. Iuuen XI 83. Georges de elocut Velleii 62.
mortalitas 86 5 12. 88 3. 118 9. 151 23. chronogr p 648 2 Momms his imperatoribus magna m fuit. Dirksen manuale.
mox ubi = simul ac 22 23. II 15 f. opp II 106 27 Stev. mox ut 40 24. 134 1. 166 27. II 1 f. 13 f. 14 pr. Greg dial II 4 pr. 19. 24. 25. 27 f. 32. III 2. 15. (309a). 16 pr. mox alone Routh reliq IV 286 f.
multa 'a fine' 133 9.
multum (*a*) with adj 45 32. 56 13. 96 24. 133 1. 144 3. 147 18. Plaut Stich 206. mil 443. capt 272. Dräger hist Synt I 110. Hor S I 3 57 Or. II 3 147 Heind. Petron fr 43 7 Büch. Aug ciu dei XXI 23. conf I §§ 12. 28. Greg dial II 8 (228f). Gell XIII 20 (19) 8 m senex. (*b*) with adv 68 11. 176 3 bis.
mundanus 114 8. Macrob Jan proleg XLIII. Auien Arat 47 ortus. Symm fr p 7 l 9 lux. ib 34 -a paene militia (of Alexander). [Cypr] 286 26. Chalcid ind.
munusculum 166 22. 176 2. 178 28. 182 5.

natale domini Fr *noel* 81 12. 158 23 dominicum. 35 16 natalis of Stephen.
natalicius dies 120 26. 173 13.
naturalis filia 33 21. cf 234 26. Greg dial IV 26 (412d).
nauigauit insulam 154 28.
ne forte 178 15 nobis uidebatur ne forte sciret. cf Aug tr in Io XLI § 9. Plin ep II 10 5 dispicere ne. Oehler on Tert apol 2. Iren V 30 5. Routh reliq IV 325 (bis) quaere ne. Iren III 21 1 suspicio ne. Greg dial III 37 (361ab) aspexit ne forte.
nec = ne quidem 74 31. 112 33 nec sic quidem. Duker on Flor II 8 12. Weissenb on Liv V 33 11. XXX 15 7.
necdum = nondum 33 14. 82 3. 138 25. Saluian ind Halm.
nihilo tardius 111 6.
nil corr into nihil 134 25.
nimietas 35 8. Macr comm II 5 10. 7 §§ 5 21. 10 § 14. Sat V 13 41. VII 6 8. 12 28. Rose anecd. 1864 151 1. Rönsch Ital 52. Saluian gub IV 37 p 76 Baluz. Cassiod var VII 6. Eugipp uit Seuerin 4 10. pl Greg dial III 36 uentorum.
nimius 'exceeding great' 158 18. Plin ep III 11 4 Corte. Amm XXX 10 6. Claudian in cons Prob 30.
nisi si 27 8. Tac VI 25. XV 53. Agr 32. Heins on Ou her 4 111. Rup on Iuuen VI 250. Tert apol 7 m. 11 pr. 19.
nomisma 34 10.
nonam horam 27 27. as subst Greg dial III 15.
notarius a short-hand writer, a scribe 104 1. opp II 178 25 Stev. Bonif

p 137 bis. Plin ep IX 20 2. Rufin h e I 14 pm cum a notario integre et a grammatico sufficienter Athanasius fuisset instructus.

nouiter 73 29. Rönsch Ital 152. regula Bened 58. schol Vindob in Hor a p 62. Paucker subrelicta Dorpat 1872 4to p 13*.

nullatenus 109. -tinus 65 77. Paucker mélanges gr rom acad Petersb 1872 429. spicileg 1875 276 n. Rönsch Ital 231.

numerositas (*a*) 'number' 186 2. Aug qu in iudic 41 f. ciu dei I 34 f. Saluian auar III 87 p 293 Báluz. Macr sat I 22 8. Philastr haer 38. Bonif p 38 plur. (*b*) = εὐρυθμία Aug doctr chr IV 20. 26 § 56. 55 § 109.

nunc usque 22 2. 159 25. 165 8. Amm XVII 4 2. XXXI 7 16. Greg dial I 3 f. 7 pr. 10 f bis. 12 (225[a]). II 21. 37 f. IV 2. 13 f. 30. 55 (468[e]). 57 (469[d]). Bonif p 227 m. Eddius 60 f.

obdormiens 112 26. 145 2. -muit 37 7.

oblatio of the eucharist 21 23 uictimam sacrae -nis offerre. 135 19 23. Greg dial IV 55 -onum coronas.

obnixe 137 14. Hier ad Pammach de opt gen interpr ep 101 1. compar Bonif p 74.

obstinatio 72 13. Tert apol 37 f. Amm XXXI 15 10.

obtemperanter 139 27. II 2 p 80 14 Sm. Aug ciu dei XVI 25. c sec resp Iul I 70.

obtenuit 90 n. Jubil 42 7 detenuit. ps 138 10 (psalt Veron) contenebit. cf possedebat.

obtutibus carnis 156 22. Bonif p 144. 179 f. Eddius 29 pm. 45 pr. Migne LXXXIX 104[c]. Chalcid comm Tim 244.

obuiauit ei antistes 62 16. (*a*) to meet Macr comm I 6 §. 12 §. Greg dial II 8. Migne CVI 1347[d]. Bonif p 118. Baron 650 24. 721 2. Rönsch Ital 167. (*b*) to withstand Ambr hexaëm I § 24. Cassiod uar X 26.

occisso 47 10.

ocius 162 4.

officio omni corporis destituta 109 4.

oleum sanctificatum 47 15.

omeliarum (homi-) 172 21. hist trip X 4 homilia.

omnimodis 107 22. 109 29. uita Cuthb praef. Cassian coll IX 4. inst XI 17. Cassiod uar XI praef.

operationem unam in Christo 126 9. V 19 p 207 7. Hil trin I § 7.

operculo 128 32.

opobalsami cellaria 34 28. Iustin XXXVI 3 §§ 1 4.

oportunitas 78 6.

oportunius dicetur 85 29. oportune in Bonif p 86. 163. 208.

oportunus 48 18. 52 26. 80 6. 95 3. 130 29. Bonif p 103. 145.

orarium 'a napkin' 178 26. mirac Cuthb 42 4. Rönsch Ital 318. Ambr de obitu Satyri I 13. 43. Hier ep 52 = 2 9. Paulin uit Ambr 48. conc Tolet IV c 28. 40. conc Bracar 4 c 4. Migne XCVI 832[d]. Greg Tur gl mart I 93. Bonif p 270. Hefele Conciliengesch III[2] 19 (9). 118 (4). Baron 681 8.

oratorium 95 25 30. 96 7 29. 106 20 27. 119 24. 153 26. II 14. V 12. opp II 122 13 27. 123 25. 187 8 Stev. exc Vales ad calc Amm § 83. Aug reg ad seruos dei § 2. regula Bened c 58. cod Iust I 2 15. Greg Tur h Fr II 6. cf -ia domus nouell 57 pr.

ordeum (hor-) 154 10. cf ebdomada.

orthodoxam fidem 123 25. Aug uer relig § 9 f. Hier ep 144 ad Damasum. Marcell in chron an 484. Bonif p 314.

orthodoxe 124 1.

orthographia 173 21. Seru Aen I

616. x 24. Cassiod inst diu 30.
ostiarius 76 12 (St Peter, the porter of heaven). Isid ep I 14. Migne CVI 1343c. Baron 649 81 82. (-ia Rönsch Ital 101. Ambr expos euang Luc 10 § 75.) Rönsch 132.
ouans triumphat 132 19.

paeninsula 117 16.
paenitendi 146 19.
paenitentiae 146 23.
paganissimos 30 19. paganus Oros praef. Aug retract II 43. Gieseler I § 75 n 25. Tillemont III 481.
pallium 'the pall' 168 29. Bonif p 92. 132. 134. 135. 201. 219. Migne CVI 19b (given by Constantinople). Gieseler I § 117 n 35 36. DC n 3.
palmarum diem 69 27. Palm Sunday. Forcell n 24.
palmi mensura 112 30. Hier in Ezech c 40 5 sq (V 469e) palmo qui rectius Graece dicitur παλαιστὴ et est sexta pars cubiti: alioquin palmus σπιθαμὴν sonat, quam nonnulli pro distinctione palmam, porro παλαιστὴν palmum appellare consueuerunt. Migne CVI 1495d.
palpebra 161 8 30. Sen ep 64 8. Ambr de Cain I § 14.
papilio 'tent' 129 17 22. V 6. Aug locut in heptat I (gen 31 37). Greg Tur h Franc IV 45. DC.
paralysis 160 4. uit Cuthb 45. Greg dial IV 15. Migne CVI 1332d. Paucker cites Vitr VIII 3 4. Plin Val III 13. Cael Aur tard II 7.
parrochia 'diocese' 31 31. 32 20. 102 22. 103 8. 115 17. V 18. ep ad Ecgb 8. Greg dial III 38. Eddius 24. Bonif p 86. 105 (once -ium). 111. 112. 123-5. 128. 202 pm. 209 f. 279 saepe. 301 pm. 318. 321 f. 457. 461. also paroecia (παροικία) Hier ep 109=53 2 (I 726d). DC. cf tyrrannis.
parum 109 29. 320 36=parumper.
parumper 37 7.
paschalis obseruantiae decreta 25 31 Aug ep 36 30 cena.
patenter intellexerant 69 29. II 10 p 90 18 Sm. 11. Greg dial II 3 (215e) minus p intellego. 32 f. III 11 (297b). 16 (316e). Paucker cites Boeth geom p 408. Chrysol serm 40. Primas in Hebr 11. Cassiod in ps 106 17. Plin Val.
patientem 'the patient' 40 7. Cypr p 25 10. Paucker add lexx lat 60.
paucus 89 8 non -o tempore. 118 23. 66 3 cum -issimo exercitu. Pagi 626 9 -o interuallo.
pauimentum 158 9. 159 10.
pausare 108 18. 140 11 18. 'to stop,' 'to rest' in sleep or in death. Fulg myth I 6 non pausando furiam concipere. Cassian coll II 8. Plin Valer II 22. Aldhelm c de uirgin 1760. 1962. Bonif p 294. Rönsch Ital 253.
pentateucum 172 13.
perambulantes 61 13. Plin ep VIII 20 3.
perenniter 84 15.
perferente 165 1. Quintil ind.
pergrandis 156 12.
permaximus 22 25. 34 18. III 24. I 1 f. V 12 p 196 21 Sm.
permissi sunt patriam redire 19 13. Amm XIV 1 3 nec hiscere nec loqui -us. Aug qu in numer 48 ire -us est. Neue II2 260.
permodicus 77 11. 116 8. 151 1. uit Cuthb 16. Firm math praef. AV epit 21.
perparuus 66 7. Suet Tit 1. Vulcat Cass 4 6.
perpaucis 136 30.
perplura 82 20. 143 32. 128 1 -rium. II 20. Venant uit Maur 15. Bed uit Cuthb 13 pr -imi. Rufin h e VI 7.
perscrutato scrinio 164 23. Cassiod in ps 150 concl. the act in Clem recogn III 45. 94 10. Cypr p 155 14. Neue II2 319 320.

personis uel subsistentiis 124 6. Phoebad c Arian 25.
perstrinxerit terras omnes doctrinae corusco 184 24.
persuasus 58 27. Caes b G VII 20. Neue II² 261. Rönsch Ital 442.
pertransisse 160 23. h a 11. uit Cuthb 14. Rufin h e I 34 pr. Iren II 32 3. III 11 3. IV 23 2. Hier in Tit c 2 11 (VII 724ᵈ). in Amos c 5 16 (VI 298ᶜ). Rönsch Ital 209.
perurgeret 97 24. Bonif p 299. Paucker de latinitate scr hist Aug Dorpat 1870 27. Rönsch Ital 196.
pigmentorum fomentis 161 10. uita Cuthb 32. Tert idol 11 Oehler -a medicinalia. Venant uit Germ 75. Bonif p 269 f. Migne CVI 1284ᵃᵇ. Paucker cites Plin Val II 31 cet. Firm math III 14 6. Cassiod in ps 140 2.
pigrior 187 30.
piissimus 83 14. 118 31. 123 15. [Quintil] decl 10 f. Frontin aq 1. Iren III 18 6 f. Rönsch Ital 279. Neue II² 113 114.
piperum = piper 178 26.
plāga 'a plague' 106 5. 151 25. Ambr hexaëm V 83. Iren IV 30 4.
plăga 'a bank' Fr *plage* 136 29 fluminis.
plano sermone 'prose' 173 7. Terentian 294.
platea 29 19.
plebs 'laity' 102 24. 155 19. plur V 23 p 219 8 Sm. Cypr ind. and p 512 19. 516 1. 517 8. 520 15. plur Greg ep V 18. Mansi VIII 648. Damas c 21 2 n. plur Aug qu euang I 31. annot in Iob 27. ep 82 = 19 34. Bonif p 122 cet. 148 f. 248 f. sing 'population' 116 1. Amm XXXI 4 §§ 4—6. 7 §§ 2 8. 12 § 11.
plectro uersifico 184 23.
plenilunium 75 7.
plurimam insulae partem 167 19. -o tempore 148 19. Ambr hexaëm V § 58 pr. -o temporis.
plus minus 168 28.
portitor 'bearer' 186 14.
portiuncula 40 27. Ambr hexaëm IV § 14 saepe. Aug acta c Fortunat § 21. Victorin gramm II 2. Chalcid comm 47 f. Oros VI 7. Eddius c 45 p 76 m.
possedebat 153 n. cf obtenuit.
possessiones praediorum 66 2. 78 26. AV epit 42 14. Paulin uit Ambr 9 pr. Ambr de Cain 2 § 11. Greg dial II 33. III 14 (304ᵈ).
possessiuncula 66 27 31. 119 8. I 12 f. Hier in Sophon 3. Greg dial III 21.
possillum (pusillum) 84 n.
post tres abscessionis Vilfridi annos 115 6. 259 13. 137 6. 161 17. Tac an II 62 pr Nipp post sextum cladis annum.
posta 'post' 37 26. 38 3.
postmodum 56 4. 65 9. 70 25. 98 17. 99 2. 156 6. II 20. Neue II² 685 686.
poto 'to water' 'to give to drink' 21 8. opp II 204 28 Stev. Cypr 115 8 lacte uos potaui. 428 4. Iren II 33 2 bis. IV 35 3 f. Rönsch Ital 376. Rufin comm symb 26 bis. Theod Prisc II 4. Migne XC 142ᵃ. Greg Tur gl mart I 102. Bonif p 217. 242. DC.
prae 'owing to,' 'for' 66 20 p inundantia pluuiarum. 114 12. Cato in Seru Aen III 314 p metu.
praecessor 30 7. I 32 p 73 2 Sm (from Greg). Ambr hexaëm IV § 1 f. Baron 645 15. Aug expos Galat § 11. cf praedecessor, prudecessor. Rönsch Ital 58.
praecincxere 61 4.
praecipitium 116 19. Aug haer 69. c Gaudent I § 32. Iren III 5 2. Baron 638 12. Sulp Seu dial II 16.
praedecessor 52 21. 77 30. 158 25.

h a 12. [Quintil.] decl 3. Rufin h e XI 1. Greg dial 3 8. Bonif p 136.
praedocta 139 26.
praefatus pass 85 9. 86 5 22. 112 6 10. 123 1. 125 19 24. 127 28. 135 20. 138 31. 140 16. 141 10. 161 13.
praelocutio 102 9. Aug pecc orig 7. tract in Ioann LXIII § 1 f.
praemisa 71 n. cf iusit. presus. promisum.
praemonstro 56 7. 155 22. V 21 p 214 46 Sm.
praeoccupando faciem domini 146 6. V 21 p 211 54 Sm. Caes b c II 17 2. Facund defens trium capitul VI 3 aures. Seru Aen III 17. IV 235. 301. X 11. Rose anecd (1864) p 55 12 14. Bonif p 245 f.
praepositis euangeliis 123 22. n s 'provost' 151 16. 152 24. reg Bened 65. Greg dial 1 2 tit. 3 pr. 7. IV 55 (468ᵉ). Often in Cypr 'bishop'.
praereptus morte 83 9.
praesens 114 32 in -nti 'at present'. Iren II 28 8.
praesentialiter 123 26. Bonif 122 m. 267 f. 285 f. Baron 639 12. 649 11. Paucker in mélanges gr rom Pétersb III 1872 436. (1873) 663. spicileg Mitau 1875 309 n.
praeter = praeterquam 117 14 p ab occidente. 128 4. Vulcat Avid Cass 7 consensu omnium p Antiochensium.
praeuaricer fidem mei promissi 134 31.
praeueniente infirmitate 144 8.
praeuidere 'to provide' 78 4. V 12. Baron 680 33.
precogitando ultimam horam 177 2.
presbyteratus 171 18 21. V 12 p 197 20 Sm. Bonif p 105 f. 107. 270 f. 457. 464.
presus 144 n. cf praemisa.
prima sabbati 73 9 13. 74 3 4.
primatibus Merciorum 170 16. V 13. Aug c Parmenon I c 3. ep 68 ad Ianuar. de mor Manich § 11.
principaliter 76 9. [Cypr] p 274 22. Aug tr in Ioann CIX § 5. Phoebad c Arian 15. Iren III 23 3 f. IV 4 1. 17 3. Claud Mamert I 3. Marc Empir 397ᵉ. Sid ep III 3. V 7. Chalcid ind.
priuilegii epistulam 125 15. Ambr hexaëm III § 47 f. IV § 3. Sidon ep VIII 6. Claud Mam II 7 2. 10 1. Iustin II 10 12.
probabilibus patribus 102 6.
prodecessores = praed- 99 19. Bonif p 266 pm. 278 m. 287 f. 306 f.
professio of a nun 147 32. Paulin uit Ambr 4. 11.
proficuum 133 16. Rönsch Ital 124. Paucker cites Aristot rhet I 11 cet. II 11. Lup ep 4. [Eucher] in regg III 21. 121 (?). Cassiod in ps V 15 cet. inst diu praef.
proicerentur foras 60 18.
prolixam barbam 120 6. I 15 classis.
promisum 26 n. see praemisa.
promtu 92 24 in p haberent. Iren V 9 2.
propalari 164 5. Aug gen ad litt V § 39. Rönsch Ital 197. Paucker cites chron p 645 Mommsen. Venant uit Alb praef 2.
propinquante hora 144 7.
propositum monachicum 143 18. 137 4. ep ad Ecgb 6 f continentiae. Hier ep 96 ad Princip monachorum. Aug de bono uiduit 10.
prosa 173 2. 182 24 Bonif p 215.
prosapiam 19 2. Rönsch Ital 237. Ambr hexaëm III § 30.
prosperatum 129 1. Ambr de Cain I § 34 pm. Aug ciu dei II 14 2 deo -ante.
protelare 27 27. 64 3. uit Cuthb 5. Aldhelm in Bonif p 32. Bonif p 64. 69. 466 f. Hier in Osee c 10 3 (VI 107ᵈ) ne in longum tempus putent sententiam protelari. Fulg p 609 Stav. Rönsch Ital 197. cf Baron 680 8 protelatio.

protendere imperium 94 4. Ambr hexaëm III § 15 f Arabiae deserta protendit (lacus). Seru Aen IV 522.
protestatus pontificali auctoritate 62 20. cod Theod XI 1 33. Rufin 362ᵉ Migne. Ambr hexaëm V § 88 processum noctis (of cock-crow). Rönsch Ital 197—8. Aug tr in Ioann LXI § 2. Symm ind.
protomartyr 34 24. V 14.
prouincis 45 n. cf ecclesis. Jubil II 13 filis.
prouisionis supernae responsum 106 11. 108 11.
prouisori salutis nostrae 139 19. h a 5 ecclesiae suae. Paucker in mél gr rom acad Petersb 1873 666. Aug ciu dei II 20 deliciarum suarum -ibus.
proximus 147 7 in proximo est ut ignis conuertat. in -um 110 3.
psallens 129 18. Migne XC 153ᵈ bis.
psalmodia 80 15. 106 12.
psalterium 80 16. Isid III 21 2 3 7.
puerulus 41 3. 65 5. 87 tit VIII. 118 21. Tert Scap 4. Aug conf I § 20.
pulerit = pepulerit 32 14.
pulsauit bello Brittanias 167 17.
puplicus (publ-) 147 7.
pusillum 84 3 post p. 141 27.
pŭtet 'stinks' 132 13.

quamplura 102 7.
quantum 61 27 in q. Aug trin II § 28. Iuuen XIV 318 n. Heerwagen on Liu XXII 27 4.
quaquauersum 92 5. II 16. Aug ciu dei II 6 f.
quatinus 'in order that' 83 5. 157 15. Dirksen manuale. Paucker spicilegium 138 seq. Scheller.
quia 'that' Fr *que*, after verbs of saying, knowing, believing cet 20 22. 22 10. 28 5 10 18. 29 12 18. 47 15. 60 24. 65 29. 66 4. 69 30. 75 11. 80 12 17 23 25. 82 30. 83 15. 110 27. 119 6. 128 2 13. 129 13. 130 1. 134 17. 135 24. 179 1. after pron 51 8 hoc adprobo q. 179 21 pro eo q. Rönsch Ital 402. Bünem on Lact p 826. Paucker spicileg 109. Cypr ind. Ambr hexaëm V § 91. de parad §§ 68. 75—77. Iren IV 17 4. gromat 304 4. Rose anecd 1864 p 55 3 5. Madvig opusc II 239. Aug tr in Ioann XLIV §§ 3 12. XLVI § 1. XLVII §§ 3 pr 7 8. XLVIII § 12. XLIX § 1. L § 10 pr. LII § 13 pr. LXXXIX § 5 f.
quid sanitatis 99 9. 143 7 q doni.
quinquagesimales dies 177 28.
quinta sabbati die Thursday 145 23. 146 24.
quispiam 'anyone' = quisquam. cf aliquis. 33 8.
quisque = quicumque 40 10. 57 25. 102 5 13 25. 103 30. 110 19. 137 12. 160 32. I 29 f with Hussey's note (e). 32 (note c Hussey). II 4 f Hussey. V 15 f. h a 14. opp II 165 3 Stev. Rönsch Ital 336. Tert apol 7. carm de Iona 61. AV Caes 33. Amm XXXI 1 2. Bonif p 122. 221 m. Migne LXXXVII 362ᵃᵇ. Cypr ind. Juret in Symm p 113. Aug libr arbitr II § 41 f. Greg dial III 7. Namat I 276. inscr e g Rhein Mus 1877 478.
quo loci corpora sua poni uellent 106 6.
quod, used after verbs of saying cet, Fr *que* 56 14. 84 12. 108 20. 129 9. 138 3 4 7. 159 27. Aug tr in Ioann LXXXIII § 3 after ambigere and dicere. Jahrb f roman Liter XI 277. Rönsch Ital 402. Macrob comm I 13 18. Rose anecd 1864 85 86. Cypr ep 1 pr and ind. Eutrop p 278 seq Tzschucke. Hier in Osee lib I f (c 5 ver 6 VI 51ᵇ). VF IV 444—5. Aug ap Hier ep 93. Hier ep 36 ad Castorinam.
quoquo whithersoever 91 3. Gell XVI 3 1.

rancor 144 24. Rönsch Ital 64. Paucker spicileg 1875 141.
reatus 62 17. 130 4. 146 30. 149 8. pl Saluian gub IV § 40 (p 77 Baluze) and often. Aug conf I § 17 f. de nupt et concup I 26. de peccat merit et remiss I 19. Macrob Sat II 5 4. Paulin uit Ambr 31.
recapitulo 167 13. Aug tr in Ioann CXIII § 6 (-atio ib CXX 7). doctr chr I § 32. III § 52. Rönsch Ital 198. Iren III 11 8 f. 16 6. 21 9 f. IV 6 2. 38 1. 40 3 f. V 1 2. 2 §§ 1 2. 23 2. 25 1. (-or ib III 21 9. 22 2. V 12 4. 14 §§ 1 2. 18 3. 25 5.)
receptui corporis 57 19. Symm ind.
recessionis febrium hora 41 10. Paucker cites Candid de gen diu 4. Aug de fid et opp § 17. in ps 75 § 14. Hier in Matt II (c 12 26). Secundin Manich ad Aug 2.
recisurae concr. 'shavings' 60 16.
reccgito 183 9. Sen uit beat 2 3. Symm ep X 34. Migne LXXXVII 363[a].
recordatio 138 11 -nis beatae Theodorum. Pagi 639 4. Bonif p 101.
rediit ad cor suum 145 29.
refectio 'refreshment' 154 15. uit Cuthb 5 f. ib. p 102 34. 107 6. 112 4 Stev. VM IX 38. Sen dial IX 17 6. Greg dial II 1 p m ter. Eddius 47. Baron 612 10. Rönsch Ital 321. Symm ind. Ambr ep 31 3 epularum et -nis. hexaëm V § 91. Paucker cites Isid reg monach 18 3. Chromat tr in Matt 3 5. Aug c Iud IV § 68.
reficio 27 22. 78 8 19 -endi corporis. 81 7 reficeret abs. 119 30. Paulin uit Ambr 47 f.
refloruit terra 116 23.
regalis animi homo 112 7.
regeneratus in Christo 121 17.
relator 48 2. Paulin Petrocor uit Mart IV 481. Tert an 46.
relegentes 'reading' 83 13. Vopisc Aurel 24 7. Baron 601 14. Bonif p 137 f bis. 140 f bis. 141. 142 quater. 144 bis. 148. 151. 155 bis. Rönsch Ital 387.
religio a title of address 186 14 tua misit deuota r. rescr imp Honorii adu Pelagium (Saluian append 4 p 448 Baluze) r itaque tua competentibus scriptis uniuersos faciat admoneri.
religiositatis tuae bonitatem 186 18. Bonif 101 -as uestra. Not in address Paucker in mélanges gr rom acad Petersb 1873 669. Rönsch Ital 53.
reliquiae 85 5. 110 28. 161 quater. 178 20 ambulauimus cum -is sanctorum. Paulin uit Ambr 52 bis. Amm XXX 10 1 diuorum. (add to lexx reliquiarium Aug quaest in gen 148.)
rememorando secum 143 22. Bonif p 291. Migne CVI 1447[c]. Rönsch Ital 379. 414. Hence 'remember.' uers uet ap Aug annot in Iob c 24 ad f.
rennuit suscipere 31 11. Arn II 5. III 3. IV 12. 24.
renudato littore 23 19.
repedabat ad suam domum 142 12. V 19. h a 2 f. Iuuenc I 104. III 195. IV 497. Lindebr on Amm XVII 2 4. Damas c 15 4. Baron 612 5 f bis.
reperierunt 161 18
replicauit 135 14. -erint 54 8. h a 4. Amm XXX 1 3. 7 1. Pacat paneg 34. 6 3. Greg dial II 30 f. Hier in Osee c 9 12 (VI 101[a]). Symm ep VI 31.
repperire 84 n. 139 11. 84 n reperta.
repromissio 143 27. Herm uis I 3. Ambr de Parad § 20. Aug expos Galat § 40. Rufin 345[b] Migne. Iren III 12 3 f. IV 7 2. 20 9 cet. 21 1. 23 1 f. Ant in Galland IV 665. Paucker adds Hil in ps 31 4. 41 8.
requietus 133 20. Neue II[2] 342—3. Add Burm anthol I 633.

reserando 180 22.
resolutionis meae tempus 'dissolution', 'death' 156 23. Rönsch Ital 323.
respectus 113 29 sine -u pietatis. Amm XXXI 2 9 sine sui -u. [Quintil] decl 9 5 s r sui. Plin II § 20 aliis nullus est deorum -us, aliis pudendus.
restaurare 86 11. 50 2. Grut inscr 158 9. Seru Aen II 15. Iren II 31 2. Greg Tur gl mart 1 2. 75 f. 104 (838c).
resulto 'to differ', 'to withstand' 186 7. Cassiod h e VII 33. Baron 646 28.
retransmitto 163 4. Greg dial III 2 pr. ep 1 40.
reuerentissimus properly -dissimus, 'most reverend'. cf amantissimus, desiderantissimus 44 10. 74 21. 77 17 26. 94 31. 95 15. 101 26. 118 5. 126 17. 148 16. 149 17 28. 152 22 26. 153 1. 164 11 27. 165 8 20 23. 166 20. 171 11 19. (cf V 19 iuuenis amantissimae aetatis). V 11f. 19 p 206 36. Gruter 344. Paucker spicileg 188. Greg dial 1 2 pr. 4 (164d cet. 168b). II 35 (272a). III 31. Neue II2 121.
reumate 23 18. V 3 p 184 29. Ambr hexaëm V § 29. Pagi 614 16 f.
rhythmo 173 17.
rĭdet 131 25 26.
rubiginem linguae limaret 187 11. Oros IV 23. Add to lexx -nosus Greg Tur gl mart 1 58 f.
ruderibus uitiorum expurgatis 98 10. Paulin Nol ep 24 20.
ruminando 143 22. 176 21 scripturarum modulamina. Tert res carn 37 intellectu. Ruric Lemouic 1 9. (sens propr Ambr hexaëm V § 12. cf Seru Aen VIII 63.)
ruralia ferramenta 154 5. Aristot rhet II 21.

sabbatum (*a*) 'week' 26 16. 27 26. 51 16 17. 73 9 14. 145 23. 146 25. (*b*) Saturday 73 7. 1698. 113. (*a*) Tert ieiun 14. conc Matiscon 1 (581) c 9. (*b*) Isid nat rer 3.
sacramentis fidei inbui 122 14. 151 23. II 15. Cypr ep 30 §§ 4 10. test III 50. Tert an. 1. s alone Tert praescr 20. apol 15 s nostrum. de idol 6. adu Marc V 5. apol 47 -a nostra. apol 19 -um Iudaicum)(s nostrum.
sacrificium salutare 135 24. 120 15 dominicae oblationis. 155 30 uictimae salutaris. Paulin uit Ambr 10.
sagum 159 29. Bonif p 129 presbiteri uel diaconi non sagis laicorum more, sed casulis utantur ritu seruorum dei. ib 285 sagos.
saluti fuisse nonnullis 130 10.
salutifer 39 27. 42 11. 133 6. Seren Sammon praef. Mar Mercat 1086 Migne. Alcuin sanct Ebor 190. 202. Bonif p 162.
sanctimonialis a nun 87 tit VII. 109 2. 127 28. 137 5. 140 8. Greg dial III 7. Aug enarr in ps 99 13. Paucker subrelicta (ind lect Dorpat 1872 4to p 18*).
sanctuarium 159 10. uit Cuthb 42 f. Aug quaest in leuit 40.
sarcofagum 112 28 30 32. 113 7 s illud 10. 130 14 16 s inuentum est. Voss on Mela 1 18 23. Burm anth IV 215 8. Non 3a Gerl. fem Aldh c de uirgin 1962. CIG 6298 bis. Hence Germ Sarg, Fr cercueil.
satagebat deo seruire 108 7. Aug trin 1 § 24 f. conf 1 § 17 f.
satis duximus referre 36 15.
scaturiebat litteratis Britannia 185 15.
scolasticus quidam 42 25. Plin ep 1 24 4. Sen contr II 11 § 19. [Quintil] decl 328. Hier ep 52 1. Sulp Seu dial III 13. Rittersh on Saluian II pp 3—8. Seru Aen 1 185. -issimus Migne CVI 20c.
scrinio ecclesiae Romanae 164 24.

Bonif p 96. Symm ind. Eutr VIII 23 magister -i. Lampr Alex 26 5. cf 15 6. Rufin h e II 14 pr.
secretarium 'sacristy' 44 14 beati apostoli Andreae. 77 27. II 1 p 78 8 Sm. Aug trin VI 9. c Crescon III 56. Paulin ep 32 ad Seu § 16. Bonif p 137. 141 bis. 142. 143 f. 144 (he has uenturo -o 'at the ensuing meeting of the conclave'). Eddius c 29 ter. conc Carth c 87. conc Orange 441 c 27. Hefele Conciliengesch II² ind. Mansi III 732. Pagi 649 3. Sulp Seu dial II 8. Cypr acta proc 1. Baluz ad calc Optati 246. Rönsch Ital p 36. cod Th I 16 7 and 9. DC. Ruinart acta mart p 216. Aug de serm in monte I § 29. lib arb II § 42. gen c Man II § 6. Paulin Nol ep 12.
secus 'against' 82 9 (cf 285 19). s morem canonicum. so Rom 1 26 Boern immutauerunt naturalem usum in s naturam usum. As = secundum 'hard by' Ambr hexaëm III § 71. V § 73. de Parad § 3 f. Greg Tur gl mart I 95 (827ᵉ). Bonif p 464. Paulker Nachtrag (Dorp 1873) 24. Rönsch Ital 399 (where are exx also of the sense 'according to'). Jubiläen 541.
sed et 'and also' 29 21. 33 17. 34 15 30. 52 25. 55 11. 57 25. 78 18. 92 26. 94 3. 112 23. 129 28. 143 32. 153 20. 154 5. 158 15. 167 1 8. V 11 f. Suet Oth 10. Vulcat Auid Cass 9 pr. Iuuen XIII 102 n. Bonif p 76. 79. 80 pr. 87. 91. 105 pr. 107 pr. 133 f. 136. 153. 158. 227. 437 m. 454 pm. 465. 466 f. 470.
sed nec 44 24. Rose anecd 1864 157 22 non adeo crispo s n extenso.
sedulus 163 6.
seorsum 130 18. 153 3.
sepelliri 35 3. Rönsch Jubiläen 445 (7 exx). euang Pal 314 a 2 -ellita. Renier inscr 1767. inscr de Lyon 6 10 p 186. cf intollerabilis.
septennem 184 4. Lact m p 50 6.
septimana 'semaine' 80 17. 146 13. Aug reg ad seruos dei 12. Rönsch Ital 102. Jubil 541. Paucker subrelicta Dorpat 1872 4to 19*.
sequacibus eius 75 8. 187 25. V 14.
sequestratae ab 24 24. Ambr hexaëm I § 29 pr. VI § 24. de Parad § 44. Amm XXX 5 15. Sidon ep V 20. Jan on Macrob comm I 5 6. Veg II 20. Trebell 30 tyr 22 2. Vopisc Prob 6 5. Aug op imperf c Iulian IV 48. gen ad litt X § 12. Tert ind. Symm ind.
serenitas aeris 97 26. Ambr hexaëm V § 40 f. Greg dial II 33 f.
sicubi 133 21 abire, s amicos posset inuenire. Aug trin I § 4 f. Tert ind.
signari manu 78 16. Greg Tur gl mart I 83.
sin autem 'but if otherwise' 181 15. Rönsch Ital 405. Hermas man IV 2. Bed opp II 88 12 Stev. Bonif p 210. 289 f. (cf sin uer ib 192. 224 pm).
sindone 108 16. Non p 368ᵃ Gerl Bonif p 155 f.
siue 'and' 19 11. 51 1. 86 8. 16 7. 173 17. 181 6. II 2 pr. Bon p 105. 107. 136 f. 141. 144. 189. 262 pr. 266 pm. 270. 317.
solertissime 155 24. Amm XXXI 10 21.
solitarius 154 16. 158 21. 'a herm Aug in Ztschr f wiss Theol XV 242. Cassian de incarn I 3 homo Iesus Christus. Dict Cr II 18. 39. III 7 (certamen). Tert apol 45.
sollemnia 135 17. -nis = -niis 128 n. cf ecclesis. Greg dial I 9 (188ᵃ) and III 30 (344ᵉ) -iis.
solstitialem occasum 45 5. V 12 p 195 21 ortum. Ambr hexaëm IV § 24 annus. Iustin XIII 7 10.

solutis ieiuniis 69 26. 119 30 -o -o. cf ieiunium rumpere in Leon opp III p 886 LXXVI. 'breakfast'.

sophia 188 3. Bed opp II 23 12 (ī). 25 19 Stev. Bonif p 36 f. 47 22. Lact III 16. Iren IV 35 4. Cypr p 694 3. Tert ind.

sordidantis uitii 108 12. Rönsch Ital 171. Aug conf I § 17 f. uita Cypr 6. Firm math IV 2. Orig c in Matt c 33 (III 852). Cypr sent episc 42. Hier comm ad Gal praef p 370^{b}.

sospitate 119 11. Rönsch Ital 53. Macr I 7 35. Lucif Cal 804^{b} Migne. Chalcid comm Tim 226 p 264 6. Boet cons I pros 6 bis. [Saluian] ad eccl IV 3. Symm ind.

species 46 6 equos uel alias s. Aug trin VII 11. Greg Tur gl mart I 58 (789^{a}). 92. 103 (831^{a}). Baron 650 21. 652 3 5 9. Bonif p 270 pr in aliis quibuslibet negotiis uel speciebus.

spicarum 154 7. Ambr hexaëm III § 45. Sen ind. Hier in Ezek I 9 (V 43^{e}) = far.

spiritalis 85 9 filia. 156 11. Bonif 70 mater. 97 propinquitas. Arntz on Arat p 3. Tert adu Valent 17. Iren II 28 §§ 4 f 9 f. 29 § 1 saepe. 30 §§ 1 5 6 (compar). 7 f 8 saepe. 33 § 3 f. Solin 23 § 21. Tert ind.

sponsa Christi 130 31. 131 1. 132 8.

stemmate regali 131 31. Spart Ver 2 10. Lampr Alex 44 3.

stragica 121 n. Rönsch Ital 468 scoruscus cet.

strenuissimus 52 11. 120 29. 138 27.

studiui 156 n. grom 359 17. Bonif 97 f. 432.

suasserat 41 11. cf occissus.

sub pauco tempore 59 29.

subdiaconus 90 25. Aug ep 222 3. Arat ad Florian p 3 Arntz. Isid orig VII 11. Reines inscr cl 20 n. 14.

subiaceo 'to be subject' 103 5. 121 11. cod Iust I 27 1 § 7 bis. Symm in Grat 6 Antiocho Syria sponte -uit. Ambr hexaëm II § 2. Hier in Osee II 8 (VI 130^{b}) cruciatibus. Symm ind. Tert ind.

subiectos suos 83 20. Plin pan 85. Amm XXX I 3. 9 5.

subintroduxit 31 28. Nestor in Mar Mercat p 43. conc Nic can 3. Rönsch Ital 210.

sublimatus regni culmine 29 10. Vitr VI 9 p 147 21. Solin 32 10. Lact epit 6. Aug qu in gen 123. ep 137 ad Volus § 9. Prud apoth 913. Mamertin ad Iulian 29. Cassiod I 3. Baron 646 3. Bonif p 185 f. 218. (ib 448 is the subst ignorante dominorum sublimatu.) Tert ind.

sublimioribus locis 166 15.

sublimiter erecta aedificia 147 3. Seru Aen I 414. Hier in Amos c 3 3 (VI 254^{e}).

subreguli 113 18 22. Eddius 18. Baron 677 4.

subsistentis (cf ecclesis) uel personis consubstantialibus 124 6. Mansi VIII 822. XI 239. Baron 602 3. 639 9. Paucker in mélanges 1872 417. 443. id subrelicta Dorpat 1872 4to 21*.

superadicere 159 20. 171 25. II 1 p 78 2 Sm. Paucker cites [Eucher] in regg comm III 20. Ioann diac uit Greg II 17.

superficies crassior (of cream) 81 10.

supra 'above' (in literary reference) 153 2.

suscepisse de lauacro exeuntem 30 27. 115 27 de fonte loco filii. of receiving a guest 103 3—5.

susceptio 'receiving of a guest', 'entertainment' 78 3. Greg dial I 10 (196^{e}. ib II 22 pr concr 'a guest-chamber'). Symm ep VI 80.

susceptor 103 4. Rönsch Ital 59. Paucker spicil 291—2. conc Tarrac c 11.

suspirauerat caelestem patriam 185 21. 188 4. Ou tr I 1 27. VF IV 532. Tert apol 15. cult fem I 2 pm. II 6. Aug tr in Ioann XXXV § 9 supernae patriae -emus. id tr in Ioann ep VII § 2.
symbolum 'creed' 123 28. ep ad Ecgb 3. Cypr ep 69 7 bis.
synodalis 25 31 -ia decreta. 123 11 -ibus litteris. II 19. Bonif p 103. Paucker mélanges (1872 cet) 437. 680. subrelicta 21* f.
synodus masc 123 29. 170 6. 124 10 uniuersales quinque. Bonif p 100 synodūs.

tantum 97 14 (bis) in t. 101 5. Plin pan 95. [Quintil] decl 3. often in Plin h n. cf quantum. tanta 'so many' 186 5 (cf l 2 numerositatem). 178 5 -os. Tert idol 6. Greg dial II 3 f (220b) III 7. Claud laud Stil I 170. Weitz on VF v 636. Iren II 27 1. Bonif p 173. Rönsch Ital 337—8. Tert ind.
tempus 179 31 ex tempore 'in course of time'.
textus 101 17. Capitolin Maximin I 3. Symm ep III 12. Auian praef fabularum. Oros praef. Amm XXX 8 1. XXXI 2 25. 10 21. Paulin uit Ambr 49. Maitland dark ages 203. 207 seq (a gospel or gospels).
theca 39 6. 159 10. 161 24. 162 3. Ambr hexaëm V 23 §§ 78—9. saepe. fid res 59 bis. Rufin h e II 33 pr martyrum. Seru Aen X 169. Am XXVIII 4 13. Cassiod in ps I 1.
tondi in coronam 90 26. Rönsch Ital 284.
tonsura 52 3. 70 20 and 76 24 t coronae. 90 27. Tert an 30.
tractaturos de 101 21. 102 5 in commune -emus. Cypr ep 55 14 episcopo -nte. id p 659 15. uita Cypr 18 f. Baluze on Lupus p 479.
tragica caede 20 1. 121 15.
transcensum iam mediae noctis tempus 144 18.
transfero of the removal ('translation') of bones (relics) 38 14. 49 19. 57 21. 99 3. 110 15. 128 25.
transgressor 33 8. Aug. gen ad litt III §§ 14 15 conf I § 27 f. tr in Ioann XLIX § 19. Ambr de Iac et uita beata I § 8. Oros VII 7 pr. Iren II 28 7. IV 1 2. 2 6. 20 8 f. 28 2 f. 36 4. V 21 3. Tert ind.
transmigratio 'departure' from this life (cf migro) 110 2. sensu proprio Iren II 33 1. IV 23 1 f. 36 2. Oros III 7. Hil in Matt 1 2. Hier in Amos I 5 (VI 229a). Bonif p 320 f.
transcribo 125 28. 126 11. 163 4. 167 1 3. 172 23.
triduanum ieiunium 118 16. 146 16. II 2 p 80 43 Sm. Luther as a monk often kept a three days' fast. Rönsch Ital 130.
trifariam 117 4. Hyg p a II 19.
triumphator 177 20. Cypr ep 34 2. Gruter 285 3. 287 2. 465 8. 1013 5. 1023. Spanh p 81. Baron 633 4. 649 52.
tuitio 120 9.
tumba 41 12. 88 tit XXIX 99. 160 10.
tumolo 129 n.
tumor concr 162 1. 178 11. 187 5 metaph t Gallicanus.
tunc temporis 118 21. Paulin uit Ambr 11.
tyrranidem 20 7. 118 4 -de. Sall h I 41 1 7 22. Nep 10 5 2. Sen ep 104 27. cf parrochia.

uadatur sermonis ueritatem 185 14.
uallatus exercitu 52 13. 154 18 -a aggere mansio.
uel 'and' 51 1. 56 19. 71 3 bis. 88 tit XXV. 126 3. 181 7. Rönsch Ital 345. Paucker subrelicta Dorpat 1872 4to 14-15 n. Tert anim 57. uita Caesar Arel II 1 2. Greg

Tur gl mart I 17 f. 18 f. 90 pr. Bonif p 137 pr. 144. 145 f. 146 pr. 189 bis. 195 (ep 68 pr). 217. 270. 317. Migne XC 151c. anth lat I 294 3. 296 1. 369 2 R. Commod apol 30. Lact m p 8 3. Namatian I 40 Lemaire. Baron 646 4 6 16. 679 2. Hefele Conciliengesch II2 299. III2 3. 18. 106. Plew de diuersitate auct h Aug Königsb. 1869 34.

uelamine sanctimonialis habitus 127 28.

uenae fontanae spes 154 1. Sen n q III 15 2. Symm paneg ad Valent I 3. Paulin uit Ambr 1 f. Aug. conf I 10.

ueneration habitus 70 4. the word ueneratio Plin ep II 14 3. VIII 24 6. pan 10. 13. 93. Plin h n. Curt. as a title Baron 646 25. Aug ep 221 1 3. 223 2.

ueneror pass 30 2. 120 26. V 19 p 204 32. Greg dial IV 4 f n Bened.

uenit quaerere 134 6. Hygin fab 27 iniuriam patris exsequi.

uerrentibus nauem fluctibus 47 23.

uersifico plectro 184 23. Adamn loc sanct I 17.

uerum etiam (after non solum) 163 7. exx from Plin ep in Döring on I 16 8. several in C Arch.

uestigiis eius prouolutus 156 25. Greg Tur gl mart I 28 resupinis -is crucifigi, 48. Baron 601 11. 629 10. Bonif p 65 f.

ueteranis odiis 38 26.

uexillum crucis 21 29. Paulin Petrocor uit Martini II 234. IV 598. V 152. Hier ep 1 ad Heliodor.

uiaticum 119 3 dominici corporis et sanguinis. 139 32. 144 29. V 14 salutis. Hence viaggio, voyage. Paulin uit Ambr 47. Ambr de Cain I § 17. sensu propr Sen ind. id rem fort 3 2. de moribus 18.

uicani 37 23. 78 20. V 10 p 193 7 Sm.

uice abbatissae (a) 140 22. (b) 148 2 ad -m sponsarum 'like brides'. (a) Plin XVII § 28. XV § 82. Tert apol 16. 24 f. 34 pr. 48. patient 1. idol 12 f. Gell II 6 9. Aug ciu dei IV 5 uice uaporis euanescit. Iren II 31 1. V 24 2. Seru Aen IV 453. (b) Pacat 25 4.

uicina (-nia cf ecclesis) 42 n. 48 n.

uictimam sacrae oblationis 21 23. 155 30 sacrificium -ae salutaris.

uictorem irae animum 50 27.

uiculus 48 14. 152 11. ep ad Ecgb 3. Hier in Nahum 1 1.

uigilantissime 164 3. Aug conf I § 29 f.

uigilias pro salute animae eius 21 21. Paulin uit Ambr 13 f.

uirecta herbarum 36 29.

uirgeorum parietum 48 15.

uirtus miraculous power, miracle sing 38 4. III 1. pl miracles 21 4. 33 27 opera -um et signa miraculorum. 36 2 13. 43 18. 57 22. 74 25. 75 13 30. 105 6 26. 151 12. Aug trin I § 22. Iren II 32 5. V 17 2. Greg Tur gl mart I 54 uir -um. Tert ind.

uituli marini insula Selæseu 117 13. Ambr hexaëm V § 5 cf 6 f. Calpurn VII 66 aequoreus.

uiua uoce 164 21. 165 24.

uixdum 66 26. Stat s I 2 229. Plin ep VII 33 7. VF IV 508.

ullatenus 22 6. 135 1. Paucker mélanges 1872 p 429 n. spicileg p 276 n.

ultra 119 9 neque u 'and never again'. 156 22 non u. 157 8. 154 12 'thenceforward'. VF V 654. Cels VIII 5 f.

umor 129 11.

una sabbati 51 15 16. 251 10.

unda baptismatis 117 25.

unianimem 123 9. Jubil 46 1. (ib 19 3 pusillianimus. 34 3 -mis.) Heins on Aen IV 8.

uniuersales synodos 124 10.

uocabulo 'by name' 31 29. 32 6.

33 13. 43 17. 59 1. 97 18. 111 29. 117 12. 133 17. 138 18. cf Sall h II 2. Nipperd on Tac 12 66.

uocatio 'call' to another world 33 30. Greg dial IV 26 (412b). 35 (428a).

uspiam 'anywhere' 139 9. Primas in apoc V (c 21).

utillimus 160 8. 169 30. 180 25. V 15 f. 24 p 221 8. h a 10. ep ad Ecgb p 306 8. Bonif p 250. Neue II2 110.

uxoreo uinculo conligatum 133 26. Vopisc Saturn 9 cyclas.

ydros (hy-) 132 16 17. 354 12.

zelus 132 18 19. 144 5. Tert idol 7. Hygin fab 199. [Cypr] de resurr 80. Fulg myth I 5.

zizaniam 84 27. Iren V 10 1. Migne CVI 1374b.

ADDITIONAL GLOSSARY

castitas 'orthodoxy' 82 13.

castus ab haereticorum contagiis 126 16 cf 285 32.

deberet statui = statueretur 30 23.

dum = cum with subj imperf plup 19 21. 37 1. 109 8. 129 11.

fratruus = fratris filius 44 7

habeo as an auxiliary verb 62 22 mori habes.

illo 39 22. 64 33. 126 27.

l..nina apostolorum cf A Lucidus de uisitatione sacrorum liminum Romae 1866 2 vols.

miserere animabus 42 1. Rönsch 413. Hermas uis III 12. Hier in Osee l 1 c 1 (VI p 9b ed Ven 1768) consideranda domini indignatio, quod nequaquam domui Israel se dicat misereri ultra. ib fin (13a) cui non miseretur. ib l II c 6 (63c) uobis semper misertus sum. in Amos l II c 5 (296a). ib. (297b) miserebitur dominus...residuis. (ibd) misereatur dominus...reliquiis. Iren III 17 § 3. 23 § 5 fin.

nepos nephew 30 6. Hier chron Eus 2330. Oros VII 28. later writers in Barth aduers XLIV 10 and notes on Gul Brit IV 84. 325. VI 414. Rittersh on Gunter.

quisque = quicumque 162 7.

soluere ieiunium Hier uit Hilarion 11 fin. adu Lucif 8 (180e). Nigid in Isid orig XX 2 10.

tonans 131 17. 395 11. mirac Cuthb 15 f. 30. Migne LXXXIX 195d. 198e. 237e. Bonif pp 41, 308. Alcuin sanct Ebor 9. 553. 670. 760. 851. 1354. cf Olympi Baronius 725 24

transfero 31 6. 35 11.

uel 'and' 57 9. 69 12.

unus indef art 37 26. Greg Tur gl mart I 6 f. 13. 17. 36 pr. 44 (773a Ruinart). 95. Pagi 612 13. Bonif 96 f. 470 f. Dosith p 79 Böcking.

INDEX OF SAXON WORDS IN CUTHBERT'S LETTER TO CUTHWINE

aefter (prep c dat) after.

aér (prep c dat) before.

aeththa (conj) = West Saxon *oððe*, or.

deothdaege (n dat sing) from *deothdaeg* = the day of death. The West Saxon orthography of the first syllable is *deaþ*.

doemid (pp of *deman* = to doom) = decreed, doomed, adjudged. The southern dialects write the form *demed*. See Collations p 403.

fore (prep c dat) before (of time). In the Southern dialects the form is usually *for*. See Collations p 403.

gastae = *gaste* (n dat sing) from *gást* = spirit, soul.

godaes = *godes* (n gen sing) from *gód* = good. *huaet godes* = what of good.

him dat sing of the personal pronoun *hé, heó, hit.*

hin contracted form of the adv *heonan* = hence. See Collations p 403. It is mostly found in compounds. So *hin-gang* = hence-going, death. See *iongae.*

his gen sing of *hé.*

huaet = *hwæt* (acc neut sing of the indefinite pronoun *hwá*) = what.

hycggannae = *hycganne*, gerund of *hycgan* to think, a dative after the preposition *tó*. *to hycggannae* = to think.

iongae=gonge or *gange*. Dat sing mas from *gang*, a going, a journey. *hin* is in composition with this noun.

naenig (neg pron) no one=*ne ænig*.

neidfaerae=nebdfære, (dat sing) from *nebdfær*=a necessary journey, a journey one must needs take. On the form see Bouterwek *die vier Evangelien* CXXXI.

sie (pres conj 3 sing) from *eom*, I am.

snotturra (adj comparat nom) from *snottor*=wise, prudent. The word is compounded with *thonc*, and the compound=more wise in thought, more careful.

than=*þanne* (adv) following the comparative=than.

tharf=*þearf* (n fem)=need. *Than him tharf sie*=Than he need be. Than he is forced to be.

then=*thám* (dat m sing) of the definite article. In the collations (see p 403) the form is *þán* which is not uncommon. See Grein Bibliothek s v þät.

thonc=*thanc* (n masc)=thought. Here it is compounded with *snotturra* q v.

to (prep) preceding the gerundive dative *ymbhycggannae*.

uiuurthit=*weorðeð* (3rd sing pres ind) from weorðan=to become, to be.

uueorthae=*weorðe*, *wurðe*, (3rd pers sing conj pres) from the same.

yflaes=*yfles* (n gen sing) from *yfel*=evil. Here the genitive is governed by *huaet*.

ymb (prep) about. It is much used in composition both in its strictly local signification, and so most frequently as in *ymbclippan*, to clasp about, to embrace; and also as here (=concerning) with verbs which signify to speak, think, or take trouble: here it belongs to *hycggannae*. So *ymbsprécan*=to speak about.

INDEX OF SAXON WORDS IN CAEDMON'S SONG.

æfter (adv) afterwards.
aelda-barnum (n dat pl) to the children of men.
aerist (adj) = *ærest*, first.
allmectig (adj) = *älmeahtig*, almighty
astelidæ (vb pret) = *astealde*, established.
dryctin (n) = *dryhten*, lord.
eci (adj) *ece*, eternal.
end (conj) and.
firum (n dat pl) for men.
foldu (n acc) i q *foldan*, a dwellingplace.
gihuaes (pron) = *gehwaes*, whatever.
haleg (adj) = *halig*, holy.
he (pron) he.
heben (n) = *heofon*, heaven.
hefaen-ricaes (n gen) *heofon-rices*, of heaven's kingdom.
hergan (vb inf) to praise.
his (pron) his.
hrofe (n dat) roof.
maecti (n) = *mihte*, might, power.
metudæs (n gen) = *meotudes*. Meotod = fate, is used as an appellation of God.
middungeard (n) the central earth.
modgidanc (n) = *mód-geþanc*, mind thought.
moncynnæs (n gen) = *mancynnes*, of mankind.
nu (adv) now.
or (n) beginning, origin.

scepen (n) = sceppend, creator.
scop (vb praet) = *sceop*, created.
scylun (vb 1 plur pres) = *sculon*, we ought.
sue (adv) = *swa*, so.
tha (adv) then.
tiadæ (vb praet) = *tebde*, made, created.
til (prep) to, for.
uard (n) = *weard*, watcher, guardian.
uerc (n) = *weorc*, work.
uuldur-fadur (n) father of glory, glorious father.
uundra (n gen plur) = *wundra*, of wonders.

INDEX TO THE NOTES

ALCUIN, his testimony concerning Beda, 183.
ALDHELM, bp of Sherborne, 201.
ANATOLIUS, an authority on Easter question, 220.
ANCHORITES, lives of, 382.
,, cells of, 382.
ANDREW, Saint, churches dedicated to, 245.
ANGELS, visions of, 235. 247. 320. 333. 366. 395.

BAPTISM, deferring of, 336.
BARKING, monastery of, 316.
BATHS, rare use of, 348.
BEDA, lives of, 200.
,, bibliography of, ibid.
,, his sources of information, 203.
,, pupils of, 204.
,, burial of, 204.
,, works of, 205. 206.
,, authorities of, 209.
,, date of his death, 401.
,, mediaeval notices of, 408.
BEDA'S age, 396.
,, early ordination, 396.
,, works, 397.
BEDE'S well, 203.
BELLS, use of, 365.
BENEFACTORS, commemoration of, 334.
BERTHA, wife of Ethelbert; free exercise of her religion, 260.
BIRINUS, missionary bishop, 231.
BISCOP, Benedict, 202.
BISHOP, first of English blood, 245
BISHOPS, native British, 259.
BONDS miraculously loosed, 357.
BONIFACIUS (abbat of Mainz), testimony concerning Beda, 180.
BOOKS, great store of, 210.
BURIAL in churches, 236. 387.

CAEDMON, story of, 368.
,, works of, 369.
CALENDARS, Anglo-Saxon, 334.
CAMBRIDGE, university of, its foundation, 252.
CANONS, book of, 311.
CANTERBURY, archbishop of, title first used, 292.
CARLISLE, notice of, 386.
CASAUBON, Isaac, on Beda, 189
CATHOLICITY, tests of, 285.
CATTLE, marvellous cures of, 237
CEADWALLA, the Briton, 214.
CEDD, bishop, particulars of his life, 263.
CEILLIER, on Beda's writings, 194.
CHARLES the Great, his last year of life, 400.
CHARMS, use of, 379.
CHELLES, nunnery of, 361.
CHILDREN, dedication of, to a religious life, 265.
CHURCH singing, 299.
,, music, 341.
CHURCHES built of stone, 222. 269
CLERGY, salutations to, 304.
COFFIN, miraculously enlarged, 324.
COFFINS, wooden, 350.
COINAGE, gold, in France, 235.

COLDINGHAM priory, 347.
,, ,, burnt, 371.
COLMAN, bishop, notice of, 277.
,, monasteries of, 308.
COLUMBA, Saint, his preaching, 222.
,, his monastic foundations, 224.
COMET of AD 678, 325.
COMETS, 326.
COMMUNITY of monastic property, 361.
COUNCILS, general, 339.
CROSS, sign of, 279. 370.
CURES by miracles, 238. 389.
CUTHBERT, letter of, concerning Beda's death, 176.

DACRE, river, 391.
DEAD bodies, fragrance of, 322.
,, ,, uncorrupted, 346, 391.
DEAD, prayers for the, 246.
DEATH, presentiments of, 385.
DEDICATION to religion, 202.
DEMONIACS, cures of, 240. 305.
DIOCESES, subdivision of, 337.
DURROW, monastery of, 223.
DUST, miraculous, 238.
,, sacred, 306.
DYING, prophetic vision of, 318. 385.

EASTER, observance of, 219.
EBROIN, mayor of the palace, 296.
ENDOWMENTS, 337.
EPHESIAN letters, charm of, 358.
EXILES, English, in Scotland, 218.
EXORCISM, 241.

FARNE islands, 377.
FASTING, practice of, 227. 234.
FASTS of forty days, 283.
FINAN, bishop, 268.
FINGERS, snapping of, as a signal, 305.
FIRE, miraculously quenched, 239. 249.
FISHERIES of Britain, 332.
FLORENCE of Worcester, his testimony concerning Beda, 185.
FOLCLAND and Bocland, 266.
FULLER, Thomas, on Beda, 189. 192.
FULLER, Thomas, reflexion of on Wilfrid, 330.
FURSEUS, visions of, 253.

GANGDAYS, 405.
GAUL, travelling in, 295.
GERMANY, missions to, 207.
GINZEL, on Beda, 197.
GLAZIERS, imported into England, 210.
GOSPELS, an open copy of, in ecclesiastical councils, 338.
GRANTCHESTER, 350.
GREGORIAN chants, 300.
GUDBERCT, (abbat of Wearmouth,) testimony concerning Beda, 181. 182.
GUESTS, treatment of, 349.

HACKNESS, monastery of, 365.
HADRIAN, abbat, character of, 292.
HENRY, of Huntingdon, his testimony concerning Beda, 189.
HERTFORD, synod of, 309.
HEWALDS, black and white, 243.
HILD, abbess, 272.
HOLY WATER, 244.
HYDROS, diabolus, 354.
HYMNS, metrical and rhythmical, 211.

IDOLATRY, relapses into, 289.
INCANTATIONS, 378.
INISHBOFIN, monastery of, 308.
INTERCESSION, mutual, 394.
IONA, island of, 221.
IRELAND, Romish church, discipline observed there, 278.
,, foreign students in, 281.
,, Saxon inroads into, 374.

JEWELLERY, 251.
JOHN, the archchanter, 342.

KENT, kingdom of, 233.
KEYS, the power of, 276.

LAND, allotment of, 267.
LAPPENBERG, on Beda, 196.
LATERAN, synod of, AD 649, 340.
LATIN Scriptures used in Britain, 224.
LEAD, used for roofs, 269.
LEARNING and Working united, 226.
LEARNING, in England, 298.
LEEDS, Yorkshire, battle near, 267.
LETTERS, commendatory, 312.
LINDSEY, diocese of, 328.
LINGARD, on Beda, 195.
LONDON, bishops of, 323.
LULL, (abbat of Mainz,) testimony concerning Beda, 181.

MASONS, imported into England, 210.
MASSES, for the dead, 358.
MATINS, 241. 242. 317.
MAYO, monastery of, 308.
MELROSE, abbey of, 378.
METONIC cycle, 275.
METRE, ancient laws of, 201.
MISSIONARIES, journeys of, 381.
MONASTERIES, jurisdiction over, 311.
,, double, 317.
,, servants in, 369.
MONASTIC life, particulars of, 257.
,, endowments, 223.
,, presents, 406.
MONKS, not to migrate, 312.
MONOTHELITE heresy, 343.
MORTUARY rolls, 247.

NINIAN, Saint, 222.
NORTHUMBRIA, provinces of, 213.
NUNNERIES, foreign, 234.
NUNS, training of, 321.
,, finery of, 373.

ODOUR, fragrant, at tombs, and at death, 236.
ORDINATION, canonical age for, 203.
,, invalid, 301.
OSWALD, Saint, miracles of, 230.
,, translation of, 239.

PENANCE, severity of, 256.
PENDAN, note on the form of the word, 261.
PESTILENCE, its ravages in England, 281.
PETERBOROUGH, abbey of, 315.
PICTS, 229.
PHYLACTERIES, 378.
PLAGUE, does not attack a second time, 400.
PLAGUES in Britain and Ireland, 243.
PSALTER, recital of, 227.
,, reading of, 282.
PURGATORY, 256.

QUARTADECIMANS, 285.
QUENTAVIC, monastery of, 296.

RANKE, Leopold, on Beda, 198.
RELICS, virtue of 216. 390.
,, sent to England, 288.
RELIGION, men of; greatly honoured, 279.
RELIGIOUS life, decay of, 372.
RESERVATION of elements, 334.
RIPON, church of, 271.
ROMAN archives, 393.
,, Wall, 217.
ROME, British intercourse with, 224.
,, insalubrity of, 286.
,, English kings visit, 309.
,, pilgrimages to, 325. 363.

SACRAMENT, mode of receiving, 370.
ST BEE'S, foundation of, 361.
SAINTS, effects of their prayers, 248.
SAXON poem, collations of, 403.
SCOTS, distinction of, into Irish and British, 213.
SEES, English, scheme of, 314.
SERPENTINE verses, 353.
SERPENTS, none in Ireland, 307.
SERVUS seruorum dei, a papal title, 287.
SHRINES for relics, 230.
SHROUDS, use of, 388.

SICK, cared for in monasteries, 318.
SIMEON of Durham, his testimony concerning Beda, 188.
SLAVES, liberation of, 332.
,, redemption of, 228.
SPIRIT world, lessons from, 255.
SPONSORS at baptism, 231. 232.
STREANÆSHALCH (Whitby), synod of, 269.
SURGERY, early instance of, 351.
SYNODS, to be held twice a year, 313.

TEMPLES, heathen, converted into Christian churches, 290.
TEN BRINK, on Beda, 199.
TENTH, given for charitable uses, 387.
TONSURE, various forms of, 293.
TWELVE, frequent occurrence of the number in monastic arrangements, 279.
TWYFORD, council of, 383.

VARIN, on Beda, 198.
VENERABILIS, Beda's title of, 201.
VISITATIONS, episcopal, 297.
VOWS of continence, 345

WERGYLD, nature of, 356.
WILFRID, division of his diocese, 327.
,, wanderings of, 329.
WILLIAM of Malmesbury, his testimony concerning Beda, 185.
WILLIBRORD, Saint, 243.
WIND, miraculous changes of, 249.
WHARTON, Henry, on Beda, 193.
WOMEN, education of, 362.
WOOLWARD, to go, 347.
WORDSWORTH, William, on Beda, 195.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

89097208219

B89097208219A

89097208219

b89097208219a